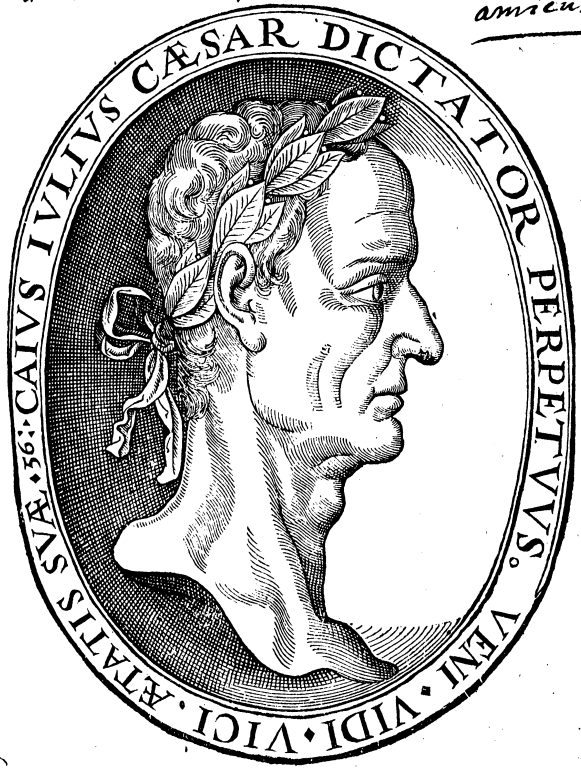


Belli Magistra, etiam Authorem caris-
 simis comitarijs Amici exhibiff. quem ipse
 Musæo meo dono concessit, & Signatu-
 rum pignus amoris amicissimo, Jussu potius
 amicus. Vult



Clement Edmundes commende
 cess to Gen: Johnson and
 dedicate this book to his
 virtues and his love to
 Clement Edmundes

/ Tangua Explorator.



Sa Ben: Johnson's Libr. ex. Jona

*16.
1654*
Nunc. 16. 1655.

Sir Tho. Gage Bart
Hengrave.



To the PRINCE.

S^r R:

Having ended this taske of Observations, and according to your gracious pleasure & command, supplied such parts as were wanting to make up the Totall of these Commentaries: it doth return again, by the lowest steps of humblenessse, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened specially because it carieth Cæsar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the same Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all other profane histories; and so, commended, by his sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maiſter-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wisdome, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer passage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for these happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer
Aij. so

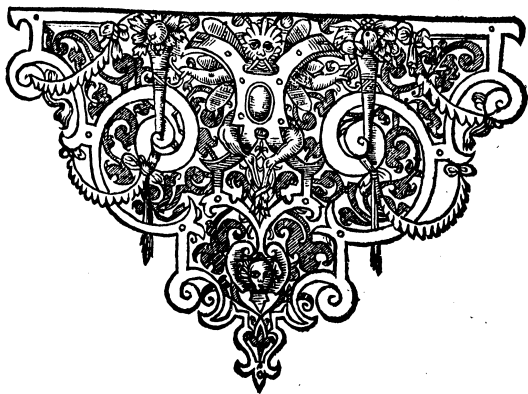
BAZIL-
KON ΔΩ-
PON.

so well handled, as when it is made an Argument of discourse in times of sweete and plentious peace. The blessings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the soueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefest Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humblest

of your Highnesse seruants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.



In Clementis Edmondi de re militari ad Iul. Cæsaris Commentarios Observationes.

C Vr creperos motus, & aperto praelia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente refert?
Cur sensus mentis que Ducum rimatur, & effert?
Disertè que Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, ut mediâ meditetur praelia pace,
Anglia bellipotens, nec moriatur honos.
Providus hæc certè patria depromit in usus,
Vt patria pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Guil. Camdenus, cl.

To my friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

WHo thus extracts, with more then Chynique Art,
The spirit of Bookes, shewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that our leaden Parts conuert
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.
Who thus obserues in such materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Practises,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankinde
Turne in their course, and sees their fatalnes,
And hee that can make these obseruances,
Must be about his Booke, more then his Pen,
For, wee may be assur'd, hee men can ghesse,
That thus doth CÆSAR knowe; the Man of men,
Whose Work, improv'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes CÆSAR more then CÆSAR to containe.

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

Observing well what Thou hast well Observ'd
In CÆSARS Workes, his Warres, and Discipline;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praise, or Thine,
My shallow Censure doubtfully hath swerv'd.
If strange it were, if wonder it deserv'd,
That what He wrought so faire, Hee wrote so fine;
Me thinks, it's stranger, that Thy learned Line
Should our best Leaders lead, not hauing serv'd.
But hereby (Clement) hast Thou made thee knowne
Able to counsaile, aptest to recorde
The Conquests of a CÆSAR, of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom (O) Heav'n prosper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes.

IOSVAB SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER
CLAMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

NOt *Cæsars* deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of *Pempey* for an Enemy;
Care to boote; *Rome*, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought
He wrote with the same spirit that hee fought:
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vn-argu'd then: and (yet) hath fame from those;
Not all these, *Edmondes*, or what else, put to
Can to speake *Cæsar*, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his person liv'd scarce one iust age,
And that 'midst enuy and Parts: then, fell by rage;
His deedes too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewer vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In euery councill, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T' all future time, not only doth restore
His Life: but makes, that hee can dye no more.

Ben. Ionsen.

Another, of the same.

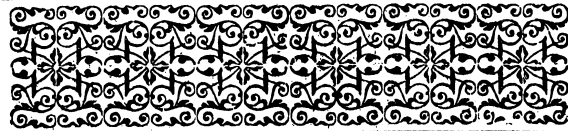
WHO, *Edmondes*, reads thy booke, and doth not see
What th' antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confesse:
Nor to giue *Cæsar* this, makes ours the lesse.
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou should'st reueale so much;
And, thence, depraue thee, and thy Worke: To those
Cæsar stands vp, as from his vrne late rose
By thy great Art: and doth proclaime, by mee,
They murder him againe, that enuie thee.

Ben. Ionsen.

TO THE READER.

IT may be said, that Many talke of
Robin Hood that neuer shot in his
bow. But it must be vnderstood, that as
well incompetent iudges as impertinēt
discourfers, are within this compassse.
Such Martialists as are acquainted
with the discipline of warre, or know what is fitting the
cariage of an Armie, are they to whom the iudgement
belongeth, that must either approoue or disallow these la-
bours. Amongst whom, the former part of this worke hath
alreadie found that passage, as by their good fauor, may
happely serue to drawe the sequele into the like fortune.
Howsoeuer, my desire is, that such as shall be pleased to
view these *Essayes*, will accept the same with that minde
as I offer them, hauing bent my indeuor to gratifie such as
fauour the reading of this *Historie*: without either attri-
bute to mine owne, or preiudice to any other mans iudge-
ment. Farewell.





READING AND DISCOVRSE,
ARE REQUISITE TO MAKE A SOVL-
dier perfect in the Arte militarie, how great soe-
uer his knowledge may be, which long experi-
ence and much practise of Armes
hath gayned.



WHEN I consider the weaknesse of mans iudg-
ment in censuring things best knowne vnto it
selfe, and the disability of his discourse in dis-
couering the nature of vnacquainted obiectes;
choosing rather to hold any sensible impressi-
on, which custome hath by long practise inu-
red, then to hearken to some other more rea-
sonable perswasion: I do not maruell that such
soldiers, whose knowledge groweth only from
experience and consisteth in the rules of their
owne practise; are hardly perswaded, that hi-
story and speculative learning are of any vse in
perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of
their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; wherein the vse of
Armes and atchievements of war seeme to haue their chiefeest being: But those
purè spirits embilished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of o-
ther men's fortunes; wherein variety of accidents affordeth variety of instruc-
tions; and the mutuall conference of things happened, begetteth both si-
militudes and differences, contrary natures, but yet iointly concurring to sea-
son our iudgment with discretion, and to enstall wisdom in the gouernment
of the minde: These men I say, mounting aloft, with the wings of contem-
plation, doe easily discover the ignorance of such Martialistes, as are only trai-
ned vp in the schoole of practise, and taught their rudiments vnder a few
yeares experience; which serueth to interpret no other author but it selfe, nor
can approoue his maximes, but by his own authority; and are rather moued to
pittie their hard fortune; hauing learned onely to be ignorant, then to enuie
their skill in matter of war, when they oppose themselves against so manifest a
truth as this: that a meere practiacall knowledge cannot make a perfect soldier.

A i.

Which

Which proposition that I may the better confirme, giue me leaue to reason a litle of the groundes of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Arts and sciences; which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in such sort apprehended, that from the variety of that indiuiduality, the intellectuall power frameth generall notions and maximes of rule, vniting tearmes of the same nature in one head, and distinguishing diuersities by differences of properties, aptely diuiding the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions and exceptions: for vnlesse the vnderstanding be in this sort qualified and able by logicallicall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularity to catholike conceptions; and returne againe the same waie, to the lowest order of his partitions, the minde cannot be saide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding her selfe by some broken preceptes, seeleth more want by that shee hath not, then benefite by that shee hath. Whereby it followeth, that a science deuided into manie braunches, and consisting in the multiplicite of diuers members, being all so interessed in the Bulke, that a Mayme of the smallest part causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be saide to bee throughlie attayned, nor conceiued with such a profiting apprehension as stealeth the minde with true iudgement, and maketh the scholler maister in his Arte, vnlesse the nature of these particularities bee first had and obtained.

And for as much as no one science or faculty whatsoever, in multitude and pluralitie of partes, may anie waie be comparable to the Arte militarie, wherein euery small and vnrespected circumstance quite altereth the nature of the Action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties is blemished with the dissimilitude of their disagreeing partes; it cannot be denied, but he that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needes be thought a more perfect souldier, and deserueth a title of greater dignity in the profession of Armes, then such as content themselves with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be said at all to be souldiers, so with them and no more, they no way deserue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meere experience, or experience ioyned with reading and discourse, doe feast the minde with more variety and choise of matter, or entertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vse of Armes, I will vie no other reason to determine of this question, then that which Francisus Patricius alleadgeth in his parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (saith he) doth see either the course of the whole, or but a part onely. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned lesse then he that sawe the whole: but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre, he hath notwithstanding learned lesse then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not
seene

seene so much as another that hath serued in three seuerall warres: and so by degrees, a souldier that hath serued ten yeares, must needes knowe more then one that hath not serued so long. And to conclude, he that hath receiued 22 yeares stipend (which was the iust time of seruice amongst the Romans before a souldier could be dismiss) hath greater meanes of experience than another that hath not so long a time followed the campe, and cannot challenge a discharge by order and custome: And hence it consequently followeth, that if in one or more or all these warres, there haue happened few of no actions of seruice, which might teach a souldier the practise of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labour. And if the warre through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe commanders haue bene ill caried, he can boast of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of militarie discipline; if the part which he followed were defeated and overthrowne, he knoweth by experience howe to loose, but not how to gaine: And therefore it is not onely experience and practice which maketh a souldier worthy of his name, but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise from the variety of humane actions, wherein reason and error, like merchants in trafficke, enterchange contrarie euents of fortune, giuing sometime copper for silver, and baine for poyson, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answer their directions: And this knowledge is onely to be learned in the registers of antiquitie and in histories, recording the motions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Caesar (whose actions are the subject of these discourses) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the possession of Spain, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharsalia, was held a souldier surmounting enuie and all her exceptions; and yet notwithstanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquestes, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull overthrow: for hauing posselt himselfe of a hill of great aduantage, he began to encampe himselfe in the toppes thereof. Which Pharnaces perceiuing, (being lodged likewise with his campe vpon a mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbattelled his men, marched down from his campe into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romaines were busied about their intrenchments, to giue them battel. All which, Caesar tooke but for a brauado: and measuring the enimie by himselfe, could not be perswaded that any such foole-hardines could carrie men headlong into so dangerous an aduenture, vntill they were come so neere, that he had scarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and to giue order for the battell: which so amazed the Romaines, that vnlesse, as Caesar himselfe saith, the aduantage of the place and the benignitie of the gods had greatly fauoured them; Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the ouerthrow of Pompei and the Senat, and restored the Romaine Empire to libertie. Which maike learne vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which in Caesar was infinit) to perfect our knowlege with variety of chances: and to meditate vpon the effectes of other mens aduentures, that their harmes maie be our warnings, and their happie proceedings our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongst so manie decades of Historie, which pregnant wits haue
A ii. presented

presented to these latter ages, we seldom or neuer meete with any one accident which iumpeth in all pointes with an other of the like nature, that shall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or setting forth of an armie; and so doe seeme to reape litle benefit by that we reade, and make small vse of our great trauell. Yet we must vnderstand that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the soueraigne power of the discursive faculty, receive great commodities by whatsoever falleth vnder their iurisdiction, and suffer no action to passe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his state; that so the iudgment maie not be defrauded of her reuenues, nor the minde of her learning; for notwithstanding disagreeing circumstances, and differences of formes, which seeme to cut off the priuilege of imitation, and frustrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading, the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the vse, and looke into the inconueniences of these wants and diuorsities, and by the helpe of reason to turne it to her aduantage; or so to counterpoise the defect, that in triall and execution it shall not appeare anie disadvantage. For as in all other sciences, and namely in geometrie, of certaine bare elements, and common sentences, which sense admitteth to the apprehension, the powers of the soule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinit vse, proceeding with certaintie of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they go, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should erect such curious and beautifull buildings: so in the Arte Military, these examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kinde of principles, on which the minde worketh to her best aduantage, and vseth reason with such dexterity, that of inequalities she concludeth an equality, and of dissimilitudes maketh sweete resemblances; and so she worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in time groweth so absolute in knowledge, that her sufficiency needeth no further directions: but as Lomazzo the Milinese, in that excellent worke which he writ of picturing, saith of a skilfull painter, that being to drawe a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer stand to take the symmetrie by scale, nor marke it out according to rules; but hauing his iudgment habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the variety of shapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eie, and his eie directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them serue for a rule whereby the true measures of nature are exactly expressed. The like may I say of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his faculty, when knowledge hath once purified his iudgment, and tuned it to the key of true apprehension.

And although there are many that will easily admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblance of accidents being referred to the arbitrament of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no meanes acknowledge, that those monstrous and inimitable examples of valour & magnanimity (whereof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should neuer want such treasure) can anie way auale the maners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be, would appeare but counterfeit to the luster of a golden age, nor yet comparable

ble to silver or brasse, or the strength of yron, but deserue no better title then earth or clay, whereof the frame of this age consisteth. For what resemblance (say they) is between the customs of our times, & the actions of those ancient Heroes? They obserued equity as well in warre as in peace: for vertue rather flourished by the naturall disposition of men, then by lawe and authority; the tenure of their Empire was valour in warre and concord in peace; the greatest treasure which they esteemed, were the deedes of armes which they had achieved for their countrey, adorning the temples of their gods with plectre, and their priuate houses with glory, pardoning rather then prosecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquished but ability of doing injury: But the course of our times hath another bias, for couetousnesse hath subuerted both faith and equity; and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughtes, and subtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of spending is by wast and prodigality; nor esteeming what we haue of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated and women impudent, vsing riches as seruants to wickednesse, and preventing natures appetite with wanton luxury; supplanting vertue with trecherie, and vsing victory with such impiety, as though *in iuribus sumus, in imperio uis*; and therefore the exemplarie patternes of former times; wherein true honour is expressed, may serue to be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too subtile to deale with honesty; and wanting courage to encounter valour. I must needs confesse, that he that compareth the history of Luie with that of Guichardine shall finde great difference in the subjects which they handle; for Luie triumpheth in the conquestes of vertue; and in euery page erecteth trophes vnto valour, making his discourse like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is described in her entire maiestie, and so sweetned with the presence & seruice of the graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellencie, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theseus taske to performe, being to winde through the labyrinthes of subtilty, and discover the quaint practises of politicians; wherein publike and open designs are oftentimes but shadowes of more secret projects, and these againe serue as foiles to more eminent intentions; being also discoloured with dissimulation, and so insnared in the sleights of subtilty, that when you looke for war, you shall finde peace; and expecting peace, you shall fall into troubles, dissensions and wars; So crabbed and crooked is his argument in respect of Luies fortune, and such arte is required to vnfolde the truth of these mysteries.

But to answer this obiection in a word; and so to proceede to that which followeth, I say those immortal memories of vertue which former times recordeth, are more necessary to be knowne, then any stratagems of subtiler ages: for equitie and valour being truly apprehended so season the motions of the soule, that albeit in so corrupt a courtie, they cannot peraduenture stir vp imitation; yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practises, and diuells deuises, when euill is reproued by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especiallie these of later times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a souldier perfect in that point.

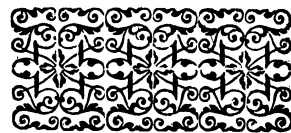
Let not therefore anie man despise the sound instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helps that historie doth offer to perfect the weaknesse of a short experience, especiallie when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for I take the office of a chiefe commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest wisdom that may be apprehended by naturall meanes, being to manage a multitude of disagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a designe of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affections and apprehensions according to the accidentes which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true iudgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end, wherein our providence cannot haue enough either from learning or experience, to preuent disadvantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our iudgment, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as behold the achievements of vertue, commended to perpetuall posteritie, hauing themselves the like meanes to consecrate their memorie to succeeding ages; wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reape the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirst after the knowledge of our owne fortune, and long to foresee the end of that race which we haue taken, which is the chiefe matter of consequence in the vse of Armes; what better coniecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not vnlike to fort vnto like endes?

And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Arte, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answer this question, who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus. *Qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta Maiorum & Gracorum militaria precepta legere ceperint: homines preposterii, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, re. & usu prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practice (although it follow it in course of time, for there is no reading, but of some thing practised before,) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to reade, when they should practise that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & booke learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, for as much as all his knowledge came by meere experience. But howsoeuer his iudgment was good in this point: for since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible resemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expressed,

fed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to dispose it in that sort, as shall best agree with the occurrentes of such natures, as are necessarily interested both in the meanes and in the end thereof? And therefore speculatiue knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the course of all practice is first to bee respected.

But that I may not seeme partiall in this controuersie, but carrie an equall hand betwene two so necessarie yokefellows, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practice, and define the good which commeth from experience; that so nothing that hath bene spoken may seeme to come from affection, or proceede from the forge of vniust partiality. And first it cannot be denied, but that practice giueth boldnesse and assurance in action, and maketh men expert in such things they take in hand, for no man can rest vpon such certainty, through the theorie of knowledge, as he that hath scene his learning verified by practice, and acknowledged by the testimony of assured prooue: Besides, there are many other accomplements gotten only by practice, which grace the presence of knowledge, & giue credit to that which we haue read; as first to learne the vse and aduantage of the armes which we beare; secondly, by frequent aspect and familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terour, to learne to feare nothing but dishonour, to make no difference betwene heate and cold, sommer and winter, to sleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the same time to take paines and suffer penury, with many other difficulties which custome maketh easie, and cannot be gotten but by vse and practice.

And thus at length, I haue brought a shallow discourse to an abrupt end, wishing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifest prooue of reason, to demonstrate the necessity, that both these partes were by our souldiers so regarded, that neither practice might march in obstinate blindness without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehension without practice: but that both of them may be respected, as necessarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherein knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and spirit to the action, and practice as the materiall substance maketh it of a sensible being, and like a skilfull workman expresseth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore conceiued: wishing no man to despaire of effecting that by practice which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For *Cur desperes nunc posse fieri, quod iam toties factum est?*



**THE SVMMME OF THE FIRST
BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES;
WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE
same; discouering the excellencie of
*Cæsars Militia.***

THE ARGVMENT.

IN this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetij; the second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluetians to entertaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their defeat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first giueth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

Switchers.

CHAP. I.

**Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their native
seate, and propound to themselves larger territories in
the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth
this humour, for his owne ad-
uantage.**



GALLIA is all diuided into three parts; whereof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all these do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The riuer Garun doth separate the Galles from the Aquitans, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike; as furthest off the ciuilitie & politure of the Prouince, & lesse frequented with Merchants, or acquainted with such things as are by the imported to effeminate mens minds: as likewise being sited next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with whom they haue continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluetians

*Matrona.
Sequana.*

B.

doe

doe excell the rest of the Galles in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts with the Germanes, for defence of their owne territories, or by innading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the riuer Rhene, and is bounded with Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching also to the Rhene, as a Line from the Sequans & Heluetians, it stretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreame confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the East. Aquitania spreadeth itself between the riuer Garun & the Pyrenean hills, and buitteth vpon the Spanish Ocean, between the West and the North.

Amongst the Heluetians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble discent and store of treasure: & when M. Messala and M. Piso were Consuls, being stirred up with the desire of a kingdom, he mooued the Nobilitie to a commotion; perswading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole pouer: as an easie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & prowess, to seize vpon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perswade them, for that the Heluetians were on euery side shut up, by the strength & nature of the place wherein they dwelt; on the one side, with the depth and breadth of the riuer Rhene, which diuideth their Country from the Germanes; on the other side, with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they were flanked with the lake Lemanus, & the riuer Rhone, parting their territories from our Province.

Hence it happened, that being thus straightened, they could not easily enlarge themselves, or make war vpon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, being men wholly bent to Armes and war, were much grieved, as hauing too little elbow-roume for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country containing but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with these inducements, and mooued specially with the authority of Orgetorix, they resolved to make prouision of such things as were requisite for their expedition; bought great number of Carres, and horses for cariages; sowed much tillage, that they might haue plentie of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the persuing and supply of which things, they tooke 2 years to be sufficient; and in the third, enacted their setting forward by a Solemne Law, assigning Orgetorix to giue order for that which remained.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.


IF that will examine this expedition of the Heluetians, by the transmigrations and sittings of other Nations, shall find some vnexampld particularities in the course of their proceeding: for, first it hath neuer beene heard, that any people viterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted them, vnless they were driuen thervnto by a generall calamity, as were the Sueuians, who thought it great honor to suffer no man to border vpon their confines; or some

some other vniuersall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to vndertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Countrey were so multiplied, that the place was ouer-charged with multitudes of offspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to sustaine, the abounding surplus was sent out to seek new fortunes in forraigne Countries, and to possesse themselves of a resting seate; which might recompence the wants of their native Country, with a plentious reuenue of necessary supplements. And in this sort, wee read that Rome sent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Galles disburdened themselves of their superfluitie, and sent them into Asia. The Gothes came from the Ilands of the Baltick sea, & in Sulla his time, swarmed ouer Germanie: besides many other Nations, whose transmigrations are particularly described by Lazius. But amongst all these, we find none that so forsooke their Country, but there remained some behind to inhabit the same; from whence, as from a fountaine, succeeding ages might deriue the streame of that ouer-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the causes, which mooued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all such expeditions, and sending out of Colonies, to diuide themselves into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for, after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they diuided their Nobilitie with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions; & then casting lots, that part which went out to seeke new aduentures, left their lands & possessions to the rest that remained at home; and so by industrie, they supplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meanes, which the first inhabitants of the earth found out after the floud, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of scarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF that would prognosticate by the course of these seuerall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better successe, hath greater reason to foretell happinesse to these which I last spake of, then to the Heluetians; vnlesse their valour were the greater, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuie would cast vpon them: for, an action which sauoureth of necessitie (which was alwaies vnderstood in sending out a Colonie) hath a more plausible pasport amongst men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; so on the other side, they count it gaine to punish pride with shame, and to oppose themselves against the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

rgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discovereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the substance of honour, beeing alreadie of greatest power amongst the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconueniences of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, sitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes resteth it selfe in meaner places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For prooffe whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greatest Potentates of their time, beeing themselves but priuate Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howsoeuer; the opportunitie of changing their soile, was well obserued by Orgetorix, as the fittest meanes to attempt an innouation: but the successe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happinesse, wherein euery man thinketh himselfe particularly interested, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuersall extasie of ioy, will easilie admit an alteration of their State: so, if the issue be in any respect vnfortunate, no man will acknowledge himselfe faultie; but, euery one desiring to discharge his passion vpon some object, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are discovered: his death. The Heluetians continue the resolution of their expedition, and prepare themselves accordingly.

Cæsar.



Rgetorix, thereupon, undertook imploiment to the adioyning States; and first perswaded Cassicius, the sonne of Catamantales, a Sequan (whose father had for many yeeres reigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled with the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signorie of that State which his Father formerly inioyed: and in like manner, dealt with Dumnorix the Heduan, Diuitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Prouince, & verie well beloued of the

the

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and withall, gaue him his daughter in marriage: shewing them by liuely reasons, that it was an easie matter to effect their desires; for that he being sure of the soueraigntie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no question to settle them in those kingdoms, with his power and forces. Drawne on with these inducements, they gaue faith and oath each to other, hoping with the support of the soueraigntie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselves of all Gallia.

This thing beeing discovered, the Heluetians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to answer the matter in Durance: whose punishment vpon the Attaint, was to be burned alieue. Against the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes hee escaped a iudiciall hearing. The people, therevpon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate should execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, should raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead, not without suspicion (as was conceived) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Heluetians did pursue their former designe of leasing their Country: and when they thought themselves readie prepared, they set fire on all their Townes (which were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, besides priuate houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, saue that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to vndergoe all hazards: And commaunded that euery man should carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for three Months.

Moreouer also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke vnto them the Boij, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Country. There were onely two waies which gaue them passage out of their Country: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betweene the Hill Iura, & the Riuer Rhone, by which a single Carr could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Prouince, farre easier and readier; forasmuch as the riuer Rhone, running betweene the Heluetians and the * Allobroges (who were lately brought in obedience to the people of Rome) did giue passage in diuers places by Foordes.

* Sauoyens.

The utmost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Geneva; wherevnto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Heluetians; who doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to carry no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to giue them passage. Things beeing now ready for their iourney, they assigned a day when all should meete together vpon the banks of Rhone: which day was the first of the Calends of Aprill, in the Consulship of L. Piso, and A. Gabinius.

OBSERVATION.



S these prouisoies were all requisite; so nothing was omitted, which might haue furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions roused themselves out of their denues; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when

they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appease their furie. Or at the least, it behooued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their designements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betweene the hill Iura and the riuer Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-euer; their error was, that after two yeeres prouision to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the
Romane Prouince: he fortifieth the passage
betweene the hill Iura, and the
lake of Geneva.



Soone as Cæsar was aduertised, that their purpose was to passe thoroughour Prouince, he hasted to leaue the *Cittie, & posting by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneva. And inrolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneva.

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæsars arriual, they sent diuers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadors vnto him, whereof Numcius & Veredoctius were the chiefe; to giue him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his suffrance and permission.

Cæsar, well remembering how Lu. Cæsius the Consull was laine, his Armie beaten, and the souldiers put vnder the yoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men so ill affected, could forbear to offer wrongs & insolencies, if leaue were given them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as were caused

to

to be inrolled, he answered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a wall of sixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that diuideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, beeing in length nineteene miles; and disposed guarixons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happily they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadors returned, for a resolution, he utterly denied to giue any leaue to passe through the Prouince; hauing neither custome nor president from the people of Rome, to varrant him in that kind. And if they should endeaunour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get some other aduantage, as it was then of great vlc to Cæsar, and hath oftentimes been practised to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a circumspect enemy, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot easily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so inuiceth him with greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present aduantage; especially if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.


THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He request of the Heluetians seemed to deserue a facile answer; beeing in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuer Rhone: which was to passe through the Prouince, with as much speed & as little hurt as they could. But Cæsar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already past, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maiettie of the Romane Empire to be interested in the answer, beeing either to maintaine her greatnes, by resisting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as sought her ruine: which in matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to be an vnsafe course, to suffer an enemy to haue meanes of doing hurt; considering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once iniuriéd: no more that he could peradventure be content to end the quarrell vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduantage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end to an iniurious beginning.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Concerning this marvellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how serviceable such works were vnto him in all his wars; in what fort, and in how small a time they were made; I will deferre the treatise of them vntill I come to the height of Alesia, where he gaue some ground of that hyperbolicall speech: *An me deleto, non animaduvertebatis decem habere lictas quidem legiones populum Romanum, quæ non solum vobis obistere sed etiam cælum diruere possent?*

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluetians, failing to passe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæsar hasteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions: and returning, ouer-throweth part of them at the riuer Arar.

Cæsar.



He Heluetians, frustrated of their former hope, went about, some with boats coupled together, others with Flats (where of they made great store) the rest, by fords and places where the Riuer was shallowe, sometimes in the day, and oftentimes in the night, to breake out: but being beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourse of souldiers, and multitude of weapons, they desisted from that attempt.

There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take by reason of the narrownesse therof, but by the fauour of the Countrey. And forasmuch, as of themselves they were able to preuaile little therein, they sent messengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine so much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, vvhath through fauour and bountious cariage, was of great power in his Countrey, much affecting the Heluetians, by reason of his marriage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a desire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new proiects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courses. And there-upon, undertaking the business, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to passe through their Confinies; giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans should not interrupt the Heluetians in their iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Countrey.

It was told Cæsar, that the Heluetians were determined to passe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduans, on the confines of the Santons, who are not farre from the borders of the Tholians, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, he foresaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation; and such as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come so neere them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentious Countrey.

For

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to commaund those works, and he himselfe made great iourneys to get into Italy, where he inrolled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and with these few legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Caturiges, taking aduantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in seauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Vocontij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so vnto the Sabusians, that are the first beyond the Rhene, bordering vpon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans, into the Dominions of the Heduans, and began to forrage & pillage their Countrey. Who, finding themselves vnable to make resistance, sent messengers to Cæsar, to require aide; shewing their deserts to be such from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater respect, then to haue their Countrey spoiled, their children led into captiuitie, their townes assaulted and taken, as it were in the sight of the Romaine Army. At the same instant likewise, the Ambarri, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduans, aduertised Cæsar, that their Countrey was viterly wasted, and they scarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner also, the Allobroges, that had farmes and possessions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Cæsar, complaining that there was nothing left them but the soile of their Countrey.

With which aduertisements, Cæsar was so moued, that he thought it not conuenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all vvasht, and that the Heluetians were come vnto the Zantones. The riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the Rhone, passeth away with such a stilnesse, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be discerned which way the water taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians passe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæsar was aduertised by his Discoverers, that three parts of their forces were already past the water, and that the fourth was left behind on this side the riuer; about the third watch of the night he went out of the Camp with three legions, and surprising that part which was not as yet gotte ouer the riuer, slew a great part of them: the rest fled into the next woods.

This part was the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians being all parted into foure diuisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, slew L. Cassius the Consull, and put his Army vnder the Toke. So, whether it were by chance, or the prouidence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue so great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the first that did penance for the same. Wherin, Cæsar tooke reuenge, not onely of the publique, but of his particular loss; forasmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Cassius, slaine L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Piso, his father in law.

* Soane.

Zwricke.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His defeat beeing chiefly a seruice of execution, vpon such as were taken at a dangerous disadvantage, which men call vnaware, containeth these two aduises. First, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haire of his horse taile hath prouoed to be very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to overcome the whole. Secondly, it may serue for a caueat, so to transport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemy is within a reasonable march, that no part may be so seuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and separate them from themselves. The safest and most honourable way, to transport an Armie ouer a riuer, is by a bridge, placing at each end sufficient troopes of horse and foot, to defend the Armie from suddaine assaults, as they passe ouer the water; and thus went Cæsar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two severall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Concerning the circumstance of time, when Cæsar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we must vnderstand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 vatches, euery watch containing three houres: and these vatches were distinguished by severall notes and sound of Cornets or Trumpets; that by the distinction and diuersitie thereof, it might easily be knowne what watch was sounded. The charge and office of sounding the watches, belonged to the chiefest Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whose pavilion the Trumpetters attended, to be directed by his houre-glasse.

The first watch began alwaies at sunne-setting, and continued three houres (I vnderstand such houres as the night contained, beeing diuided into twelue; for, the Romaines diuided their night as well as their day into twelue equall spaces, which they called houres): the second watch continued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, &c. contained likewise three houres; the fourth was equall to the rest, and continued vntill sunne-rising. So that by this phrase *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderstand, that Cæsar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and so we must conceiue of the rest of the watches, as often as we shall find them mentioned in historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the riuer Arar: his horsemen incountred with the Heluetians, and were put to the worse.



After this ouerthrowe, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer Arar, and caried ouer his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluetian forces. The Heluetians, much daunted at his suddaine comming, that had gotte ouer the riuer in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadours vnto him, of whom Dinico was chiefe, that commaunded the Heluetians in the warre against Cæsars: who dealt with Cæsar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians, they would go into any part which Cæsar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the ouerthrowe which the people of Rome receiued by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne worth, that they had surprized at vnawares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the riuer could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and deuices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place wherein they now were, did not get a Name, or carie the marke to all future ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the utter destruction of his Army.

To this, Cæsar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these businesses, in that he well remembered and knew those things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieved thereat, because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done vnto them, it were a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his error, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & fresh iniuries? in that they had attempted to passe through the Province by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Hedvans, Ambars, & Allobrogians? that did so insolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that these iniuries were suffered so long time to rest vnuengued; came all in the end to one passe. For, the immortall Gods were wont sometimes to giue happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grievous for their offences. Howbeit, if they would giue hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed vpon, and satisfie the Hedvans and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iniuries they had done vnto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancestors, to take hostages rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses: and there-
upon

Caesar.

upon departed. The next day they remooued the Campe, and the like did Cæsar, sending all his horse before, to the number of foure thousand (which he had raised in the Province, and drawne from the Heduans, & there Associates) to vnderstand which way the Enemy tooke: vwho, prosecuting the reareward ouerhotly, were forced to vnder take the Heluetian Canallry, in a place of disadvantage; and thereby lost some few of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter, hauing with five hundred horse beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head vwith more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to sally out of the Reareward, and assault our Partie. Cæsar kept backe his men from fighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but five or sixe miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Reareward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.

His example of the Heluetians, may lesseon a Commaunder, not to waxe insolent vpon euery ouerthrowe which the enimie taketh, but duely to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an ouerthrowe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismaied at a casuall mishap.

And heerein, let a heedfull warinesse so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and ieaiousie to keep still that sweet sounding fame on foote, may as farre surpasse the indultrie which he first vsed to obtaine it, as the continuance of happinesse doth excede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, she neuer found want of that which shee lusteth after: yet when shee meeteth with a counterbasse to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as if shee had neuer receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie object which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present paiement, or returneth discontentment vnto the mind.

And, as our soule is of an euerlasting being, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning: so shee seeketh a perpetuall continuance of such things which shee lusteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeavour to maintaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and so to giue the Heluetians battell: but was put off by false intelligence. The opportunitie beeing lost, hee intendeth prouision of Corne.



In the meane time, Cæsar pressed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise: for, by reason of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre from being ripe; but also, that there was scarce forrage for the horses. And, the prouisions which were brought along the river Arar, stood him in small steed at that time, forasmuch as the Heluetians had tooke their iourney cleane from the Riuer, and that he would by no means forsake them.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out still it was vpon coming. But, when Cæsar found the matter so long delayed, & that the day of meeting out Corne to the souldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefest Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongst them, Dinitiacus and Liscus, vwho for that time were the soueraigne Magistrates (vwhich they call Vergobret, being yeerely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne from them, the Enemy being so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their sake, and at their request, he had vndertooke that warre. Whereat hee was the rather grieved, because he found himselfe forsaken of them.

At length, Liscus, moued vwith Cæsars speech, disclosed (which before hee had kept secret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being priuate persons, then they could do being Magistrates. These, by tedious and bad speeches, did deser the people from bringing Corne: shewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to vndergoe the soueraigntie of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they were not to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Heluetians, they would bereaue the Heduans of their libertie, with the rest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or vwhatsoever else is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither were they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well withall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæsar vwith these things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cæsar, perceiued that Dumnorix, Dinitiacus brother, was shot at by this speech
C.

Cæsar.

of Liscus: but, forasmuch as hee would not haue those things handled in the presence of so manie, hee speedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining Liscus, asked priuately after those things which he had deliuered in the Assembly; wherunto he spake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring secretlie of others, he found it to be true, that Dumnorix was of great courage, and singularly fauoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Desirous of nouelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impositions of the Heduans, forasmuch as no man durst cōtradict what he would haue done. By which courtes, he had increased his priuate estate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horsemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainment, and were continually about him, beeing not onely powerfull at home, but abroad also, amongst diuers of the neighbour States. And for this cause, had married his Mother to a great Rich man, and of a Noble house, in the Country of the Bituriges; himselfe had tooke a wife of the Heluetians, had matched his sister by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wished well to the Heluetians: and on the other side, hated the Romaines, and specially Cæsar, of all others; for that by their comming into Gallia, his power was weakened, and Dinitiacus his brother restored to his auncient honour and dignitie. If any miscaualtie happened to the Romaines, his hope was to obtaine the Principalltie by the fauour of the Heluetians: where-as the soueraignty of the Romaines, made him not onely despaire of the kingdome, but also of the fauour, or what other thing soeuer he now inioyed. And Cæsar had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Cavalrie was routed, came from Dumnorix, and his horsemen: for, hee commaunded those troopes which the Heduans had sent to aide Cæsar, and out of that disorder, the rest of the Cavalrie tooke a fright.

Which things beeing discovered, forasmuch as these suspicions were seconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the Heluetians through the confines of the Sequans, had caused hostages to be giuen on either side, and done all those things, not onely without varrant from the State, but without acquainting them therewith. And lastly, in that he was accused by the Magistrate of the Heduans, hee thought it cause sufficient for him to punish him, or to commaund the State to doe iustice vpon him. One thing there was which might seem to oppugne all this; the singular affection of Dinitiacus, his brother, to the people of Rome; the great loue he bare particularly to Cæsar; his loyaltie, iustice & temperancie: and therefore he feared, least his punishment might any way alienate or offend Dinitiacus sincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called Dinitiacus, and putting aside the ordinarie Interpreters; hee spake to him by M. Valerius Proculus, one of the principall men of the Province of Gallia, his familiar friend, and whom hee specially trusted in matters of importance, and tooke notice what Dumnorix had vttered in his presence, at a Councell of the Galles, shewing also what informations hee had priuately receiued concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, desired, that without any offence to him, either hee himselfe might call him in question, or the State take some course in the same.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, embracing Cæsar, with many teares besought him, not to take anie seuerer course vwith his brother; hee knew well that all those things were true, neither was there any man more grieved thereat then himselfe. For, whereas he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of Gallia, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee used those meanes as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to ruine: And yet neuer thelesse, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if Cæsar should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but would thinke, it was done vwith his priuitie, considering the place he held in his fauour; vwherevpon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and distaste of all Gallia.

As he vttered these things, with many other vwords, accompanied vwith teares, Cæsar, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such was the respect he had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgane both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which hee had iustly conceiued for the same. And therupon, called Dumnorix before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein hee had deserved much blame and reproofe; told him what hee had vnderstood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to auoide all occasions of mislike for the future, that which was past, hee had forgiven him, at Dinitiacus his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espials vpon him, to obserue his courtes; that he might be informed what hee did, and with whom hee conuersed.

The same day, vnderstanding by the Discouersers, that the Enemie was lodged vnder a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third watch of the night, hee sent away T. Labienus the Legat, vwith two legions, and those Guides that knew the way; commaunding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth watch, marched on after the Enemie, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsemen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards vwith M. Craſsus, was sent before, with the Discouersers. At the breaking of the day, when Labienus had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe was come within a mile and a halfe of the Heluetian Campe, without any notice to the Enemie, either of his or Labienus approach (as was afterwards found by the Captiues) Causidius came running as fast as his horse could driue, and told him, that the Hill which Labienus should haue taken, was held by the Galles; which hee perceiued plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the Heluetians. Whereupon, Cæsar drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions hee had from Cæsar, not to fight, vnlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diuers parts at once) when he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar understood by the Discoverers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, & that Causidius was so astonish'd with feare, that he reported to haue seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly used, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, forasmuch as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that hee was but eightene miles distant from Bibract, a great and opulent City of the Heluans, hee turned aside from the Heluctians, and made towards Bibract.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Places of advantage in the Romaine warres.



He getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruelous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not enely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their wates, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies fro all difficulties, to what extremities sooner they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of their Darts & Slings, and especially their Piles; which being a heavy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so auailable, being cast countermount or in a plaine leuell, as when the decliuitie and downefall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impresion. Neither can the shock at handy-b'owes bee anything so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the iniurie of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the fauour of the place afforded them meanes of a strong retreat, in the highest part whereof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demanded, whether the vpper ground be of like vse, in regard of our weapons: I answer, that in a skitniss of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the first volley, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needs flie at randome, and be altogether vneffectuall: but when the nose shall be raised vpper to the side of a hill, the bullet being rammed in with his owne waight, shall flie with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stoppt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shooke and encounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserue as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as sildome times it is.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

BY Causidius his demeanour, we see that verified which Phytitions affirme, that Nothing will sooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper seate, then the passion of feare: and that amongst souldiers themselves, whom custome hath made familiarly acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of sheepe into a Squadron of Corsellets, & a few canes or Officers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may serue to aduise a discreet Generall, not easily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in so perfitt a discipline, and so experienced in the seruice of three famous Chiefes, was so surpris'd with feare, that hee could not discern his friends from his enemies: but I will speake more of this passion, in the war with Ariouistus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN euery relation throughout the whole course of this historie, the first words are commonly these, *Refrumentaria comparata*; as the foundation & strength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military, but must be forced to relieue that inconuenience, with the losse of many other aduantages of great consequence. Which gaue occasion to Gaspard de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongst other Oracles of truth, wherewith his mind was maruellously enriched, often to vse this saying; that He that wil shape that beast (meaning war) must beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obserued by Cæsar, who best knew how to express the true portraiture of that beast, in due proportion & liuely resemblance.

Their manner of victualling

The order of the Romans was, at the day of measuring, to giue corne to euery particular souldier, for a certain time, which was commonly defined by circumstances: and by the measure which was giuen the, they knew the day of the next payment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a bushell a weeke, which was thought sufficient for him and his seruant: for, if they had paid the their whole stipend in money, it might haue bene wasted in vnecessary expences: but by this meanes they were sure of prouision for the time determined; & the sequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwayes with them, & made into hasty cakes, dainty enough for a souldiers mouth, by no other but themselves and their seruants. Neither could they sell it or exchange it for bread; for, Salust reckoneth this vp amongst other dishonours of the discipline corrupted, that the souldiers sold away their corne, which was giuen the by the Treasurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this manner of prouision had many speciall comodities, which are not incident to our custome of victualing: for it is impossible, that victualers

C.3.

should

should follow an Armie vpon a seruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with sufficient prouision for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend aduanrages & fittest opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered, but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall rearmes, or to found an vnwilling retreat.

And whereas the Victualers are for the most part voluntarie, respecting nothing but their gain; and the souldiers on the other side, carelesse of the morrow, and prodigall of the present: in that turbulent mar-market, where the seller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer respecteth neither the publique good, nor his private commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confusion: Where-as the Romans, by their manner of prouision, imposed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commanders, whose dutie it was to prouide store of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon euery private souldier, whom it especially concerned to see, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee wasted through negligence or prodigality: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furnished their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouision of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of haruest, the souldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threshed and cleansed to the Treasurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of payment.

But, to leaue this frugal and prouident manner of prouision, as vnpossible to be imitated by this age, let vs returne to our historie, and see how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable error, to their last ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæsar, and ouertake the *Rereward*. He imbattaileth his legions vpon the side of a hill: and giueth order for the Battaile.

Cæsar.



Hereof the Enemy beeing aduertised, by certaine fugitiues of the troope of horse; commaunded by L. E. milius, presently; whether it were that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for that the day before, hauing the aduantage of the upper ground, they refused to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouision of Corne, they altered their purpose, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cæsar perceiuing, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and sent the Candurie to sustaine

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the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midst of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old souldiers; and vpon the highest ridge thereof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled in the hither Gallia, together with the associate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and shewing the cariages in one place: which he commaunded to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the uppermost battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other side, conuaid their cariages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæsars horsemen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themselves into a Phalanx, & so pressed vnder the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Concerning the true sense of this triple battell, which Cæsar made vpon the side of the hill, I vnderstand it according to the ancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infancy of their Militarie discipline, diuided their Armie into three sorts of souldiers, *Haslari*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as no part of their standing battels; and of these they made three seuerall battels, from front to back. In the first battell were the *Haslari*, and they possessed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind these, in a convenient distance, stood the *Principes*, in like sort and order disposed, and were called *Acies secunda*: and lastly, in a like correspondent distance, were the *Triarii* imbattelled, and made *Aciem tertiam*.

Their legion consisted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euery cohort consisted of three small Companies, which they named *Manipuli*: a maniple of the *Haslari*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarii*, as I will more particularly set downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of souldiers were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and these were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vsed to this purpose: The *Haslari*, being in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themselves too weake to repell the enemy, or were happely forced to a retreat, they drew themselves through these allies or distances, which were in the second battell, betwene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the space which was betwene the *Principes* and the *Triarii*; and there they rested themselves, whilst the *Princes* tooke their place, and charged the Enemy. Or otherwise, if the Commanders found it needfull, they fild vp those distances of the *Principes*: and so, vnited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in grosse; and then, if they preuailed not, they retired into the spaces between the *Triarii*, and so they gaue the last assault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar obserued the same order and diuisions in his warres, we shall find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this triplex *Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuisi-

The manner of their imbattelling.

By triplex *Acies*.

diuision of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarij*, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary diuision, which is likewise threefold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that sense he might say to haue made *triplicem Aciem*, let him vnderstand, that the circumstances of the diuision haue no coherence with that diuision: for, in that hee saith of the Heluetians, *successerunt Aciem primam*, pressed neere the first battell or Vanguard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwise, hee would haue said, *successerunt dextrum aut sinistrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem*: for so were the partes of that diuision rearm'd. Again, in the retrait which the Heluetians made to the hill, when he saith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third opposed it selfe against the *Boij* and *Tulingi*, & stood ready at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the back; It is manifest, that no other diuision can so fitly be applied to this circumstance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the first of the Ciuill warres taketh away all scruple of controuersie, where he vseth the verie same rearmes of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia Acies*: for, beeing to incampe himselfe neere vnto Afranius, and fearing least his souldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to stand in Armes, & keepe their distance, to the end they might shroud & couer the third battell (which was imployed in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Cæsar obserued in most of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the very same order and discipline for imbattailing, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the auncient names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, which Ramus in his Militia Iulij Cæsar's, vrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are sildome vsed in these Commentaries, in the sense of their first institution: for, the *Hastati*, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The *Principes*, were the lustie and able bodied men: and the *Triarij* the eldest, and best experienced. But in Cæsar's Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betwene the *Hastati*, *Principes* or *Triarij*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies*: and therefore, were neuer rearm'd by those names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuiledge of a more worthy place, the said distinctions and rearmes were religiously obserued: for, in the battell with Petreus at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Hastato legionis quarta decima*: and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he saith, that The Eagle-bearer being grievously wounded, commended the safetie of his Ensigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, *prater principem Priorem*. And for the *Triarij*, there is no rearme more frequent in Cæsar, then *Primipilus*; which name, by the rules of the auncient discipline, but to the chiefeft Centurion of the first maniple of the *Triarij*: whereby it appeareth, that the mani-

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ples kept the same names in regard of a necessary distinction, although peraduenture the *Hastati* were as good souldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarij*.

As touching the spaces betwene the maniples, whereinto the first battaile did retire it selfe if occasion vrged them, I neuer found any mention of them in Cæsar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmish the Brittaines so vrged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæsar sent out two other Cohorts to succour them; who making distance betwene them as they stood, the court of guard retired it selfe in safetie, through that space into the Campe: otherwise, we neuer find that the first battell made any retreat into the allies, betwene the maniples of the second battell; but when it failed in any part, the second and third went presently to second them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouistus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vse of this triple battell, what can be said more then Lipsius hath done? where he laieth open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a speculative iudgement can discern of things so far remote from the vse of this age, which neuer imitateth this triple battell, but onely in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vanguard, a battell, and a reeward: but in imbattelling, they draw these three Companies all in front, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to second them. But let this suffice concerning Cæsar his manner of imbattelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the second booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their small battallions.

Lib. 5. de militiâ Romanâ

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Macedonian Phalanx, is described by Polybius, to bee a square battell of Pikemen, consisting of sixteene in flanke, and five hundred in front; the souldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the first ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the rest, whose pikes were not seruiceable, by reason of their distance from the front, couched them vpon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them in together in file, pressed forward, to hold vp the sway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and so to make the assault more violent and vnersistible.

A Phalanx described.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and disposition in imbattelling: for they maintained publicke professors, whom they called *Tactici*, to teach & instruct their youth the practise and Art of all formes conuenient for that purpose. And these *Tactici*, found by experience, that sixteene in flanke, so ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any shock, how violent so-euer it charged vpon them: which number of sixteene, they made to consist of foure doubles: as first vnite maketh no order, for order consisteth in number & pluralitie; but vnite doubled, maketh two, the least of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled againe,

Lib. 1. de bello Ciuili.

Lib. 3. de bello Ciuili.

again, maketh the second order, of foure souldiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they staid, as in an absolute number and square, whose roote is foure the Quaduple, in regard of both the extremes; for euery one of these places, the *Tactici* had severall names, by which they were distinctly knowne. But the particular description requireth a larger discourse, then can be comprehended in these short obseruations. Hee that desireth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that liued in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his historie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he shall haue the diuisions of *Tetraphalangia* *diphalangia*, *Phalangia* vnto a vnite, with all the discipline of the Grecians. The chiefeft thing to be obserued, is, that the Grecians, hauing such skil in imbatelling, preferred a Phalanx before all other formes whatsoever; either because the figure in it selfe was very strong: or otherwise, in regard that it fitted best their weapons, which were long pikes and targets. But, whether Cæsar learned the battell of the Heluetians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbatailing onely, or otherwise, forasmuch as besides the forme, they vsed the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtful. Brancatio, in his discourses vpon this place, maketh it no cōtrouersie, but that euery souldier caried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this historie: but it cannot so easily be gathered by the same, that their offensive weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is said, that manie of the legionarie souldiers were wounded through the cart-wheeles, with *tragulas* and *materas*, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Iaulcins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts; but whether they were so long as the Sarissas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howsoeuer; this is certaine, that the Heluetians haue ever been reputed for the true *Phalangita*, next vnto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and close imbatailing, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for, they rooed it so thick with targets, that Cæsar saith they were sore troubled, because manie of their targets were fastened and tied together, with piles dard through the. Which argueth, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatsoever their weapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar sendeth away al the horses of ease, exhorteth his men; and beginneth the battell.



Cæsar, to take away all hope of safety by flight, first caused his own & then all the private horses of ease to be caried out of sight; and so using some motives of courage, began the battell. The souldiers casting their Piles with the aduantage of the hill, did easily breake the Heluetians Phalanx, & then with their swords besook themselves to a furious close.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He ancient Sages found it necessary, to a faithfull and serious execution of such an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all scruple out of their conceits, either of the vnlawfulnessse of the cause, or disaduantage against the Enemie: for, if at any time that saying be true, that *Oratio plus potest quam pecunia*, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donatiue or liberanca, can but procure a mercenarie indeauour, euer yielding to a better offer, and doe oftentimes breed a suspicion of wrong, euen amongst those that are willingly enriched with them; and so maketh them slack to discharge their seruice with loyaltie: yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inasmuch as speech discloseth the secrets of the soule, and discouereth the intent and drift of euery action, a few good words laying open the iniurie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and iustice controlled by iniquitie (for, it is necessary that a Cōmander approue his Cause, and settle an opinion of right in the mind of his souldiers, as it is easie to make that seeme probable which so many offer to defend with their blood; when indeed euery man relieth vpon anothers knowledge, and respecteth nothing lesse the right) a few good words I say, will so stirre vp their minds in the feruentness of the cause, that euery man will take himselfe particularly ingaged in the action by the title of Equitie; and the rather, for that it impeteth with the necessity of their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-doing agreeth with that they would doe: otherwise, the Act may formerly be effected, but the mind neuer approoueth it by assent.

And this manner of exhortation or speech of encouragement, was neuer omitted by Cæsar in any conflict mentioned in this historie: but hee still vsed it as a necessary instrument to set vertue on foote, and the onely meane to stir vp alacritie. Or if it happened that his men were at any time discouraged by disaster or crosse accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes he had at Dyrrachium; he neuer would aduenture to giue battell, vntill he had encouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and resolution. But this age hath put on so scornfull a humor, that it cannot heare a speech in this key, found it neuer so grauely, without scoffing and derision: and on the other side discontinuance of so necessarie a part, hath bred at length such an *inutilem pudorem* in our chiefe Commanders, that they had rather lose the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuered in publike.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



N this Chapter we may further obserue the violence of the Romane pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be frustrated with any resistance, and in that respect was very proper and effectuell against a Phalanx, or any other thicke and close battell, or where-

Speeches of
incourage-
ment before
they gaue
battell.

Lib. 7. de bel-
lo Gallico.

The Romane
Pile descri-
bed.

wherefoever elle, the stroke was certaine, or could hardly deceive the aime of the caster: for, in such encounters, it so galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor answer the assault with a resisting counterbuffe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie against the Pile was, to make the ranks thinn; allowing to euery souldiour a large poudisme or place to stand in, that so the stroke might of it selfe fall without hurt, or by fore-sight bee prevented; as it shall plainly appeare by the sequell of this historie, which I will not omit to note, as the places shal offer themselves to the examination of this discourse.

But as touching the Pile, which is so often mentioned in the Romaine historie, Polybius describeth it in this maner; A Pile, saith he, is a casting weapon, the staffe whereof is almost three cubites long, and it hath *palmareum diametrum*, a hand breadth in thickness. The staues were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the staffe it selfe: But in that sort, that halfe the head was fastened vp to the middle of the staffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert; and the other halfe stucke out at the end of the staffe, like a pike, containing a fingers breadth in thickness, and so decreasing lesse and lesse, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was so slender toward the point, that the waight of the staffe would bend it as it stucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varro noteth of *Pilum* a Pestell, *quod Hostes ferret ut pilum*. Lipsius, finding that *Palmareum diametrum*, was too great a thickness to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the staffe were either round or square, for they had of both sorts, and so hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing answerable to the description, giuen by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Lib. 3. de mil-
lita Romana

Lib. 5.

Patricius, in his Parallell, maketh the staffe to haue *palmareum diametrum* in the butte end, but the rest of the staffe he maketh to decrease taper-wise, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thickness of a mans finger; and so it answereth both in forme and waight to a Pestell, as may be seene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place setteth downe foure discommodities of the Pile. First, a furious and hot spirited enemy will easily prevent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and speedy close: And so wee read, that in the battell which Cæsar had with Ariouistus, the Germanes came so violently vpon them, that the souldiers cast away their piles, and betooke them to their swords. And likewise, in that woorthy battell betweene Cateline and Marcus Petreius, they cast away their piles on either part. The second discommoditie was, that the piles being so heauie, could not be cast any distance; but were onely seruicable at hand. Thirdly, they could not be cast with any aime, or as they say, point blanke. And lastly, the souldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might easily disorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

Salust.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He last thing which I obserue in this specialitie, is, that the legionarie souldiers had no other offensive weapon, but one pile or two at the most, and their swords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blowes; for, they came alwaies so neere before they cast their pile, that they left themselves no more time then might conueniently serue them to draw their swords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, besides a large target which they carried on their left arme, suffer them to make any long pursuit, or continued chase, whensoever a light armed enemy did make any speedie retreat; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a Hill: the Romans follow after, and the battell is continued.

(. . .)



It was a great hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that manie of their Targets were strooke through, and tied together with one fall of a pile: for, so it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reason of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they use their left hand for the defence of themselves. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a vwearisome toile) did cast away their targets, and fought naked, and vnarmed. At length, fainting with wounds, they began to giue place, and retreated to a Hill a mile off.

Cæsar.

The Hill being taken, and the Legions following on to driue them fro thence, the Boij and Tulingi, to the number of fiftieene thousand, being in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, setting on our men, as they were in pursuit of the rest, did charge them vpon the open side, and beganne to inclose them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiuing, beganne againe to fall vpon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines diuiding themselves, turned their Ensignes two waies; the first and second Armit fought against the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that stood ready to inclose them about. And beere the fight was doubtfull and furious for a long time; vntill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionarie souldiers: and so one part betooke themselves as at the first, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

D.

And

And hitherto there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the seauenth houre vntill the euening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

*The Ensignes
of the Ro-
manes.*



Concerning the Ensignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderstand that the chiefe Ensigne of euery Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the said Legion. The Ensigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dragon, a Woole or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (besides the testimonie of historie) by the Columne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Ensignes are figured, with such purtraitures: so that these Ensignes, resembling the proportions of liuing creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this history, by the aspect and carying of the Ensignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is said, that the Ensignes of the first and second battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retreat; & the Ensignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the *Boij* and *Tulingi*, which stood on the foote of the hill. By which is signified, how the legions were diuided to resist the brunt of the double encounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

*The diuision
of thei. day.*



Concerning the time of the day: wee are to vnderstand, that the Romaines vsed not the same diuision of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the space betweene sunne rising and setting) into twelue equall parts, which the Astronomers called vnequall or planetarie houres. The first houre of the day beganne alwaies at sunne rising; the sixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was sunne setting. And, as the day waxed longer or shorter, so these houres were either greater or lesse: neither did they agree with equall or equinoctiall houres, such as are now vsed, but onely at the *Aequinoctium*: so that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora septima ad vesperum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we must vnderstand, throughout this whole historie, as often as there is mention made of the circumstance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the carriages: but at length they left the field, and marched towards Langiers.

(··)



In like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the carriages, vntill it was farre in the night; the place being fortified with Cartes in steed of a Rampier: and the Enemy casting their vveapons from the upper ground, and with darts and laurelins, vnder the vvaggons, and from between the wheelles, did wound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our souldiers tooke their carriages and their Campe: vvherein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes vvere taken. There vvore saued out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; vvho marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the souldiers hurts, and the buriall of the slaine, vvherein there was spent three daies, there vvwas no pursuit made after them.

Cæsar.

Langres.

OBSERVATION.



If we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right sense of the historie shall direct our iudgement, wee shall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather superlatiuely abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country, to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the riuer *Arar*; nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæsar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for fise houres space or more, there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemy, was vnresistable. For, being cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre surpass any other forme of imbattelling (supposing that the conueniencie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into smaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular souldiers are by a close & compact order incorporated into one entire body: so their seuerall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force; which easily swaloweth vp the ability of many other lesser quan-

D 2.

fer quan-

quantities, into which a greater strength is equally diuided.

The aduantage of the place which they got by retrain, & the double charge wherewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent conflict, to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their side: or at the least, so to haue steemed the swelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines so violently in the chase, that they might haue beene equall sharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whose course could not be hindered with any stops and oppositions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled resolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not so allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and cost much bloud and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that spirit and industrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouenthrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the riuier Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the lesse to be maruelled at, considering they had no chiefe Commaunder as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require especiall care in passing ouer a water; for, then especially, an Armie is in greatest danger, when it is disordered and diuided. And therefore the Romaines atchiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Comaunder: who alwaies watched *opportunitates rei bene gerende*, as necessary and speedy meanes to ouercome in all his warres.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar, after three daies respite, followeth after the
Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and
sendeth them backe againe to the
Countrie.

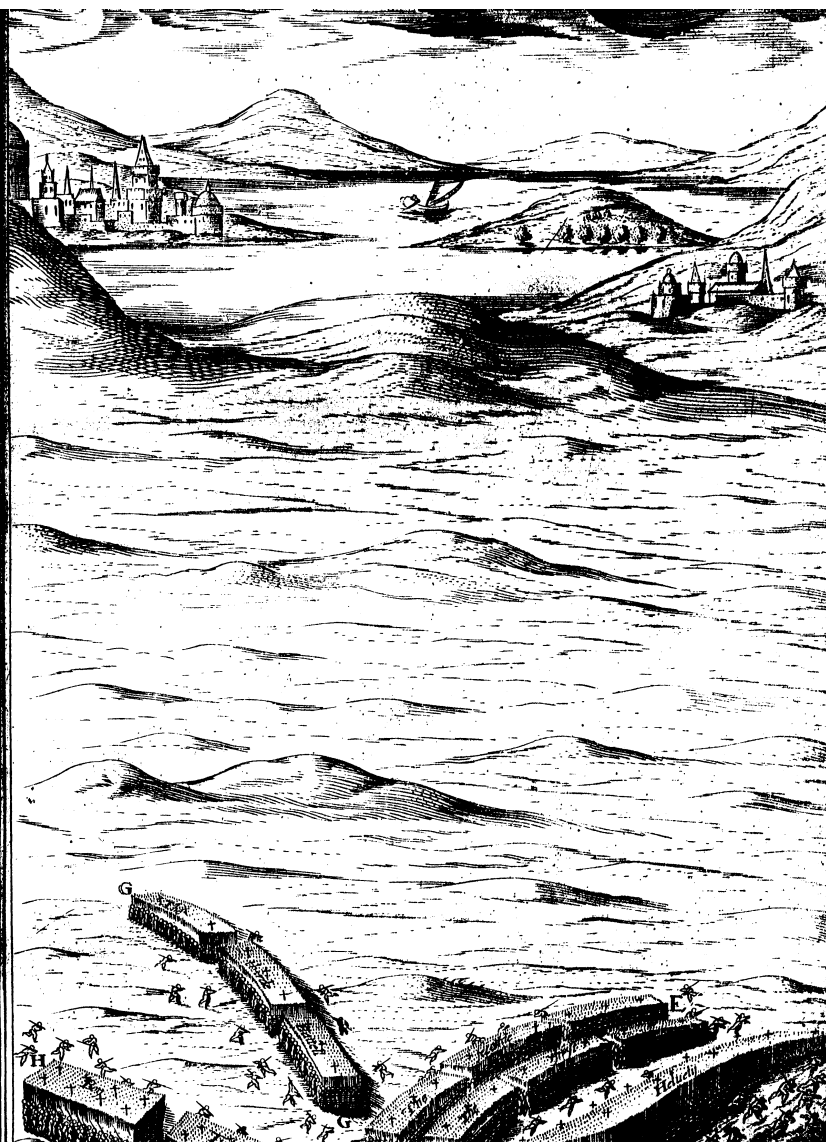
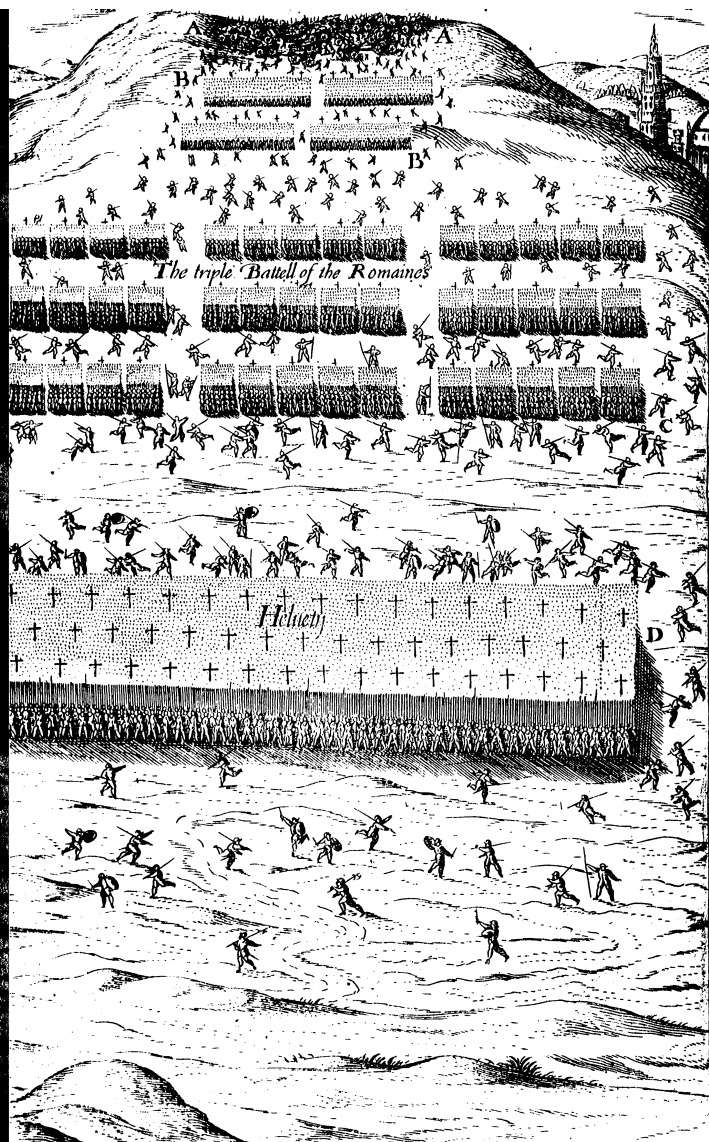
Cæsar.



Cæsar sent Letters and Messengers to the Lingones, forbidding to supply them, either with Corne, or any other thing; which if they did, hee would esteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himselfe, after three daies respite, followed after with all his forces. The Heluetians, pressed with the want of all necessarie provisions, sent Commissioners vnto him, to treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the way, cast themselves at his feete; and with humble words and teares, desired Peace. Being commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obaied. Cæsar, being come vp vnto them, required hostages, together with their Armes and seruants; as also the fugitiues that were fledde vnto them.

While

Periculū semper
ab hostibus gra-
uissimū sustinet
diuisus & inor-
dinatus exerci-
tus.



While those things were sought out, and brought, in the night time, six thousand men or thereabouts, of the Canton, called Verbigenes, whether moved through feare of being executed, after their Armes were given up, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that amongst such a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight should not be missed, or at least would be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leave the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germaines.

Cesar, understanding through whose territories they passed, commaunded them to seeke them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blamelesse in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the next, after Hostages, Armes and fugitiues were ginen in, hee receiued to mercie; and commaunded the Heluetians, Tulinges, and Latobriges, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And forasmuch, as hauing lost all their provision of Corne, there remained nothing at home to satisfie hunger, hee gaue order to the Allobroges to supply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to reedifie their Townes and Citties, that they had before destroied & forsaken. Which he did specially for this cause; that the Germaines inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be inuited with the richnesse of that soile, to seate themselves so neer neighbours to the Province of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boij, at the mediation of the Heduians, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gaue lands and possessions, and reueined them into the same liberties and immunities, as they themselves inioyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a List, or Register, writ in Greeke, and brought to Cesar, containing by pole, the whole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like maner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolled apart by themselves. The summary wherof was, that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 thousand, the Tulinges, to 36 thousand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boij to 32. Of these there were that bare Armes, 192 thousand. The totall of all, were 368 thousand. A view being taken by Casars appointment, of those that returned home, there were found 110 thousand.

OBSERVATION.



He directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very found, and of good consequence. For first, in that he commanded them to attend his coming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might haue caused, by the opportunity of some accident which might haue happened: assuring himselfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and consequently ripen that desire of peace which they made shew of; considering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, durst not for feare of Casars displeasure, furnish them with any necessaries in that extremitie. Touching the securitie, which the Romaines required, of the loyaltie of such people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hostages, a sufficient number of the men

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS.

children of the chiefeſt men of that Nation: whoſe liues depended vpon their rents fidelitie, and ended with the firſt ſuſpicion of their rebellion. Which ſtone, beſides the preſent good, promiſed the like or better ſecuritie to the ſtate; when as thoſe children by conuerſation and acquaintance ſhould be affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their ſions might rather tend to the aduancement thereof, then any way be preiudiciall to the ſame. And, leaſt the loue of libertie and freedome, ſhould preſſe more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and inſtruments of their rebellion, by cauſing them to deliuer vp ſuch Armes & weapons as were there preſent: and ſo to become ſutable to that petition of peace which they had made.

The ſumme of all is this; he corrected the inſolencie of ſo furious people, and reduced them to a feeling of their owne madneſſe. He kept them from ſacking the poſſeſſions of many thouſands, in the Continent of Gallia; and ſent them backe againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they firſt abided; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we ſee, that there is no ſcourge ſo head-ſtrong, nor ſo backt with ſtrength of circumſtances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the inſolencie thereof, and make it ſubject to correction and controulement.

CHAP. XII.

the States of Gallia congratulate Cæſars victorie: they call a councell, and diſcouer their inward griefe, concerning Ariouſtus and his forces.

THe Heluetian warre beeing thus ended, the Princes and chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, came to Cæſar, to congratulate the happineſſe of this victorie; inſomuch as they well vnderſtood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the courſe of this warre reuenged the iniuries which heere-to-fore they had done vnto them: yet neuertheleſſe, the iſſue thereof did redound no leſſe profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; forasmuch as the Heluetians, their houſes and Country, abounding with all plenty and proſperitie, for no other purpoſe, but to inuade the whole Country of Gallia; & to bring it in ſubiection to themſelues; and, chuſing out of that large Continent, ſome ſitte, and ſteadfull place of habitation, to make the reſt of the States their Tributaries: required further, that with his good leaue they might call a generall aſſembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, forasmuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they deſired (with a common conſent)

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31.

to preſerre to his conſideration. Which beeing graunted, and the day of meeting appointed, they bound themſelues by oath, not to reueale the cauſes of their aſſembly, but ſo ſuch as ſhould be deſigned by common Councell.

The Parleament beeing broken vp, the ſame Princes returned to Cæſar, and deſired that they might in ſecret treat with him, of the ſafety of themſelues, & all the reſt: which beeing granted, caſt themſelues in lamentable manner at his feete, contending with as great earneſtneſſe, that thoſe things which they deliuered, might not be reuealed, as they did to haue their petition graunted: forasmuch as they ſaw, that the diſcouerie of ſuch declarations as they propounded, would neceſſarily pull vpon them moſt grieuous afflictions.

Dinitiacus the Heduan, in the name of the reſt, deliuered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of the other. Theſe two States, contending many yeeres for the principallitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germanes to take their part; of whom, at firſt, there paſſed ouer the Rhene ſome fiſteene thouſand: but afterwards, theſe barbarous people, hauing taſted the plenty & ciuilitie of the Galles, drew ouer many more, that now there were no leſſe then one hundred & twentie thouſand. With theſe, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought; but the ſucceſſe ſorted to their owne calamitie, & the vtter overthrowe of their Nobilitie and Senate: with which loſſes, they were ſo broken and decayed, that where-as heere-to-fore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people of Rome, they ſtrooke a great ſtroake throughout all Gallia, they were now driuen to deliuer the chiefeſt of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to bind themſelues by oath, neuer to ſeek their releaſe or freedome, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to ſeek meanes to free themſelues from their ſouerainity; onely himſelfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to giue his children as hoſtages: for which cauſe he fled to Rome, and beſought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hoſtages.

But it ſo fell out, that the victorie became more grieuous to the Sequans then to the Heduans; for that Ariouſtus, king of the Germanes, was planted in their territories: and beeing already poſſeſſed of a third part of their Country, which was the beſt part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for that a few months before, there were come vnto him twentie-four thouſand Harudes, to whom lands and poſſeſſions were to be allotted. Whereby it would come to paſſe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles would be driuen out of their dwellings, and all the Germanes would come ouer the Rhene; for, there was no compariſon betweene Gallia and Germanie, either in richneſſe of ſoile or faſhion of life.

Concerning Ariouſtus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neere Amagetobrig, he caried himſelfe very cruelly, and inſolently, requiring the children of all the Nobility for hoſtages, & ſhewing ſtrange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing were done, not according to his command or deſire, hee would eaſily ſhew himſelfe to be a barbarous, fierce and haſty man; whoſe tyrannie they could no longer indure: and unleſſe there were help to be found in Cæſar

and

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

the people of Rome, all the Gallies must as the Helueticans did, forsake their country, and seeke new houses, and seats of habitation, farre remote from the maines, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If these things should pely be discovered to Ariouistus, he would doublelesse take a seuerer vengeance of the pledges in his custodie. Cæsar might by his owne authority, or the presence of his Armie, or by the renowne of his late victory, or by the countenance of the people of Rome, keepe the Germanes from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speech being deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were present, with much weeping besought Cæsar to geue them reliefe.

Cæsar obserued, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others were; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournfully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To which they made no reply, but stood silent, with the same countenance of sorrow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word in answer; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was therein more miserable and grieuous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in secret: as hauing before their eyes the crueltie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And he rather, for that other men had safe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, hauing receiued Ariouistus into their Country, and made him Maister of their townes, were necessarily to vndergoe all miseries.

These things being knowne, Cæsar encouraged the Gallies with good words, and promised them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his meanes and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And thereupon dismissed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN this relation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the discretion of such, as are willing to bee directed by other mens misaduentures. As first, into what extremities ambition doth driue her thirsty fauourites, by suppressing the better faculties of the soule, and setting such vnbridled motions on foote, as carry men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserued commendation in either faction, so to haue carried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & strength applied to the rule of good gouernment, their authoritie might wholly haue swaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in forraigne forces, to satisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a stranger a tickler in a quarrell which ciuill dissension hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance vpon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Lastly, the often discontentes of these

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the States shew the force of a present euill, which possesseth so vehemently the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to come, how great soeuer, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present grieffe inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a sauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselves vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vsurping crueltie of the Germanes. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affections, and so it preuaileth at the seate of our iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that moued Cæsar to vndertake this warre.



Any were the inducements which moued him to take that businesse to hart; As first, that the Heduanes, who were oftentimes stiled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cousins and Allies, were in the seruitude and thralldome of the Germanes, and that their hostages were with Ariouistus and the Sequans: which in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale: as also, for that hee saw it very dangerous for the Romaine Empire, that the Germanes should accustom, by little and little, to flocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; being diuided from the Prouince but with the riuer Rhone.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to preuent: and the rather, for that Ariouistus was growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For which respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadors vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for that he had to treat with him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.



May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; considering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leaue of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did

The authoritie of the Roman Generals.

ndertake a warre of that consequence, and put in ieopardie the Legions, the Prouince, or what other interest the Romans had in Gallia.

Wherein we are to vnderstand, that when the state of Rome did allotte the gouernment of any Prouince to a Proconsull, they did likewise recommend to him, the carefull managing of such accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For; considering that such causes as may trouble a well ordered gouernment, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and ended within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to small purpose, to haue given him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of wholesome gouernment at home; and no meanes to take away such oppositions, which forraigne accident might set vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar vnderooke the Helitian warre, in regard of the safetie of the Prouince: and this againe with Apulstus, least the Germans should multiply in Gallia, that the Prouince it self might at length bee endangered. Neither had their Generals authoritie wholly to vndertake these warres: but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulare, compound, or what els they thought conuenient for the aduancement of the Common-weale, did wholly rest vpon their direction; *republice bene gesta*, beeing the stile of the warre for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerful in the course of businesse, as that which absolutely commaundeth without controlement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of time and occasion, further then either prescription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whensoever the Romaine affaires were distressed, and driven to exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam potestatem*, such an absolute commaund, that whatsoever power rested either in the Consuls, or in the tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatnesse of that magistrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that course, which nothing but an absolute commaund could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute gouernment, they attributed such power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted vpon dissolute and vnfortunate Leaders, they seemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumspect soeuer, could promise more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre forth as his eanes and industry could archiue it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the ease of his gallant sonne, and opposing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquitie, saith: *Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem vnquam atrociorum fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent, quam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite amissum ob rem male gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse.* The people, saith he, in whom the soueraigne power of things consisteth, neuer shewed eater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or skilfulnesse, then imposing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a General in question for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day.

The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwise

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in regard of Militarie discipline: for, prescription guided them in all their seruices, and the chiefe part of their ducie was obedience; although they saw euident reason to the contrarie, and found their directions vnperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæsar saith vpon that occasion: *Alia sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad prescriptum, alter liberè ad summam rerum consulere debet.* The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, differeth from that of a Generall: the one doing all things by prescription; & the other freely deliberating of whatsoever may concerne the cause. And this course the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals.

Lib. 3. de bello Civili.

CHAP. XIII.

Ariouistus his answer: a second Embassage,
with the successe thereof.

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That Embassage, Ariouistus answered; That if his occasions had required Cæsars assistance, he would haue furthered them with his owne presence: and hee thought it as reasonable, that if it were in his meanes to pleasure the Romans, Cæsar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durst not come into those parts of Gallia which Cæsar possessed, without an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he most wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæsar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, which the law of Armes had made his inheritance.

Caesar.

Vpon the returne of this answer, Cæsar framed a second Embassage; the purport whereof was: Forasmuch as he thus required the honour wherewith the people of Rome had beautified his best dignity (for, in Cæsars Consulship, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchsafed to esteeme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend vnto their State) & that he disdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the common good; let him knowe, that these were the things that he required to be performed by him: First, that hee should not suffer any more troopes of Germanes to be transported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondlie, that hee should deliuer vp those Hostages which hee had of the Hedunians and Sequans; & should cease to molest them further with war or other iniuries. These things if he did performe, Cæsar would assure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwise, forasmuch as in the Consulships of M. Messala, and L. Piso, the Senate had decreed, That he that should obtaine the gouernment of the Prouince, should as neere as it would stand with the good of the Common-weale, indeauour the defence of their Associates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the iniuries done vnto the Hedunians.

To these Mandates, Ariouistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongst

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ong it all Nations; That a Conquerour might gouerne a subaied people, according as he thought best for his owne safetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the course of their gouernment, by another mans prescript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Hedvans, hauing tried the fortune of warre, were by right become his stipendiaries; wherein Cæsar offered great wrong, for that his coming thither, had made their tribute much lesse vnto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retaine them. Neither would hee make any vniuersall warre vpon any of their Associates, if they obserued the Articles of agreement, and paid their yeerely tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romanes would come too late to their succour. If Cæsar would needs undertake their quarrell; Hee was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Ariouistus, but to his owne destruction. Try when he would, he should find what colour consisted in the Germanes, that for foureteene yeeres space, were neuer ouercome with other rooſe then the Hedvans.

OBSERVATION.



And thus farre proceeded Cæsar with Ariouistus, in debating the wrongs and agriouances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to morall ciuilitie, in tearmes of mildnesse and pleasing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainnesse of the project, then suited with words fitte for perswasion. or, that which Ariouistus alledged, to make good his interest in Gallia, was consonant to reason, as any thing to the contrary urged by Cæsar.

But as the Lacedæmonian said of one, That hee spake the truth otherwise then it should be spoken: so it may be said of Ariouistus answer, that it wanted that sweetening humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it selfe; forasmuch as it proceedeth from a well tempered spirit, wherein no turbulent passion seeketh to cōtroll the force of reason, nor hinder the sentence of true iudgement; but rather, lessening her conceptions with humilitie, doth couertly complaine of open wrong, and strengthen her assertions with a pleasing deliuerie. And therefore, how great soeuer the controuersie be, that partie which exceedeth the boundes of modestie, but maketh mildnesse his chiefeſt aduocate, will preuaile in any audiorie, that albeit equitie doth disallow her title; yet the manner of his cariage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vseth the quells of innocencie, to proue his interest in that which he demandeth. But I leaue this circumstance, as onely to be noted, lets proceed to the warre it selfe, which I made the second part of this historie.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XV.

The Treuiri bring newes of one hundred townships of the Sweni, that were come to the Rhene. Cæsar taketh in Belanſon: his souldiers are surprisied with an extreame feare of the Germanes.



The same time, as this answer was returned to Cæsar, there came likewise Embassadors from the Hedvans and Treuirs. The Hedvans complained, that the Harudes, lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Arionistus, without giuing of Hostages for their allegiance. The Treuirs brought newes of one hundred townships of the Sweni, that were come to the river Rhene, to seeke a passage into Gallia, conducted by Nasua and Cimberius, two brethren. Whereat, Cæsar being exceedingly moued, thought his best meanes of prevention to consist in celeritie, least the difficulty of resisting should growe greater, when those new forces of the Sweni, were ioyned with the power which was already with Arionistus. And therefore, hauing provided Corne, hee made haste to seeke the Germanes. And hauing gone three daies iourney on his way, he had intelligence, that Arionistus, with all his forces, was gone to take in Belanſon, the greatest towne of the Sequans; and that hee was three daies iourney on his way already.

Cæsar, knowing how much it imported him to prevent that disadvantage (forasmuch as the Towne abounded with all necessarie provisions for warre, and was so sited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleasure: being incircled with the river Alauabis; excepting a small space of sixe hundred foote, which was fortified with an exceeding high Hill, the foote whereof did at each end ioine vnto the River, and the Hill strengthened with a wall, and so ioyned to the towne) made all the haste hee could to take the towne, and there left a guarizon. And as hee rested there a few daies, to make provision of Corne, and other necessities, the Romanes inquiring of the Gallies and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germanes; understood that they were men of a huge stature, of courage invincible, and of great practice and experience in feates of Armes; whereof the Gallies had oftentimes made triall: For, when they encountered them, they were not able to indure so much as the sternenesse of their countenance, or the fiercenesse of their looks. The whole Armie conceiued such a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne first among the Tribunes and Commanders of horse, and such others as for friendship sake followed Cæsar from Rome, & had small or no skill in matter of war. These men, faining some one excuse, & some another, of very earnest business, which called the home, desired leave to depart. Some others, who shame would not suffer to forsake the Campe, bewraied the like

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affliction in their countenances & hauiour: for, hiding themselves in their Tents, they either bewailed their destinie secretly to themselves, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into, so that throughout the whole Campe, there was nothing but mourning and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and fearefulness of these men, the old souldiers and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wherewith they were amazed: and those that would seeme to be lesse fearefull, said, they feared not the enemy, but the narrownesse of the waies, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were betwene them and Arionisus; or otherwise they cast doubts vvhether they might haue prouision of Corne. And many stuck not to tell Cæsar, that whensoever he should giue commaundement to march forward, or aduance the Standarts, the souldiers would refuse to doe it.

OBSERVATION.

WHerein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth vvisually breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to insitt vpon the qualitie of the accident, and to gather such breefe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amazement of horreur, and mitigate the frensie of so violent a passion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promise any such learning; as may discouer the true meanes and secret motions, whereby a fore conceived feare doth trouble the senses, and astonish the mind; yet sith the history offereth it to our scanning, giue me leaue onely to note the strangenesse of the circumstance, and rudely to delineate the portraiture of a beast oftener seene then wel knowne, vsing the vniuersall pile for my pensile, and suting my speech to a warlike audiorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the senses receiue intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either dispossesse the soule of this earthly mansion, or trouble the quiet wherewith shee resteth; the spirits (as it seemeth) by the direction of their soueraigne Mistresse, retire themselves into the inner cabinets and secreter pauillions of the body, where the chiefest part of the soule is most resident: & so they leaue the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and vnguardized, the better to strengthen that capitall Cittie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, but to the vtter ruine and destruction of the whole bodie. For, feare is not onelie a perturbation of the soule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of some euill to come: but it is also a contraction, and closing vp of the hart, when the blood and the spirits are recalled from the outward partes, to assist that place which giueth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and confusion of humours and spirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwise require an ordinate distinction in their seruice, and by the order of nature, should bee disposed into seuerall instruments, and be dilated throughout the bodie)

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body) are thus blended confusedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which presently rise from these aduertisements, are suddenly choaked vvith the disordered mixture of so many seuerall properties, and are stifled as it were in the throng, before they can be transported to our iudgement, or examined by reason, for want of that ordinate vniformitie of place which nature requirith in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazednesse and astonishment, which so daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this passion, that because the soule giueth no counsell, the body can afford no motion, but standeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benumbed in sense, and forsaken of the spirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was strooken with such an excesse of feare, that hee could not berake himselfe to flight (*Adeo paor etiam auxilia formidat*) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders shaking him by the shoullder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep sleep, threatned him with present death, if he would not preuent the ruine of the Empire, by vsing that meanes which was onely left for his safetie.

Againe, if in that turbulent consistory, the spirits chance distinctly to receiue any apprehension proceeding from the forging facultie of the soule, they carie it presently to execution, before it be examined by reason, and follow the action with such vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reknowledgegement. And this is the cause, that oftentimes through extremitie of feare, to auoid one euill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vse to auoid a lesse; because reason did not first trie the apprehension, before it was deliuered to externall Agents. And so we find in the battell betwene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two grosse troopes of souldiers were driuen into such an extasie of feare, that taking contrarie courses to auoid one and the same danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduised by each others flight, that the places which they sought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reason be called to counsell, when a parlee is summoned of composition, yet it beareth so small a sway in the consultation, that the will of it selfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and so to purchase peace, with the losse of the soules chiefest treasure: which ought euer to bee estimated at a higher rate, then any other happinesse which can betide the mind. For among all the sensible things of this world, there is no creature that hath such a confused feare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is: neither is there any miserie greater, or any bondage more shamefull, seruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeeme the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth shame follow after so base a part, and aggravate the burthen of the sinne with lothsome disgrace, and penient discontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuouser then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yieldeth to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it selfe vpon it selfe, & bringeth more perill then the first danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: so, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, rise oftentimes of loue, so is ioy lessened with griefe, enuie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, forasmuch as all such perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconsideratenesse, whereby we thinke that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs consider what disposition of our iudgement, best moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the passages, whereby the soule receiueh her aduertisements, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefest whereof are the eye and the eare: so are their auislos different in qualitie, and require a severall consideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which commeth by the way of hearing; forasmuch as the eye is a witnesse it selfe of euery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceived in her proper object: and therefore, the iudgement is not much troubled, to determine definitiue how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeis the eare in like manner bee not deceived in her proper object; for it faithfully giueth vp that sense, which sound hath deliuered vnto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to coine her vaine conceptions, in regard of the absence of the action, it is necessaric, that the discoursing facultie, bee called for an assistant, before the iudgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies answere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not stick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselues are tuned. And therefore, this first commeth to be considered of in all such violent commotions, by which of these two senses the first intelligence was receiued. But concerning the iudgement it selfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the soule. And againe, the purer the iudgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further interessed therein, then to hold a resolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falsehood, good or euill that is in things.

To redresse this inconuenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to her former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a vsurping passion, which had so troubled the gouernment of the soule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warinesse, but not to choake valour with beauly cowardice: for, these Oratorie inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their discipline; considering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (beeing the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to those actions, which the severitie of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must winne the soules consent: according to that saying; *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar his speech to the Armie, concerning
this feare.

Cæsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of warre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders soeuer, vnto the same: And, beeing thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitiue, as to imagine to himselfe, whither, and vpon what seruice they were caried. Concerning Arionistus, he had in the time of Cæsars Consulshippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome: and why then should any man misdeeme, that he should so vnadvisedly goe back from his dutie? For his owne part, he was verily perswaded, that if Arionistus once knew his demaunds, & vnderstood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reiect his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so madde, as to make warre vpon them, why should they feare him? or why should they despair, either of their own prowess, or of Cæsars diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enimie that they were to incounter, had bene tried what he could doe twice before: first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquished by Marius, at what time the Army merited no lesse honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondmen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and discipline they had learned of the Romanes. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant & resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, being naked and vnarmed, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerers withall) they nobly overcame. And to be short, these were no other Germanes, then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but also euen at home at their own doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man were moued at the flight and overthrowe of the Gallies, vpon inquirie he should find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Arionistus had for many monthes together kept himselfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly set vpon them as they were dispersed, and so overcame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place against sauage and vnskillfull people, yet was not Arionistus so simple, as to thinke that hee could insnare our Armies with the like subtilties. As for those that fained the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of provision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had vnderooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe euery where in the fields: and what the waies were, should shortly be seene.

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Where-as it was giuen out, that the souldiers would not obey his Mandates, nor aduance their Standarts, he little valued it; for, he was well assured, that if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be unfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for that he was notoriously convicted of Auarice: but the whole course of his life, should witnesse his innocence; and the ouerthrowe of the Heluctians, his happinesse. And therefore, that which he was minded to haue put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would dislodge frō thence: that without further delay, he might vnderstand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, would preuaile more vwith them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspicion, and would take them as a guard to his person. Cæsar had chiefly fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it bredde in euery one a great alacritie and desire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to giue him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; assuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre. And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions of the first Orders, to giue Cæsar satisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gave any censure of the issue of that warre, but alwaies left it to the wisdom of the Generall.

Their satisfaction being taken, and a view being made of the waies by Dinutiacus (whom, of all the Galles, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compass of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaigne Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie instructions, which deserue examination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinarie number admitted to the Councell; *Omnium ordinum ad id concilium adhibitis Centurionibus*: Where-as there were usually no more admitted to their councell of warre, but the Legates, Questor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I vnderstand to be the first *Hastate*, the first *Princeps*, and the first *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifestly proued out of the first Commentarie, where Cicero was besieged by Ambiorix: in which, amongst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulsius, and Varenus; betweene whom, there was euery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: *& iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, saith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF he first motiue which he vseth to recall their exiled iudgement, discovered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie government, they had presumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what seruice they were cared; which in the rigour of Camp-policie, could not passe without due punishment: for, what can more contradict the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to suffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit? or weighed in the balance of such false iudgments? especially, when those weake Censors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the desigine: for, then, euery man will sure the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindness, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehension of profit; or disadvantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better president then Nature hath prescribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of absolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discern the things they look vpon; but yield themselues to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: so ought a multitude to submit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Capitaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the losse of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publique good. For, if euery man should prescribe; who should obey? *Tametsi quædam milites, quam scire oportet*, saith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder: and againe, *Parendo potius quam imperia ducum sciscitando, res militares continentur*. Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a souldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consisteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN the reason which he vseth to proue their disparitie of valour, in regard of the Romans, being superiour to the Heluctians, that had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee strengtheneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and saith, that the Heluctians had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluctians dwelt themselves, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enemy were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vknowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, furnamed Africanus, when they sat in councell how to ridde their Country of that subtle Carthaginian, that for sixteene yeeres space, had fretted like a canker the beautie of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, sacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrowne their Armies, slaine their Consuls, and threatned their imperiall Citie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africa,

Whether men
haue greater
courage in
their owne or
in a strangers
Country.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

rick, thought it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they attempted other mens possessions: when peace was established in Italy, then let war be set on foote in Africk; and first let them be without feare themselves, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemy. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hanniball, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a forer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdom.

Scipio, on the other side, caried on with the honour of so glorious an enterprise, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authoritie: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusan king, beeing a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginian from Cicily, by transporting his forces into Africk: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppressor, could there bee a present example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betweene the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne native Country wasted with sword and destruction: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti*. For, he that invadeth anothers kingdom, easily discovereth both the aduantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-vpon he resteth. And amongst the variable euents of war, many unexpected occasions arise, which present victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances so alter the course of things, that no foresight can discern what may happen.

With these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & woorthy Captaines, whose minds (as it seemed) were intangled with such particular affections for the present, as might rather draw them to wrest reason to their owne humour, then to determine in sinceritie of iudgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarietie of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or disadvantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely set down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rise in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimonie of an vnfallible truth beeing grounded vpon the properties of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victorie, and hope conceiuech such spirits as vsually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and resolute in victorie: so on the other side, disadvantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controulleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield vp their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but dissidence and irresolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that setteth vp an enemy in a strange country, and so preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giueth life vnto action, and seeketh his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leauing when he list, and proce-

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proceeding as farre forth as hee shall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the strife & controuersie is not for his native Country, which he quietly enioyeth, & is referred at all times to entertaine him, howsoeuer Fortune shall fauour his designes: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirsteth after; wherein, so far as much as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, besides the honour which is achieved thereby, euery mans valour soareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increased, without any trouble or disturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince shall be assaulted in his owne kingdom, and in the sight of his subiects haue his land consumed with ruine and destruction; the danger will so disturbe the powers of the soule, that through the turbulent disorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will lose their prerogative of aduising how the enemy may best resisted; when as euery man shall apprehend the terrour of the danger, and few or none conceiue the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the presence of such things as are dearest to his soule, as the pietie and respect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are sufficient to raise valour to the highest point of resolution; yet the motives are of such weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as vn sufficient to maintaine so great a cause, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: so far as much as the terrour and feare of so great a danger, will present a greater measure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them ioy.


Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that seeketh to maintaine that estate which he hath in possession by force of Armes; and another, that seeketh to increase his meanes by valour. For, the former is presented with the danger of losing all his estate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the aduantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaseth his valour, without any losse or disadvantage, if hee chance to bee put to the worst. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already lost his goods, and is by that meanes become desperate, hauing nothing further to lose; and another, that yet keepeth his substance, but is in danger to lose it: for, feare will so dismay his mind, that he will rather distrust his owne abilitie, then entertaine a resolution of valour.

To proue this, wee neede not seeke other examples, then those imperiall Citties, in whose cause this controuersie was first mooued. For, when Hanniball was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Consull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into such an extasie of terrour, that they believed verily, that the enemy was then comming to assault the City; neither had they any hope or aide in themselves, to keep or defend the same. On the other side, Scipio was no sooner landed in Africk, but there was such a tumult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had bene already taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Atinie in Italie had confirmed for sixteene yeeres together, preuaile in the apprehension of so im-

minent

nent a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens possessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all speed they sent for Hanniball out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be considered) I take it much better for a Prince to invade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdom.


THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

 He last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peradventure as faultie as any other: wherein he shewed great Art and singular Wisdom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conscience, and vpbraided with the reproache of men, can hardly be persuaded that his fault can be purged with any satisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; but still remaineth, to cast dishonour vpon the offender, and to accuse him of disloyaltie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an error beeing once rashlie committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grievous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere scelus luendum est*; or maintaineth his error by wilfull obstinacie: as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Caue, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so bale a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus expressed, *ingrediendo cæcus, exiendo protervus*. This did Cæsar wisely preuent, by clearing the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inasmuch as they were witnesses to themselves of a common error: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, resolved to shew as great alacrity in the sequell of the warre, and to deferue more then the iudgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellows.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.

 He seauenth day, as hee continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was within twentie foure miles of that place: who as soone as he understood of Cæsars coming, sent Embassadours vnto him; Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some what neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content

tent to admit of a parlee. Cæsar refused not the offer; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, what he had formerly denied at Cæsars request: and thereby was in good hope, that vnderstanding what was required, he would in the end, consider of the many fauours he had receiued from the people of Rome, and desist from such wilful courses.

The first day following was appointed for the Treatie. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betweene them. Ariouistus required, that Cæsar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumuented by treacherie; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie should come onely with their Cavalrie: otherwise he would not giue meeting.

Cæsar, not vvoling to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himselfe in trust to the French horse, thought it most conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) vpon their horses: that if he stood in need, he might haue a faithful guard of his friends about him. Wherevpon, one of the souldiers said prettily, that Cæsar had doone more for them then he had promised; for, hee had said before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now he had inrolled them all for horsemen.

There was a great and open Plaine, and in the midst thereof a rising Mount, which was almost in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes: and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion which Cæsar had brought with him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred paces from the said Mount: and likewise the horsemen of Ariouistus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horseback, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Cæsar beganne his speech with a commemoration of the fauours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee was by their authoritie, intituled by the name of a King and a Friend: & ther vpon, had receiued great gifts. Which fauour fell but vnto a few; and was by the Romaines giuen onely to men of great desert: Whereas hee, without anie occasion of access vnto them, or other iust cause on his behalfe, had obtained those honours, through his curtesie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee shewed him further, what ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them so firme to the Hedunians: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Hedunians had held the principalitie of Gallia; and that, long before they were in amitie with the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this custome, not onely to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates should not lose any thing of their proper; but also, that they might increase in dignitie and reputation: and therefore, who could indure to see that forced from them, which they quietly possessed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of such things, which he had formerly giuen in charge to his Embassadours; that hee should not make warre, either vpon the Hedunians, or their Associates. That he should restore their hostages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germanes backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet he should forbear to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus

Ariouistus made little answer to Cæsars demands, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come over the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the Gallies; that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in Gallia, were given him by themselves; their hostages were voluntarily delivered unto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was such, as Conquerours might lay upon the vanquished; he made no war upon the Gallies, but the Gallies made warre upon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight against him, and had put themselves into the field; whose forces were in one battell all dispersed and overthrowne. If they were desirous to make another trial, he was ready to undertake them: but if they would have peace, it were an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid untill that time. He expected that the Amicitie of the people of Rome, should be rather an honor and a safety, then a losse unto him, and that he had sought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due unto him should be retracted, hee would as willingly refuse their friendship as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germans into Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, then of any purpose to subdue the Country; as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but upon intreatie, & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neither had the people of Rome before that time, carried their Army beyond the bounds of their Province: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Province of Gallia, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to command in our quarters; so it was not fitting, that they should disturb his government.

In that hee alleadged, the Hedunns were by decree of Senate adopted into the amitie of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or unacquainted with the course of things, as to be ignorant, that in the last warre of the Allobroges, they were aiding and assisting to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Hedunns had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner assisting unto them. Whereupon he had good occasion to suspect, that Cæsar, under pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallia for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to slay him, hee should performe a very acceptable service to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well understood by Letters and Messengers he had received from them, whose favour and amity hee should purchase, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leave him the free possession of Gallia, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what war sooner hee desired to be undertaken, should be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were spoken by Cæsar, to shew why he could not desist from that course; for, neither was it his use, nor the custome of the people of Rome, to forsake their well-deserving Associates: neither could he think, that Gallia did rather belong to Ariouistus then the Romans. The Aruerns and Rutenes, were in due course of war subdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: who the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Province, or made them stipendiaries. And if antiquitie

tiquitie were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime to that Country: but, so far as the intention and will of the Senate was, they should remaine a free people, they were suffered to be governed by their owne lawes, and left unto themselves, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilst these things were treated of in parlee, it was told Cæsar, that Ariouistus horsemen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that assailing our men, they assaulted them with stones and other weapons: whereupon he brake off, and betooke himselfe to his Party, commanding them not to cast a weapon at the enemy. For, albeit hee well perceived, hee might without perill of that clefſt legion, give battell to his Cavalry; yet he thought fit to refraine, least it should be said, hee had intrapped them with a parlee, contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar souldiours, how arrogantly Ariouistus had carried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of Gallia, and that their Cavalry had assaulted our men, and that thereupon the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed with a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Ariouistus sent Messengers to Cæsar, signifying, that he desired to treat with him, concerning those things which were left unfinished; & therupon willed him to appoint another day of meeting; or if hee liked not that, to send some unto him with authority, to conclude of such things as should be found expedient. Cæsar was unwilling to give any further meeting; & the rather, for that the day before, the Germanes could not be restrained from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might safely expose the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send unto him M. Valerius Proculus, the sonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous young man, & well bred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flaccus: which hee did, the rather in regard of his singular integrity, & his perfectnes in the French tongue, which Ariouistus through long continuance had learned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he sent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Ariouistus; with instruction to heare what was said, and to make report thereof to Cæsar. Whom, as soone as Ariouistus saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demanding wherefore they came thither? and whether they were not sent as Spies? And as they were about to make answer, hee cutte them off, and commanded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remooved his Campe, and lodged himselfe under a hill, sixe miles from Cæsar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Cæsars Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond him; of purpose to cut off all such corne and convoies, as should be sent to the Romaines by the Hedunns and Sequans. From that day forward, by the space of five daies together, Cæsar imbattelled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Ariouistus had a mind to give battell, hee might doe it when he would. But Ariouistus all this while, kept his Army within his Campe, and daile sent out his horsemen to skirmish with the Romaines.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germans had practised: there were 6000 horsemen, & as many strong and nimble footmen, whom the horsemen had

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selected out of the whole host, every man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand with them in battell, and vnto these they resorted for succour. If the horsemen were ouer-charged, these euer slept in to helpe them. If any one were wounded or vnhorfed, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to aduenture forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their swiftnesse was such (through continuall exercise) that hanging on the horse-mane by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

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IT may seeme strange vnto the souldiours of our time, that the footmen should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disadvantage to themselves; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succour the horsemen in any danger, or annoy the enemy: and therefore some haue imagined, that these footmen in the encounter, cast themselves into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, assisted the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly euince that these footmen were mingled indifferently amongst the horsemen, to assist euery particular man, as his fortune and occasion required: and therefore, the choise of these footmen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose seruice they were to be imployed; that euery man might take his friend, in whom he reposed greatest confidence. When they were ouercharged, these slept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhorfed, he had his footman ready to assist him: and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddenly to retire vpon aduantage, they staid themselves vpon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & so ran as fast as the horsemen could go. Which seruices, they could not possibly haue performed, without confusion & disorder, if the footmen had not severally attended vpon the, according to the affection specified in their particular election.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germanes, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen vpon any necessitie, nor so much regarding their seruice vpon the enemy, as the assistance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practised the same Arte, to a more effectuall purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to resist, but to defeat far greater troopes of horse, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuius, in the second Punic warre, at the siege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fuluius the Consul: where it is said, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; so their caualrie was alwaies put to the worst: & therefore they inuented this meanes, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choicest young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apeece in stead of their other weapons; these souldiers practiced to ride behind the horsemen,

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men, and speedilie to light from the hories at a watch-word giuen, and so to charge the Encmie on foote. And when by exercise they were made so expert, that the nouelty of the inuention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to incounter with the enemy, euery man carying his foot souldiour behind him; who at the encounter suddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with such a furie; that they followed them in slaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, saith Liuius, grew the first institution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nauius, a Centurion, and was honourable rewarded by Fuluius the Consul, for the same.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurth, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualrie of the associates, *ut quacunq; inuaderent equitatus hostium propulserent*. The like practice was vsed by Cæsar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Civil war; sauing that in stead of the Velites, he mingled with his horsemen, 400 of the lustiest of his legionarie souldiers, to resist the caualrie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the river Genusum, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachium: *qui tantum proficere*, saith the text; *Vt equestri praelio commisso, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipsique incolumes ad agmen se reciperent*. Many other places might be recited; but these are sufficient to proue, that the greatest Captaines of auncient times, strengthened their caualrie with footmen disperfed amongst them. The Romaine horsemen, saith Polibius, at the first, caried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vsed the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong launce or staffe, and three or foure darts in a quiver, with a buckler, and a long sword by their right side. The vse of their launce was most effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meanes to intermingle foot-men: but when they vsed their dartes, euery man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carabines for the most part do, & so the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the foot-men to serue among them. But, howsoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meanes to defeat their horse, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuius, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for seruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to shew the same effect against strangers, and Numidian horsemen.

In the Consulships of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volsci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines reuered two thousand of their men to giue a fresh assault vpon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: vvhich tooke such effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Cornet were forced to retreat. Vvhich the Romaine horsemen (being in number six hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

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Lib. 3.

De bello Africano.

enemy; they presently forooke their horses, and made hattle to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselves so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke themselves againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chase as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with, and vsed the same Arte as the Germanes did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa & deiecta est de colle*. And, as they sometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the rereward of the Armie, according to the maner of the Numidian fight; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad vnum terga vertebant*. So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the rereward, and placed his legions there, *ita vim hostium per legionarium militem commodius sustinebat*. And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatum Labieni immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissimè contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire cæperunt*. I alleage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falsifying, or wresting any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefly the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistable weapon) and the terrour of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Cavalrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Balista*, *Catapulta* and *Tolennones*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine: so what force focuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoueable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it raketh more or lesse strength, according to the violence which it performeth; as hee that lieth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heavier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heavier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by making two Campes.



When Cæsar perceived that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peradventure he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuoes of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germanes aboad; about six hundred pases from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither, in three battells, commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenchment. Notwithstanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: which beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other foure legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemy: but perceiuing that Ariouistus would not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuaid his Armie into their severall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus sent part of his forces to assault the lesser Campe. The encounter continued very sharp on both parts, untill the euening; and at sunne-setting, after many wounds giuen and taken, Ariouistus conuaid his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæsar made inquirie of the Captiues, what the reason was that Ariouistus refused battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germanes had a custome, that the women should by casting of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germanes could not get the victorie, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ifst, we may obserue what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans obserued, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it afforded their owne troops, it serued for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themselves, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other aduantages, all auerring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendū esse hostē*:

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commanders of such forces as serue the States, in the vniuersall Prouinces of Belgia; whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine the vse of the spade, & to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatsoever, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the second place wee may obserue, that there was no Nation so barbarous (for, I vnderstand the Germanes to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, beeing in a Climate so neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vse in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally intrahled; and forge prophesies and diuinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might best serue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæsar let slippe the occasion of making vse of this their religion: for, vnderstanding by their prisoners, that their diuinations forbade them to fight before the new Moone, he vsed all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of mischieuing, might preiudice their resolution to returne Conquerers. Which may serue to prooue, that a superstitious people are subiect to many inconueniences, which industry or Fortune may discouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, beeing General of some forces, which Ferdinand king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obserued how the Ilanders worshipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipse that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnlesse they would furnish him with such necessaries as he wanted for the time, the vrrath of their God should quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright shining face into obscuritie and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, strooken with a superstitious feare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might assit their enemies, to depopulate and over-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to giue them battell,
and the Germans dispose themselves
thereunto.



He next day, Cæsar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie souldiers was small, in respect of the multitude of the Germanes, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew, before the lesser Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then at length, vvere the Germanes constrained to bring out their power, setting euerie Tribe and people by themselves, in like distance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusians and Suenians) and inuironing their vvhole Army with Cartes and cariage, that there might be no hope at all left to saue any man by flight. And in these they placed their vvhomen, that they by their out-stretched hands and teares, moouing pittie, might implore the souldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliuer them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines.

Cæsar, assigned to euery legion a Legat and a Questor, that euery man might haue an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell with the right Cornet, forasmuch as he perceiued that part of Ariouistus Armie to be the vweakest.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, euen from the infancie of their state, were euere zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desired to behold with the eye, to what measure of vertue euery man had attained; that the tongue with greater seruencie of spirit, might found out the celebration of *Maske* virtue; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisdom; considering that the most pretious things that are, lose much much of their worth, if they be not suted with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeth much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselves without such assistance. For, how small is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleasing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all these, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprinted in the diuersitie

litie of creatures concurring to perfection, and especially in morall actions, in whose carriage there is a far greater exactnesse of correspondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requisite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæsar in all his batells; amongst the rest, that at Aleſia is particularlie noted in this manner, *Quod in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque recte aut turpiter factum celari poterat, utroque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominie ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Liuie would expresse how valiantly an action was caried, hee saith no more but *in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur*: which is as much to say, that forasmuch as the Romaines were diligent obseruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; euery man bent his whole indeauour to deserue the good opinion of his Generall, by discharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyalty and faithfulness of spirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the first was called *Acies recta*, when neither the corners nor the battell was aduanced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a straight front; and this was their most vsuall manner of im-

battailing. The second forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the corners was aduanced neerer vnto the enemy then the rest, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right corner: for the right corner of an Army had great aduantage against the left of the enemies, in regard of their vveapons and furniture. But Cæsar did it in this place, because he perceived that the enemy was weakest in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakest part of an enemy, is in the beginning to be charged with the strength of an Armie: for, so fauourable are mens iudgements to that which is already happened, that the sequell of euery action, dependeth for the most part vpon the beginning. *Dimidiū facti qui bene capit habet*, saith a Poet: and not without great reason, so forcible continually is the beginning, and so connexed to the sequell by the nature of a precedent cause, that the end must needs erre from the common course, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes disastrous & vn-luckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foresee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooued him with the best of his Army to assault the weakest part of the enemy.

The third forme of the front, is called *Sinuata*, when both the corners are aduanced forward, and the battell standeth backward off from the enemy, after the fashion of a halfe moone. Scipio vsed it in Spaine, hauing obserued some

daies

daies before, that the enemy continually so disposed of the battell, that his best souldiers were alwaies in the midst; and therefore Scipio put all his old souldiours in the corners, and brought them out first to charge vpon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the controuersie, before the other that were in the midst could come to fight.

The last forme is called *gibbosa*, or *gibbera Acies*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two corners lag behind. This forme did Hannibal vse in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two corners with the best of his souldiers, and placed his weakest in the midst, that the Romaines following the retreat of the battell, which was easily repeld, might bee inclosed on each side with the two corners.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.



He signe of the battell being there vpon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other side, returned so speedy a counterbuffe, that the legions had no time to cast their piles, and in that regard, made haste to betake themselves to their swords: But the Germanes, according to their manner, putting themselves into a Phalanx, receiued the force of their swords. In the battell, there were many legionary souldiours seene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull up with their hands, the targets that couered it, and so to wound and kill those that were underneath: and so the left Corner of the enemy was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

Now, while the right Corner was thus busied, the left Corner was overcharged with an unequal multitude of the Germanes: which young Crassus the Generall of the horse no sooner perceived (hauing more scope and libertie then any of the Commanders that were in the battell) hee sent tertiam Aciem, the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellowes that were in danger; by means whereof, the fight was renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, vntill they came to the Rhene, which was about five miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them saued themselves by swimming: others found some boate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting vpon a little Barke tied to the shore, recovered the other side, & so saued himselfe: the rest, were all slaine by the horsemen. Ariouistus had two wiues: one a Swenian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the sister of King Voccion, sent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and married there: both these perished in that fight. His two daughters likewise being there, one was slaine, and the other taken.

As Cæsar pursued the Germane horsemen, it was his chaunce to light vpon Valerius Procillus, as he was drawne up and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it selfe; beeing

Cæsar.

so fortunate to recover his familiar friend, and a man of sort in the Prouince, whom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither would Fortune by the losse of him, abate any thing of so great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three severall times cast lots, whether he should be burned alive; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought unto him. The fame of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Swenians that were come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: whom the inhabitants neere vpon that riuer pursued, finding them terrified and distracted, and slew a great number of them.

Cæsar, hauing thus ended two great vvarres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their wintering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the yeere required: and leauing Labienus to commaund them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

This Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to vnderstand it to bee so teamed, by reason of the close and compact imbatailing, rather then in any other respect: and it resembled much a *testudo*, as I said of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I obserue, that Cæsar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the substance: which was, to haue *primam, secundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* should beginne the battell, and the second should come fresh and asist them: or peradventure if the enemy were many and strong, the first and second battell were ioyned together, and so charged vpon the enemy with greater furie and violence; but at all adventures, the third battell was euer in *subsidio*, as they teamed it, to succour any part that should be overcharged: which was a thing of much consequence, and of great wisdom. For, if wee either respect the encouragement of the souldiours, or the casualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to haue a second and a third succour, to giue strength to the fainting weaknesse of their men, and to repaire the disadvantage which any accident should cast vpon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie stood doubtfull which of the two parties should honour, these alwaies stept in, beeing fresh, against wearie & overlaboured spirits, and so drew victorie in despite of casualtie, vnto themselves.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning vse of lottes, it shall not be amisse to looke into the nature of them; beeing in former times so generall, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest affaires, by the sentence of lots. As wee may not refuse for an vn- doubted

doubted truth, that which Salomon saith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are cast into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Iosua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apostles to consecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whose blindness in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to senselesse superstition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether these, I say, were perswaded that there was any supernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of destinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

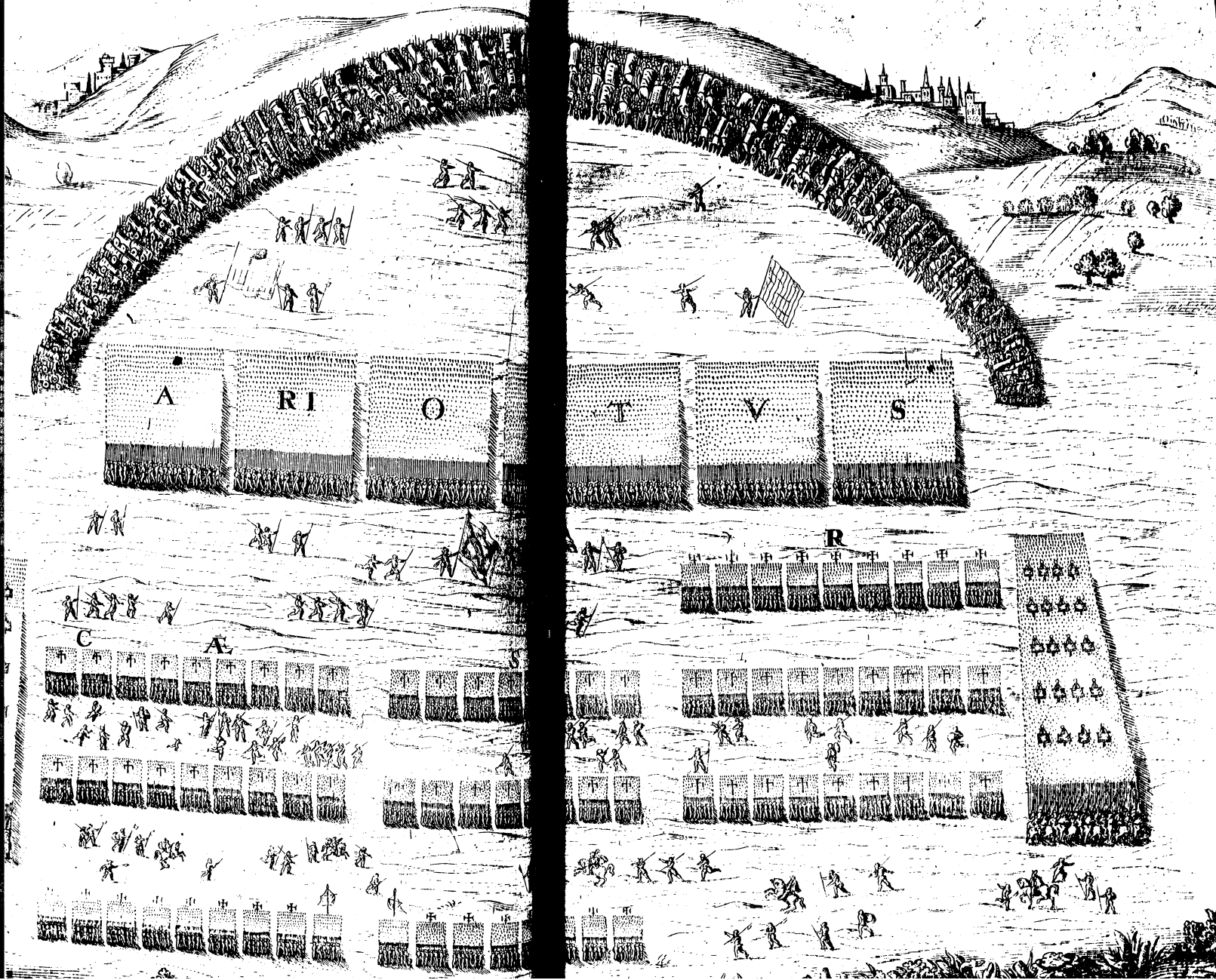
Aristotle, the wisest of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent casual, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reason of man could assigne no cause, or (as he saith) which hath no cause. So that whatsoever happened in any action, besides the intent of the agent and workman, was teamed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certaintie and definite cause, were necessarily produced; and therefore could not be casual, or subiect to the inconstancie of chance. And because many and sundry such chances daily happened, which like *terra filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reason, by the appearance of an efficient cause, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and soueraigne Motor, of all such v unexpected euents: that is, they made nothing else the Gouvernesse, and directresse of many things. Which afterward grew to such credit amongst men, that it surpassed in dignity all naturall causes, and was deified with celestial honour, as the Poet saith: *Nos te facimus Fortuna deam cæloque locamus*. By the prouidence of this blind Goddesse, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all casual actions directed, and especially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleasure and decree: neither could their direction be assigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the euent could not haue beene called *Sors*, but must haue been reputed in the order of necessarie effects, whereof discourse of reason acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cause. Whereby we see vpon how weake an axletree, the greatest motions of the godlesse world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncertaintie, for the *intelligentia*, that governed their reuolutions. All heerein all sorts of men (although in diuers respects) rested as well contented, as if an Oracle had spoken vnto them, and reuealed the mysteries of fatall destinie.

Rome directed the maine course of her government, by the fortune of this mocke destinie: For, although their Consuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleased their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and suted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Consull was feuerally to manage, was shared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waste their territories, the lots assigned this Consull for the government of the City; and the other to commaund the legions, and to manage the war.

If forces were to be sent into diuers Prouinces, & against ſeueral enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could giue to either Conſull his taſke: but their peculiar charges were authoriſed by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the ſanctifying of the Capiroll after a pollution, *Sors omnia verſat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithſtanding the weake foundation of this praſtiſe in their Theologie and deepeſt diuinity) we may not thinke but theſe ſkilfull Architects of that abſolute government, where in vertue ioyned with true wiſedome, to make an vnexampled patterne: we may not thinke, I ſay, but they foreſaw the manifold danger, which in the courſe of common actions could no otherway be preuented, but by the uſe of lots. For, when things are equally leuelled betwene diuers objects, and runne with indifferencie to equall ſtations, there muſt be ſome controlling power, to draw the current towards one Coaſt, and to appropriate it vnto one chanell, that the order of Nature bee not inuerſed, nor a well eſtabliſhed government diſturbed: So the ſtate of Rome, caſting many things with equall charge vpon her two ſoueraigne Magiſtrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meanes could there be inuented, to intereſſe the one in that office, and to diſcharge the other, then to appoint an Arbitr, whoſe decree exceeded humane reaſon? Of which, it could not bee ſaid why it was ſo, but that it was ſo: for, if the wiſedome of the Senate had been called to counſell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might eaſily haue burſt out into ciuill diſcord, conſidering the often contentions betwene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the conſtant mutabilitie of euerie mans priuate affections neceſſarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reaſon indiſcernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and caſt the other lower then would haue well beſeemed his vertues; and therefore to cut off theſe, with many other inconueniences, they inuented lots; vvhich without either reaſon or will, might decide ſuch controuerſies.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers reſpected the ground and reaſon of an ordinance, ſo the commoditie were great, and the uſe important to the good of the State: for, as they ſaw the thing it ſelfe to be caſuall, ſo they ſaw that caſuall things are ſometimes more neceſſarie, then demonſtratiue conſolutions: neither ought the nature, and ſpeculative conſideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flouriſh. And thus endeth the firſt Commentarie of Cæſar his warre in Gallia.

THE



THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

LIke as when a heavy bodie lyeth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantity, although it couer but a small parcell of the whole surface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable measure of that waight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one totality, feele the same suppression which hath really seased but vpon their fellow part. In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furthest skirt of that triple continent, seemed to repine at that heavy burthen, which the Romaine Empire had laide vpon the Prouince, the Hedui, and other states of that kingdome. And least it might in time be further remoued and laide directly vpon their shoulders, they thought it expedient whilest they felte it but by participation to gather their seuerall forces into one head, and trie whether they could free their neighbour nations from so greuous a yoke; or at the least keepe it frō comming any neerer vnto themselves. And this is the Argument of this second booke, which deuideth it selfe into two partes: the first containing the warres betweene Cæsar and all the states of Belgia vnited together: the secōd recording the battailes which he made with some of the states thereof in particular, as time and occasion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar hasteth to his army, marcheth towards the confines of the Belgæ, & taketh in the men of Rheims.



TH E report of this confederacie being brought vnto Cæsar, whilest he wintred beyond the Alpes, as wel by letters from Labienus, as by the common hearesay of the worlde: hee leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and sent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia, and as soone as there was any forrage in the fieldes he himselfe came to the armie. At his arriuall, vnderstanding by the Senones & the rest of the

Cæsar.

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the

the Gallies that bordered upon the Belgæ (to whom he gave in charge to learne what was done amongst them,) that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiers, and gathering their forces into one heade: he thought it not safe to make any further delay, but having made provision of corne, he drew out his army from their wintering camps, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. As soone as he was come thither, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the uttermost of the Belgæ, next adjoining to the Celts, thought it best to entertaine a peaceable resolution, and sent Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the chiefe men of their state, unto Cæsar, to submit themselves and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romaine Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsel of the Belgæ, and of their conspiracie against the Romaines. For proofe whereof they were ready to give hostages, to receive them into their towns, and to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in neede of. That the rest of the Belgæ were al in armes, and the Germans on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succour: yea their madnesse was so great, that they themselves were not able to hold backe the Sueffones from that attempt, being their brethren and kinsmen in blood, and using the same lawes and customes as they did, having both one magistrat and one forme of government; but they would needs support the same quarrel which the rest of the Belgæ had undertaken.

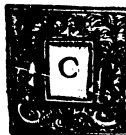
THE OBSERVATION.



Might heere take occasion to speake somewhat of a particular reuolt in a generall cause; and howe a confederate state may in regarde of their owne safetie forsake a common quarrell, or whatsoeuer the vniuersall societie hath enacted prejudiciall to their common weale: but that I onely intende to discouer warlike practises, leauing these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater iudgement and better experience. Onlie I obserue in the behalfe of the Romaine government, that such cities as yielded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treasury (howsoeuer they were otherwise combined by confederacy) seldome or neuer repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that state, and of the due respect obserued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.



Cæsar inquiring of the Ambassadors which came frõ Rheimes what the states were that had taken armes, and what they were able to do in matter of war: found the Belgæ to be descended from the Germans; who passing ouer the Rhene time out of minde, droue away the Gallies and seated themselves in their possessions: and that these only of al the Gallies kept the Cimbri and Teutoni frõ entering into their

their country: and in that regard they challenge to themselves great authoritie, & vaunted much in their feats of armes. Concerning their number they had these aduertisements; the^a Bellouaci exceeded all the Belgæ in prowesse, authoritie, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The^b Sueffones inhabiting a large and fertile country, and hauing 12. walled towns, promised to set out 50000. The^c Nervij as many; the^d Attrebatij 15000. the^e Ambiani 10000, the Velocassij, and^f Veromandui as many; the^g Morini 25000. the Menapij 7000. the Calesani 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the^h Eburones, Condrusones, and others 40000. Cæsar encouraging the men of Rheimes to persist their faithfulness to the Romaine Empire, hee pouldred unto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commanded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their noble mens sonnes to be given up for hostages, which they diligently performed by a day appointed. And hauing receiued two especiall aduertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemy; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood: hee provided for the first by perswading Diuitiacus the Heduan, that it much imported the whole course of those busineses, to keepe asunder the powre of the enemy; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might auoide the danger of incountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easilie be brought to passe, if the Hedui would enter with a strong power into the marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their territories with sword and confusion, which Diuitiacus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement which presented unto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, he resolved not to be too hasty in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could do, and what his own men durst doe.

THE OBSERVATION.



His rule of making triall of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent and graue commanders, as the surest principle whereon the true iudgment of the euent may be grounded. For if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde *non putabam* was neuer heard out of a wife mā's mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions, it ought especiallie to be regarded in managing these main points, whereon the state of kingdomes and empires dependeth. For vnlesse we be persuaded that blind chance directeth the course of this worlde with an vn certaine confusion, and that no foresight can swaie the balance of our hap into either part of our fortune; I see no reason why we should not by al meanes indeuor to grounde our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our proceedings to that certainty which riseth from the things themselves. And this is the rather to be vrged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceived when they look no further then to match an enemy with equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot

^a The country about Beau-
noir.
^b The country about Soissons
^c The people about Turnai
^d Arras.
^e Amiens.
^f Vermandois.
^g Terwene
^h Leige.
296000. in al.

discerne the difference betweene two champions of like presence and outward carriage, vnlesse it see their strength compared together and waied as it were in the scale of triall: which Cæsar omitted not diligently to obserue, before he would aduenture the hazard of battell. For besides his owne satisfaction, it gaue great encouragement to his men, when they sawe themselves able to counter-march an enemy, and knew their taske to be subiect to their strength: Neither did he obserue it onely at this instant, but throughout the whole course of his actions; for we finde that he neuer encountered any enemy, but with sufficient power, either in number or in valour to make head against them: which equality of strength, being first laide as a sure foundation, howed his owne industrie and skill, and the discipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouer-throw his aduersarie: and so drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himselfe, and seldome failed in any of his battels.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth his Armie ouer the riuer *Axona,
leaving Titurius Sabinus incamped on the
other side with sixe cohortes.



AS SOONE as Cæsar vnderstood, as well by his discoverers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of the Belge was assembled together into one place, and was now making towards him no great distance off; he made all the haste he could to passe his Armie ouer the riuer Axona, which deuided the men of Rheimes from the other Belge. Whereby he brought to passe, that no enemy could come on the backe of him to worke any disadvantage: and that come might be brought vnto him from Rheimes, and other cities without danger. And further, that he might command the passage backe againe, as occasion should serue to his best aduantage, he fortified a bridge which he found on the riuer, with a strong garrison of men, and caused Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himselfe on the other side of the riuer with sixe cohortes, commanding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foote in altitude, and a trench of 18 foote in breadth.

OBSERVATION.

IF it be demanded, why Cæsar did passe his Armie ouer the riuer, leauing it on his backe; and did not rather attend the enemy on the other side, and so take the aduantage of hindering him, if he should attempt to passe ouer? I will set downe the reasons in the sequell of this warre, as the occurrences shall fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time let vs enter into the particularitie of these sixe cohortes, that wee maie the better iudge of such troupes which were imploied in the seruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of souldiers these

these like cohortes did containe, it seemeth expedient, a litle to discourse of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vsed in their Armies.

And first we are to vnderstand, that the greatest and chiefeest regiment in a Roman Armie, was termed by the name of Legio: as Varro saith, *quod legumini* *minites in delectu* *not* as Plutarch speaketh, *quod lecti ex omnibus essent milites*; so that it taketh the name Legio of the choise and selecting of the souldiers. Romulus is said to be the first author & founder of these legions, making euery legion to containe 3000 souldiers: but shortly after they were augmented, as Pelsus recordeth vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000 to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntill Hanniball came into Italie, and then it was augmented to 5000; but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, when Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Prouince from rebellion, consisted of 6000 footmen and 300 horse. Out of Cæsar it cannot be gathered, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men; but oftentimes it was short of that number: for he himselfe saith, that in this warre in Gallia his souldiers were so wasted, that he had scarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill war, where he saith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohortes, which amounted to the nuber of 55000 men: And being manifest as well by these number of cohortes, as by the testimonie of diuers authors, that Pompei his Army consisted of 11 legions; if we diuide 55000 into 11 partes, we shall finde a legion to consist of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the viual rate of a legion, the Romans alwayes expressed the strength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is said, that Cæsar had eight legions, which by this account might arise to 40000 men, besides associates, and such as necessarily attended the Armie. Further we are to vnderstand, that euery legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and distinguished from the rest, and that it tooke either from their order of muster, or inrolment; as that legion which was first inrolled, was called the first legion; and that which was second in choice, the second legion; and so consequently of the rest; and so we read in this historie, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleuenth and twelfth legion: or otherwise from the place of their warfare, and so we read of legiones Germanica, Panonica, Britannica, and such others; and sometime of their Generall, as Augusta, Claudia, Vitelliana, legiones, and so forth. Or to conclude, from some accident or qualitie, as Rapax, Victrix, Fulminifera and such like. And this much of the name and number of a legion, which I must necessarily distinguish into diuers kindes of souldiers, according to the first institution of the olde Romans, and the continuall obseruation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the description of these smaller partes, whereof a legion was compounded.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that after the Consuls had made a generall choise and sworne the souldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngest and poorest of all the rest, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place

A legion
what it was.
Lib. 4.
De vita Ro-
muli.

Lin. lib. 22.

Tacitus 3.
hist.

Velites.

in

in regard of the other souldiers was both bale & dishonorable: not only because they fought a farre off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forlorne hopes are. Having choise out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree above the Velites, both in age and strength, and tearmed them by the name of Hastati forasmuch as at their first institution they fought with a kind of Iavelin, which the Romaines called *Hasta*: but before Polybius his time they vsed Piles; notwithstanding their ancient name continued vnto the latter time of the Empire. The third choise which they made was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes; the rest that remained were named Triarii, as Varro saith, *Quod tertio ordine extremis subsidio deponuntur*: These were alwaies the eldest and best experienced men, and were placed in the third diuision of the battell, as the last helpe and refuge in all extremity. Polybius saith, that in his time the Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men a peece; and the Triarii neuer exceeded the number of 600. although the generall number of a legion were augmented: wherof Lypsius allegeth these reasons. First because the Triarii consisted of the best of the soldiours; and so might counteruaile a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it seldome came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controuersie grew very doubtfull. Lastly, wee may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinarie followers, ranged themselves amongst these Triaries, and so made the third battell equal to either of the former; but howsoeuer, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

In this diuision of their men consisted the ground of that well ordered discipline; for in that they distinguished them according to their yeeres and abilitie, they reduced their whole strength into seuerall classes; & so disposed of these different parts, that in the generall cōposition of their whole bodie euery part might be fitted with place and office, according as his worth vvas answerable to the same: & so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties, that from euery accident which met with any part of the armie, the iudgement might determine how much or howe little it imposed the whole bodie: besides the great vse which they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no final consequence, in the excellencie of their government.

The soldiours, at their inrolement beeing thus deuided according to their yeeres and abilitie, they then reduced them into smaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and so they deuided the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those 3. sortes of soldiours 30. small regiments, vvhich they called Manipuli: And againe, they subdeuided euerie maniple into two equall parts, and called them *Ordo*, vvhich was the least companie in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60. soldiours. In euerie *Ordo* there was a Centurion, or Capitaine, and a Lieutenent, whom they named *Optio* or *Tergiductor*. The maniples of the Triarii were much lesser then the maniples of either the Hastati or the Prin-

cipes;

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii were called *subsignanos milites*, to make a difference between them and the Velites, which were not deuided into bandes; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that euery Maniple had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

The worde *Cohors* in latine doth signifie that part of ground which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house, which from the same word we call a court: and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farine house, saith he, many out-buildings ioined together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of seuerall maniples ioined together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euerie legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples: but these 3. maniples were not al of one and the same kind of soldiours, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3. of the Principes, and 3. of the Triarii; as Patricius in his Paraleli seemeth to affirme; for so there would haue remained an odde maniple in euery kind, that could not haue been brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and a maniple of the Triarii; and so al the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; & euery cohort was as a little legion; forasmuch as it consisted of al those sortes of soldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts, which he incamped on the other side of the riuier, vnder the command of Titurius Sabinus, containd 3000. soldiours: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200. which was the more vsuall rate, there were 2520. soldiours in these sixe cohortes.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of foure sorts of soldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained 3. maniples; & euery maniple 2. orders; and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and euery Centurion had his optionem; or Lieutenat, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

When a legion stood ranged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the least body or Squadron that it contained was a maniple; wherein the two orders were ioined together, making ioiuntly ten in front, and twelue in file: and so euerie five files had their Centurion in front, and Lieutenent in the rereward; to direct them in all adventures. In the time of the Emperours, their battalions consisted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great soeuer the army were.

Polybius distinguishing a maniple into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stood on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commaunded the whole maniple. And so wee finde that the Centurion of the

I j.

first

Cohors.
Lib. 3. de re
rust.

A legion rang
ed in battell.

The first order

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

place was called *Prior Centurio*: in which sense Cæsar is to be vnderstood; hee saith, that all the Centurions of the first cohorte were slaine, *præter ceteros*. From whence we gather two specialities, first; the priority beene the Centurions of the same maniple: for a cohorte consisting of 3. maniples, vvhreeof, the first maniple were Triarij, the second Principes, and thirde Hastati; and euerie maniple containing two orders; and euerie order a Centurio: he saith, that all the Centurions of this cohorte were slaine; sauing first or vpper Centurio of the Principes. The second thing vvhich I observe, is the title of the first cohort: for these 10. cohortes, vvhreeof a legion consisted, were distinguished by degrees of worthinesse; and that vvhich was the vvvorthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the priority both of place and name, and was called the first cohort: the next, the second cohort; & consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Neither did the legions want their degrees of preheminence, both in imbatalling, & in incåping, according either to the seniority of their inrolement, or their rank of their General, or their own vertue: And so we read that in these vvvars Gallia, the tenth legion had the first place in Cæsar's army. And thus much concerning the diuisions, and severall companies of a legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the same.

Vpon this description it shall not be amisse, briefelie to laie open the most important commodities depending vpon this discipline; the excellency vvhich more plainly appeareth, being compared to that order, vvhich nature hath created in the frame of her vvvorthiest creatures: for it is evident, that the works of nature come neere to perfect excellencie, vvhose material substance is most particularlie distinguished into parts, and hath every part indued with that proprietie, which best agreeth to his peculiar seruice. For beeing furnished with diuersitie of instruments, and these directed vvvith fitting abilities; the creature must needs expresse many admirable effects; and discover the worth of an excellent nature: vvhreeas those other bodies, that are but sensibly laboured, and find lesse fauour in nature's forge, being as abortiues, or barbarously composed, wanting the diuersitie both of partes and faculties; are not capable of such excellent vses, nor fit for such distinct seruices, as the former that are directed vvvith so many properties, and enabled vvvith the power of so distinguished faculties. Which better works of nature the Romans imitated in the Architecture of their army, deuinding it into such necessary & seruiceable parts, as were best fitting all vses and imployments: as first into legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples; and maniples into centurions or orders, and these into files; wherein every man knewe his place, and kept the same without exchange or confusion. And thus the vniuersall multitude was orderly disposed into partes, vntill it came vnto a vvnitie: for it cannot be denied, but that these centuries were in themselves so sensible distinguished, that euerie Soldiour caried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole order: for in imbatalling, euerie century was disposed into 5. files, containing twelue in a file, whereof the leaders were alwayes certaine, and were changed but by death or some other especiall occasion: and euerie leader

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leader knew his follower, and euerie second knewe the third man, and so consequently vnto the last.

Vpon these particularities it plainly appeareth, how easie a matter it was; to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and difrankt to rallie them into any forme, when every man knew both his owne and his fellowes station. If any companies were to be imployed vpon sudden seruice, the generall Idea of the Armie being so deeply imprinted in the minde of the commanders, would not suffer them to erre in taking out such conuenient troupes, both for number and quality, as might best agree with the safetie of the Armie, or nature of the action: At all occasions and oportunities, these principles of aduantage offered themselves, as readie meanes, to put in execution any designe, or stratagem whatsoeuer; the proiect was no sooner resolved of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of euerie such part, their sodalitie was sweetened, or rather strengthened with the mutuall acquaintance, and friendship one of another, the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the ensigne in the middest, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and euerie man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend; which bred a true and vnfaigned courage, both in regard of themselves, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no small meanes to cutte off all matter of ciuill discorde, and intestine diffention: for here euerie man knew his place in the file, and euerie file knewe his place in the Centurie, and euerie Centurie in the Maniple, and euerie Maniple in the Cohort, and euerie Cohort in the Legion, and euerie Legion in the Armie; and so euerie souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euerie place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The want of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiall gouernment of this age, with bloudshed and murders; whereof France is too true a witness, as well in regard of the French themselves, as of our English forces that haue bene sent thither to appease their tumults: for through defect of this order, which alloteth to euerie man his due place, the controuersie grew between Sir William Drurie and Sir Iohn Bowrowes, the issue whereof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue been negligent, so I may not forget to giue due commendation to the care which is had of this point amongst the English troupes, in the seruice of the states in the vniuersal provinces, where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the file, and euerie file in the troupe, and find much benefit thereby, besides the honour of reuiuing the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their small battalions, and the disadvantage, which we haue in making great Squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troupes stand best appointed for disposition and array of battell, which standing strong to receiue a shocke, bring most men to fight with the enimie: for the principall

I ij.

things

The benefite of small battalions: and the disadvantage of great squadrons.

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ges which are required in setting of a battell, are so to order the troupes, that depth in flanke may serue conueniently to withstand the assault, taking vp no more men then may well serue for that purpose; and giuing meanes to the rest fight with the enemy; and in these two points, were both their defensiu and ensiue considerations comprehended. But smaller troupes and battailons afforde this conueniencie better then great squadrons, which drowne vp manie men in the depth of their flankes, and neuer suffer them to appeare, but in the breaking of the squadron doth present them to the butcherie of the enemy. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the first booke, neuer could about 16 in flanke, and brought 500 to fight in front. And these little battailons (considering them as they stood in battell ray) made as great a front or later, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth answerable to the same; besides the 2 and 3 battell, which alwaies were to succour them, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and close imbrailing admit any such succour behind them. Now if we compare the aduantages & discommodities, which place and accident were incident to either of these, we shall find great odds betweene them. These great squadrons are not faileable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either stand immoveable, or make easie and slow motion without shaking, or disordering their bodie: but the lesser are a scantling in all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what site or quality of ground. And to conclude, if two or three ranks of these great battailons chance to be broken and disordered, the whole body is as much interested in the disorder, as the said ranks are; and hath lesse meanes to rally it selfe, then any other company: but if any violence chance to rout a maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Armie, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the disranging of any one part, betraie the safetie of the Armie to disorder and confusion; for so much as their distinction serued to cut off such inconueniences, and yet not hindered the generall uniting of their strength into one body. More may be said concerning this matter, but I onely point at it, and leaue the due consideration thereof, to the iudgment of our commanders, & returne to our history.

CHAP. IIII.

The Belgæ attempt the surprise of * Bibrax:

Cæsar sendeth succour vnto it.

T Here was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the state of Rheimes, about eight mile from Cæsars campe; which the Belgæ thought to haue surpris'd, as they came along to meete with Cæsar, and suddenly assaulted it with such furie, that the townesmen could hardly hold out the first daie. The Celtæ and Belgæ vse one and the same manner, in assaulting a towne: for hauing beset the whole compass of the wall with ranks of souldiers, they neuer cease slingeing of stones vntill they finde

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finde the wall naked of defendantes; and then casting themselves into a Testudo, they approach to the gate and vndermine the walles. As soone as the night had made an end of the assault, Iccius of Rheimes, a man of great birth and authoritie in his countrey, who at that time was gouernour of the towne, and had bene before with Cæsar, to treat and conclude a peace: sent him word by messengers, that if there came not present succour, he was not able to holde out any longer. The same daie about midnight (vsing the same messengers for guides) he sent both Numidian and Cretian Archers, and slingers of the Iles of Baleares, to relieue the towne; by meanes whereof, the townesmen were put in good hope to make their partie strong, and the enemy made hopes of winning the towne: and therefore after a small stay, hauing populated their fieldes, and burned their villages and out-buildings, they marched with all their power towards Cæsars campe, and within lesse then two miles of his Armie, they incamped their whole host: which, as was gathered by the smoake and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the description of their assault, we are to obserue two circumstances: The first is, the manner they vsed in a sudden surprise: The second is, the forme and quality of a Testudo. Although Cæsar seemeth to attribute this manner of assaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Galles; yet wee maie not thinke but that the Romans vsed it, as often as they had occasion to surprise any citie: but because the Galles knew no other means to take a towne but this, therefore he setteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of assault *Corona*; and so we read oftentimes this phrase, *Cingere urbem corona*: for as much as the souldiers inclosed the towne with a circle, and so resembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus speaketh of a triple crown of souldiers, which incompass'd a towne: And Iosephus telleth of Iotapatam, which the Romans besieged *duplici peditum corona*: and besides these, there was a third circle of horsemen vnto of all. There is no further matter to be obserued but this, that in surprising a towne, they incircled it round about with thick continued ranks of men, and where they found the wall weakest, there they entered as they could.

To take a towne by surprise.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Testudo requireth a larger discourse, and is liuely described in Liue, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people did often assemble to see strange sightes and publike shewes, were brought in (saith he) 60 lustie young men, who after some motion, and seemely march, cast themselves into a square troupe, & roofing their heads close with their targets, the first ranke which made the front of the Testudo, stood vpright on their feete; the second ranke bowed it selfe somewhat lower;

A Testudo described. Lib. 44.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

the third and fourth ranks did more incline themselves, and so consequent-ly vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground, and so they made a bodie resembling halfe the side of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this quadron thus strongly combined together, came two soldiours running some tie foot off, and threatening each other with their weapons, ran nimble vp the side of the roofo; and sometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemy, that would haue entred vpon it; sometimes againe incountering each other in the midst of it, leaped vp and downe as ittedly as if they had been vpon a firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the side of a wall, there ascended many armed men vpon the said Testudo, and fought in an equall height with other soldiours, that stood vpon the said wall to defend it. The dissimilitude in the composition was this, that the soldiours that were in front, and in the sides of the square, caried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; but couered their bodies with them, and so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, coulede any waie hurt them; and whatsoeuer waight fell vpon the Testudo, it quicklie glided awne by the decliuitie of the roofo, without anie hurte or annoyance at all.

Thus far Liuius goeth, neither doe I know what to saie further of it: the chief vse thereof was in a surpris or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the wnes men were thoroughly prepared to defend the same. This inuention serued them to approach the wall with safetie, and so either to vndermine it, or to breake vp: and to that ende they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Liuius saith, that the soldiours climed vpon the wall, *super iteratam testudinem*, by one Testudo made vpon another; and this was the ancient forme and vse of a Testudo in a suddain assault or surpris.

Dio Cassius in the actes of Anthonie, saith, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, hee commanded his whole armie to put it selfe into a Testudo, which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romaines hadde sunke downe for wearinesse and faintnesse; and so forsaking their horse, drew their swordes to haue made execution: and then the Romaines at a watch-woorde giuen, rose againe with such a fury, that they put them all to sworde and flight. Dio describeth the said Testudo after this manner, They placed, saith hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horsemen, in the midst; and those heauie armed footemen that caried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the vtmost files nexte vnto the enemy; the reste which bare large Ouall Targettes were thronged together throughout the whole troupe, and so couered with their Targets both themselves and their fellows, that there was nothing discerned by the enemy but a roofo of Targets, which were so tiled together, that men might safely go vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romaines cast themselves into a Testudo, to breake through an enemy, or to route and disbanke a troupe. And yf the Romaines had of a Testudo in field seruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regarde of the strength, for that it couered

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couered and sheltered, as a shell couereth a fish: And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirldy we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar provided for the safetie of such succours, as he sent vnto Bibrax: for hee commanded the same messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the best and surest guides in that iourney, least peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers: a matter of no small consequence in managing a warre, but deserueth an extraordinarie importunitie, to persuaide the necessitie of this diligence. For a Generall that hath perfectlie discouered the nature of the countrey, through which he is to march, and knoweth the true distances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiousnesse of turnings, the nature of the hills and the course of the riuers, hath all these particularities as maine aduantages, to giue meanes of so many severall attempts vpon an enemy: And in this point Hannibal had a singular dexterity, and excelled all the commanders of his time in making vse of the way, by which he was to passe. But he that leadeth an army, by an vnknown and vndiscovered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is subiect to as many casualties and disaduantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let every man therfore persuaide himselfe, that good discouerers are as the eyes of an army, and serue for lights in the darkenesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safetie so manifest, that we neede not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar in his iourney to Ariouistus vsed the helpe of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in whome amongst all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence to discouer the waie, and acquaint him with the passages; and before hee would vndertake his voyage vnto Britanie, he well enformed himselfe by marchants and traualers, of the quantity of the Island, the quality of the people, their vse of warre, and the oportunitie of their hauens: Neither was he satisfied with their relations, but hee sent Caius Volusenus in a ship of warre, to see what hee could further discouer, concerning these points. Suetonius addeth moreouer, that hee neuer caried his army, *per insidiosa itinera*, vnlesse he had first well discouered the places.

Concerning the order, which skillfull leaders haue obserued in discoueries, we are to knowe that this point consisteth of two partes: the one in vnderstanding the perfect description of the countrey; and the second in obseruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, we finde as well by this as other histories, that the Romaines vsed the inhabitants of the countrey for guides, as best acquainted with their native places, that they might not erre in so important a matter; provided alwaies, that their owne scouts were euer abroad to vnderstand what they could of themselves, that they might not altogether relie vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the enemy were obserued by the horsemen, and these for the most part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter of

The necessitie
of good discou-
erie.

*Now Eng-
land.

The order
which is to be
observed in
discouery.

of warre, and so the generall receiued sound aduertilements: and yet they were not too forward vpon any new motion, vnlesse they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for some espials may erre, either through passion or affection, as it happened in the Heluetian warre. If therefore the vse and benefit, which prudent and wise commanders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to persuade a circumspect care herein, this little that hath beene spoken may be sufficient, for this point.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

THe souldiers which Cæsar sent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, and slingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, and Minorica: which kinde of weapon, because it seemeth ridiculous to the souldiers of these times, whose conceites are held vp with the furie of these fierie engines; I will in brieue discouer the nature and vse of this weapon.

The Latines (saith Iodore) called this weapon *funda*: quod ex ea fundantur pides. Plinie attributeth the inuention thereof to the Insulairs called Baleares. Florus in his third booke and eighth chapter, saith, that these Baleares vsed three sortes of slings, and no other weapon besides: for a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before he had first strooke it, with a sling. Strabo distinguisheth these three sortes of slings, which the Baleares vsed; and saith that they had one sling with long raines, which they vsed when they would cast a farre off: and another with short raines, which they vsed neere at hand: and the third with raines of a neane sise, to cast a reasonable distance. Lipsius saith, that in *Columna Antonina* at Rome, he obserued that the Balearcan was made with one sling about his head, another about his bellie, and the third in his hand; which might be their ordinarie manner of carrying them. The matter whereof they were made was threefold, the first was hempe or cotton, the second haire, and the third sinewes: or of either of these stufes, they commonly made them: the forme and fashion of a sling resembled a platted rope, somewhat broad in the midst, with an small compasse; and so by little and little decreasing into two thongs or raines. Their manner of slinging was to whirle it twile or thrise about their head, and so to cast out the bullet. Virgill speaking of Mozenius saith,

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Plinie Vegetius preferreth that skill, which cast the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas we find, that these Baleares did commonly cast a stone of a pound waight, which agreeth to these daues in Cæsar's *fundas*, *librales*: These aden bullets are mentioned by Salust, in the warre with Iugurth; and by Livie, where he saith, that the Consull provided great store of atrowes, of bullets, and of small stones to be cast with slings. This weapon was in request amongst diuers nations, as well in regard of the readines, &c. easie reuerating of the blow, as also for that the bullet fledde verie farre, with great violence: the distance which

which they could easily reach with their sling, is expressed in this verse,

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: Their violence was such, as the same author affirmeth in his first booke and sixteenth chapter, that neither helmet, gaberline, nor corselet could beare out the blow; but he that was hit with a sling, was slaine *sine inuidia sanguinis*, as he saith in the same place. Lucrece, Ouid, and Lucan, three of the Latine Poets saie, that a bullet skilfully cast out of a sling, went with such violence that it melted as it flew: whereof Seneca giueth this reason, motion (saith he) doth extenuate the aire, and that extenuation, or subtilitie doth inflame: and so a bullet cast out of a sling melteth as it flieth. But howsoever, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that these Balearcan slingers brake both target, headpiece, or any other armour whatsoeuer.

There are also two other sorts of slings, the one mentioned by Liuius, and the other by Vegetius: that in Liuius is called *Cestrophendo*, which cast a short arrowe with a long thicke head: the other in Vegetius, is called *fustibalis*, which was a sling made of a coard and a staffe. But let this suffice for slingers and slinging, which were reckoned amongst their light armed souldiers, and vsed chiefly in assaulting, and defending townes, and fortresses, vwhere the heauie armed souldiers could not come to buckle; and present the place of our Hargebushiers, which in their proper nature, are *leuis armatura militis*, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell, but
without any blow giuen: the Belgæ attempt the
passing of the riuier Axona; but in vaine, and
to their losse: they consult of breaking vp the warre.



CÆSAR at the first resolved not to giue them battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall fame and opinion conceiued of their valour: notwithstanding he daily made triall by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemy could do, and what his owne men durst doe. And when he found that his men were nothing inferiour to the Belgæ, he chose a conuenient place before his campe and put his Armie in battell: the bank where he was incamped rising somewhat from a plaine leuell, was no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steepe, and the front rose a slope by little & little, untill it came againe to a plaine, where the legions were imbrued. And least the enemy abounding in multitude, should circumuent his men and charge them in flanke as they were fighting, he drew an ouerthwart ditch behind his Armie, from one side of the hill to the other, 600 paces in length; the ends whereof

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Cæsar.

fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein store of engines: and leauing in his hope the two legions which he had last inrolled in Lombardie, that they might be adie to be drawne forth when there should neede any succour, he imbattailed his other sixe legions in the front of the hill, before his campe. The Belgæ also bringing with their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There laie betweene both Armies a small Marish, ouer which the enemy expected that Cæsar should haue fled; and Cæsar on the other side, attended to see if the Belgæ would come ouer, at his men might haue charged them in that troublesome passage. In the meane time the Cavalrie on both sides incountered betweene the two battels, and after long expectation on either side, neither partie aduenturing to passe ouer, Cæsar hauing got the better in the skirmish betweene the horsemen, thought it sufficient for that time, for the encouraging of his owne men, and the contesting of so great an Army; and therefore he conuaid all his men againe into their campe. From that place the enemy immediately tooke his way to the riuer Axona, which laie behinde the Romans campe; and there finding foordes they attempted to passe ouer part of their forces, to the ende they might either take the fortreffe which Titurius kept, or to breake downe the ridge, or to spoile the territories of the state of Rheimes, and cut off the Romans from iunction of corne. Cæsar hauing aduertisement thereof from Titurius, transported over the riuer by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians; with his speers and archers, and marched with them himselfe: the conflict was hoat in that place, the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, slew a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, aduenturing to passe ouer on the dead carcases of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapons: and the horsemen incompassed such as had first got ouer the water, and slewe euerie man of them.

When the Belgæ perceiued themselves frustrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, passing the riuer, and of drawing the Romans into places of disadvantage, and that their owne prouisions began to faile them: they called a counsell of war, wherein they concluded, that it was best for the state in generall, and for euerie man in particular, to breake vp their campe, and to returne home vnto their own houses: and into whose fines or territories soeuer, the Romans should first enter to depopulate and waste in hostile maner, that thither they should hasten from al parts, and there to giue them battell, to the end they might rather trie the matter in their own countrie, then to ad in a strange and unknowne place; and haue their owne household prouision at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Diuitiacus with a great power of the Hedui, approached vnto the borders of the Bellouaci, who in that regard, made haste homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst we may obserue the Arte, which he vsed to counteruaile the strength of so great a multitude, by choosing out so conuenient a place, which was no broader in front then would suffice the front of his battell; and hauing both the sides of the hill so steep, that the enemy

enemy could not ascende nor clime vp, but to their own ouerthrow; hee made the backe part of the hill strong by Art, & so placed his soldiours as it were in the gate of a fortreffe, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth how much he preferred securitie and safetie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardie resolution, which fauoreth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisdom: for he euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothings; and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deliuered vp the army safe vnto the evening; attending, vntil aduantage had laid sure principles of victory: and yet Cæsar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vs hee made by passing his army ouer the riuer, and attending the enemy on the further side, rather then on the side of the state of Rheimes: for by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoever the enemy should attempt in any part or quarter of the lande, his forces were ready to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: & yet notwithstanding, he lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of them, as they passed ouer the riuer. For by the benefite of the bridge which hee had fortified, he transported what forces he would, to make heade against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the riuer coulde afford him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

And heere the reader may not maruel, if when the hills are in labour, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soone is the courage of this huge army abated; or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude; or answerable to the report which was bruted of their valour? But beeing hastily caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vpon the sight of an enemy, which is no strange effect of a suddaine humour. For as in nature all violent motions are of short continuance, and the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a slowe and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an vntemperate violence, and fauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish awaie euen with the smoake thereof, and bring forth nothing but leasurable repentance: and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their hasty resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering, that when their iudgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraith their indiscreet intemperance, in the hote pursuit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce seene the enemy, or had opportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for their mindes were so caried away with the conceite of warre, that they had no leisure to provide such necessaries, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre: It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a soldiour in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the state. The states

in like manner thought it inough to furnish our forty or fiftie thousand men a peece, to discharge their oath, and to saue their hostages; committing other requistes to the generall care of the confederacie: which, beeing directed by as skillfull gouernours, neuer looked further then the present multitude, which seemed sufficient to ouerthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man relied vpon an others care, and satisfied himselfe with the present garbe; so many men of all sortes and qualities, so many helmets and plumed crests, such strife and emulation, what state should seeme in greatest forwardnesse; were motives sufficient to induce euerie man to go, without further inquiry, how they should bee. And herein the care of a Generall ought especially to bee seene, considering the weakenesse of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of so many men depending altogether vpon his prouidence, and engaged in the defence of their state and country; he do not faile in these maine points of discipline, which are the pillars of all warlike designses. To conclude this point, let vs learne by their error, so to carrie a matter (especially of that consequence) that we make not much worse by ill handling it, then it was before we first tooke it to our charge; as it heere happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armes forced no other ende, then to giue Cæsar iust occasion to make warre vpon them, with such assurance of victorie, that he made small account of that which would follow, in regard of that which had already happened: considering that hee could not in all likelihood, meet with the like strength againe, in the continuance of that warre. And this was not onely *grauius bellum successori tradere*, as it then falleth out in the course of a long continued warre; but to drawe a dangerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwise might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they returne home, are chased and slaughtered by the Romaines.

HIS generall resolution beeing entertained by the consent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as it seemed) or gouernement: euerie man pressing to bee foremost on his iourney in such a turbulent manner, that they seemed all to run away: Whereof Cæsar hauing notice by his spies, and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiuing the reason of their departure, he kept his armie within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, upon certaine intelligence of their departure, hee sent first his horsemen to the rereward, commanding Labienus to followe after with three legions; hee ouertaking the Belgæ, and chasing them manie miles, slewe a great number of them: And while the rereward staid, and valiantlie receiued the charge of the Romaines, the vanguard being out of danger, and under no government, assoone

assoone as they heard the alarum behind them, brake out of their ranks and betooke themselves to flight; and so the Romaines slewe them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them; and then sounding a retreat, they returned to their campe.

OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene an olde rule amongst soldiours, that a great and negligent error committed by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence to trecherie. We reade of Fuluius a Legate in the Romaine armie, lying in Tuscanie, the Consul being gon to Rome to performe some publike dutie: the Tuscans tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could drawe the Romaines into any inconuenience; and placing an ambuscado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine soldiours, attired like shepherdes, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine army, who handled the matter so, that they came euen to the rampier of the campe; whereat the Legate wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discovered their treacherie, and so made frustrate their intent: In like maner Cæsar not perswaded that men should bee so heedles, to carry a retreat in that disorderly and tumultuous maner, would not dis campe his men to take the oportunitie of that aduantage, vntill he had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 296000. Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Countrey of the Sueffones; and there besiegeth * Nouiodunum.



THE next day after their departure, before they could recover themselves of their feare and flight; or had time to put themselves againe in breath: Cæsar as it were continuing still the chase and victorie, led his armie into the countrey of the Sueffones, the next borders vnto the men of Rheimes: and after a long iourney came vnto Nouiodunum, a towne of good importance, which he attempted to take by surprise, as he passed along by it. For he vnderstoode, that it was altogether vnfurnished of defensiuie prouision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and height of the wall, he was for that time disappointed of his purpose: and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make preparation for a siege. The night following the whole multitude of the Sueffones, that had escaped by flight, were receiued into the towne: howbeit when the Vine were with great expedition brought vnto the wall, the mount raised, and the towers built; the Galles being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had

* Neijons.

Cæsar.

* Soijfons.

uer scene nor heard of before; and the speede which was made in the dispatch there-
sent ambassadours to Cæsar, to treat of giuing up the towne, and by the mediati-
on of the men of Rhêmes obtained their suite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this relation we may obserue the industrious art, which the Romans
vied in assaulding, and taking holdes and townes; wherein we find three
fortes of engines described, Vinca, Agger, and Turrets.

Vinca is thus described by Vegetius: A little strong built house or houell,
made of light wood, that it might be removed with greatest ease; the rooffe was
supported with diuers pillars of a foote square, vvhof the formost were 8 foot
high, and the hindmost 6; and betweene euerie one of these pillars, there was
a foot distance: it was alwaies made with a double rooffe; the first or lower rooffe
was of thicke planks, and the vpper rooffe of hurdles, to breake the force of
the waight, without further shaking or disioyning the building: the sides were
twise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the soldiers that were vnder it:
the vvhole length vvas about 16 foot, and the breadth 7: the vpper rooffe vvas
commonly couered vwith greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many
these houels vvere ioined together in ranke, vwhen they went about to vnder-
mine a vval: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which
were thrown vpon it might easly tumble down, without any great hurt to the
mine: the foure sides and groundisls, had in euery corner a wheele, & by them
they were driuen to any place as occasion serued: the chieftest vse of them vvas
to couer and defend the souldiers, as they vndermined or ouerthrew a vval. This
engine vvas called Vinca, which signifieth a vine, for it sheltered such as vvere
vnder the rooffe thereof, as a vine couereth the place vvhether it groweth.

Agger, vvhich vve call a moimt, is described in diuers histories to be a hil or
an elevation made of earth and other substance, vvhich by little and little was raised
ward, vntill it approached neare vnto the place, against which it vvas built; that
on this mount they might erect fortresses and turrets, and so fight with an ad-
uantage of height. The matter of this mount, vvas earth and stones, fagots, and
other. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe al
the trees vvhithin 11 mile compasse, for matter and stufte to make a mount. The
matter of this Agger vvere of timber to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart
which was towards the place of seruire, was open without any timber worke: for
that part they stil raised it & brought it nearer the wals. That which was built
of Massilia vvas 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80 foot high and 30 foote
broad. Iosephus and Egeippus writ, that there was a fortresse in Iudea, 300 cu-
bites high, which Sulla purposing to vvin by assault, raised a mount 200 cubites
high; and vpon it, he built a castle of stone 50 cubites high, and 50 cubites
broad; and vpon the said castell he erected a turret of 60 cubites in height, and
lookt the fortresse. The Romans oftentimes raised these mounts in the mouth
of a hauen, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight with
an aduantage.

Amongst

Amongst other engines, in vie amongst the Romans, their moueable Tur-
rets were verie famous; for they were built in some safe place out of danger, and
with wheelles put vnder them, were driuen to the walles of the towne. These Tur-
rets were of two fortes, either great or little: the lesser sort are described, by Vi-
truius, to be 60 cubites high; and the square side 17 cubites; the breadth at the
top was a fift part, of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any
danger of falling: the corner pillars were at the base, 9 inches square; & 6 inches
at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in these little turrets, & windowes in
euerie storie. The greater sort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the square
side was 24 cubites, the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in eu-
erie one of these were commonly 200 stories. There was not one and the same
distance kept betweene the stories, for the lowest commonly was 7 cubites, and
12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third.
In euerie one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders, and casting
bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart
of these Turrets were couered with yron, and wet coverings, to saue them from
fire. The souldiers that removed the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the
square thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-worke by broken
Wharfe in London much resembleth one of these towers.

Towers or
Turrets de-
scribed.

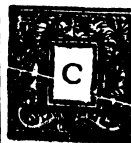
THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Pon the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the
Suesones submitted themselves to such powerfull industrie. For
whatsoeuer is strange and vnusall, doth much affrighte the spi-
rits of an enimie, and breedeth a motion of distrust and diffidence,
when as they finde themselves ignorant of such warlike practises: for noueltie
alwaies breedeth wonder, in as much as the true reasons and causes being vn-
known, we apprehend it, as diuers from the vsuall course of thinges, and so
stand gazing at the strangeness thereof: and wonder as it addeth worth to the
noueltie; so it inferreth diffidence, and so consequently feare, the vter en-
emie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the
Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.



CÆSAR taking for pledges the chieftest of their cittie, vpon the
deliuerie of all their Armes, receiued the Suesones to mercie: and
from thence led his Armie against the Bellouaci; who hauing con-
uained both themselves and their goods into the towne, called Bratip-
pantium, and vnderstanding that Cæsar was come within five mile
of the place, all the elder sort came forth to meete him, signifying
their

Cæsar.

The Belloua-
ci taken to
mercie.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

their submission, by their lamentable demeanour. For these Dimitiacus became a mediator (who after the Belge had broken up their campe, had dismissed his Hedui forces and was returned to Cæsar) the Hedui (saith he) haue alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly disposition to their state: and if they had not beene traied by their nobilitie, (who made them beleene, that the Hedui were brought into bondage by the Romaines, and suffered all villanie and despiight at their handes, they had neuer withdrawne themselves from the Hedui, nor consented to conspire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsel, perceiuing into what great miserie they had brought their country, were fled into Britanie: wherefore not onely the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalfe besought him to use his clemencie towards them. Cæsar in regarde of the Hedui and Dimitiacus, promised to receiue them to mercie; but forasmuch as the state was verie great and populous, hee demanded 600. hostages: Which being deliuered, and their armour brought out of the wne, he marched from thence into the coast of the Ambiani, who without further lingering, gaue both themselves and al that they had into his power. Vpon thesa ordered the Neruij, of whom Cæsar found this much by inquisition, that there was recourse of marchants vnto them; neither did they suffer any wile, or what thing, le might sende to riot, to bee brought into their countrey: for they were perswaded, that by such thinges their courage was much abated, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned that these Neruij were a savage people, and of great war, often accusing the rest of the Belge, for yeelding their neckes to the Romaine yoke, openly affirming, that they would neither sende ambassadors nor take peace on any condition.

Cæsar hauing marched three daies iourney in their countrey, he understood that the river * Sabis was not past ten miles from his campe; and that on the further side this river, all the Neruij were assembled together, and there attended the coming of the Romaines: with them were ioined the Atrebatij, and Veromandui, whom they had perswaded to abide the same fortune of warre with them. Besides, they expected a power from the Aduaticij, the women and such as were vnmeet for the field, they bestowed in a place vnaccessible for any armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marshes. Vpon this intelligence, Cæsar sent his discoverers and Centurions before, to choos out a fit place to incampe in.

Now whereas many of the surrendred Belge, and other Galles were continually seruing the order which the Romaines used in marching, came by night to the Neruij and tolde them, that betweene euerie legion went a great sort of cariages; that it was no matter of difficultie, as soone as the first legion was come into the campe, and the other legions yet a great way off, to set vpon them, vpon a suddaine, before they were disburdened of their cariages; and so to ouerthrowe them: which action being thus cut off, and their stuffe taken, the rest would haue smal courage to stand against them. It much furthered this aduice, that, forasmuch as the Neruij were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the canals of their borderers, whensoever they made any roade into their marches; their manner was to cut yong trees halfe asunder, & bowing the tops down to the ground, shed the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briers planted betwocen them, made them so thicke, that it was impossible to see through them, so hard it was to enter or passe through them; so that, when by this occasion, the passage of the Romaine army must needs be hindered, the Neruij thought the foresaid counsell not to be neglected.

The place which the Romaines chose to incampe in, was a hill, of like leuell from the top to the bottome, at the foot whereof ran the riuer Sabis: and with the like leuell, on the other side, rose an other hill directly against this, to the quantity of 200. paces; the bottome whereof was plaine and open, and the upper part so thicke with wood, that it could not easilie be looked into: within these woods the Nernuians kept themselves close, and in the open ground, by the riuer side were onely seene a few troupes of horse, and the riuer in that place was about 3. foot deepe.

Caesar sending his horsemen before, followed after with all his power; but the manner of his march differed from the report which was brought to the Nernui: for inasmuch as the enemy was at hand; Caesar (as his custom was) led 6. legions alwaies in a readines, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their armes: after them hee placed the impediments of the whole army. And the two legions which were last inrolled were a rereward to the army, and garded the stufte.

OBSERVATIONS.



His trecherous practise of the surrendred Belgæ, hath fortunatelie discovered the maner of Caesars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no small consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, and capable of the greatest arte that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may be gathered, that Caesar principally respected safetie: and secondly conueniency. If the place afforded a secure passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, hee was content in regard of conueniency, to suffer euery legion to haue the ouersight of their particular cariages, and to insert them among the troups, that euery man might haue at hand such necessaries as were requisite, either for their priuate vse or publike discipline. But if he were in danger of any sodaine attempt, or stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy; hee then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular vse, as disadvantageous to their safety: & carried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receiue the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best approoued by their military rules, & the ancient practise of their fortunate progenitors.

The old Romaines obserued likewise the same respects, for in vn safe & suspected places, they carried their troups *agmine quadrato*, which as Liuie seemeth to note, was free from all cariage and impediments; which might hinder them in any sodaine alarum. Neither doth that of * Hirtius any way contradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Caesar so disposed his troups against the Bellouaci, that 3. legions marched in front, & after them came all the cariages, to which the 10. legion serued as a rereward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato*. * Seneca in like manner noteth the safety of *agmen quadratum*, where he saith, that where an enemy is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, readie to fight. The most material consequence of these places alleadged is, that as ofte as they suspected anie onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing

L. j.

differed

The maner of the Romaine march.

The two respects which Caesar had in ordering a march.

1. Safety.
2. Conueniency.

Agmen quadratum.

* Lib. 8. de bel. Gall.

* 60. Epistle.

differed from their vsuall maner of imbattailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratum*, or a square march, inasmuch as it kept the same disposition of parts, as were obserued in *quadrata Acie*. For that triple forme of imbattailing, which the Romaines generally obserued in their fights, hauing respect to the distances between each battel, contained almost an equal dimension of front and file: and so it made *Acie quadratam*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*.

Polybius expresseth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumspection; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the cariages: for he saith that in time of danger, especially where the countrey was plaine and Châpion, and gaue space & free scope to cleere themselves, vpon anie accident, the Romaines marched in a triple battel, of equal distâce one behind an other, euery battel hauing his feuerall cariages in front: And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselves according to the opportunity of the place, either to the right or left hande, and so placing their cariages on the one side of their army, they stood imbattailed ready to receiue the charge.

The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more security, & gaue scope to conueniency, they named *agmen longum*; when almost euery maniple or order had their feuerall cariages attending vpon them, & stroue to keep that way which they found most easie, both for themselves & their impediments. Which order of a march, as it was more commodius then the former, in regard of particularity, so was it vn safe and dangerous, where the enemy was expected: And therefore Cæsar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, when they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longissimo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertisements from a friend, and not from an enemy.

And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in quality, frõ them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines obserued, as the two poles of their motions, safety and conueniency: whereof the first dependeth chiefly vpon the prouident disposition of the leaders; and the other wil easily follow on, as the commodity of euerie particular shal giue occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can bee taken then that maner of imbattailing, which shall be thought most conuenient, if an enemy were present to confront them? for a well ordered march must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinct principles and elements thereof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of strength, which the fittest disposition can afford it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect leader, that desireth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligentlie to obserue the nature and vse of each weapon in his army, howe they may be placed for greatest vse and aduantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbattailing, as the said forces are capable of; which if it may be obserued in a march, is no way to be altered. But if this exactnes of imbattailing wil not admit conuenient carriage of such necessarie adiuncts, as pertaine to an armie; the inconuenience is to bee relieued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in

a way

a warie iudgment shall be found expedient: that albeit the forme be somewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their strength and safetie consisteth, maie still be retained.

Neither can any man well descend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practises of manie great and experienced commanders; what sort of weapon marched in front, and what in the rereward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the rest of the carriage was bestowed, according as their feuerall iudgments thought most expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the issue of all will fall out thus; that he that obserued this rule before prescribed, did seldome miscarrie through an vn safe march. Let a good Martialist well know their proper vse in that diuersity of weapons in his Armie; how they are seruiceable or disaduantageous, in this or that place, against such or such an enemy: and he will speedily order his battell, dispose of his march, and bestow his cariages, as shall best fall out both for his safetie, and conueniencie.

Cæsar's custome was, to send his Cavalrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to discover and impeach an enemy; for these troupes were nimble in motion and fit for such seruices: but if the danger were greater in the rereward then in the front, the horsemen marched in the tayle of the Armie, and gaue securitie where there was most cause of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the seruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and especially in Africa against the Numidians: he then removed them, as he best found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie souldiers, which were the sinewes and strength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horsemen could not performe. And thus he altered the antique prescription, and vniformitie of custome, according as he found himselfe best able to disaduantage an enemy, or make waie to victory.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are interrupted by the Nervij. Cæsar maketh haste, to prepare his forces to battell.



HE Roman horsemen, with the singers and archers, passed ouer the riuer, and incountered the Cavalrie of the enemy: who at first retired backe to their companies in the wood, and from thence sallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durst not pursue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the sixe legions that were in front, hauing their worke measured out vnto them, began to fortifie their campe.

But as soone as the Nervij perceiued their former cariages to be come in sight, which

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Cæsar.

was the time appointed, amongst them to give the charge, as they stood imbatallied within the thickest, so they rushed out with all their forces, and, assaulted the Roman horsemen: which being easily beaten backe, the Nervij ranne downe to the river, with such an incredible swiftnesse, that they seemed at the same instant of time to bee in the woods at the river, and charging the legions on the other side: For with the same violence, having passed the river, they ranne up the hill to the Roman campe, where the souldiers were busied in their intrenchment. Caesar had all partes to plaie at one instant, the flagge to be hung out, by which they gave the souldiers warning to take armes, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the souldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone farre off to get turfe and matter for the rampier, to bee sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be encouraged, and the signe of battell to be given: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the enemye.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their campe-discipline, they stroue to be singular: for it seemed rather an Academie, or a citie of civill government, then a campe of souldiers: so carefull were they both for the safetie, and skilfull experience of their men at armes. For touching the first, they neuer suffered their souldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and a rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any newe invention or rare found out custome in their state, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kinges; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions, that went before to choose out a convenient place, having found a fit situation for their campe, first assigned the standing for the Emperours pavillion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the campe, from whence he might easily overview all the other partes, or any alarm or drum *pugna*, might from thence be discovered to all quarters. This pavillion was knowne by the name of *Prætorium*, for as much as amongst the auncient Romans the Generall of their Armie was called *Prætor*: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they stucke up a white ensigne, and from it they measured euerie waie 100 foote, and so they made a square containing 200 foot on euerie side, the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round and high, being as eminent amongst the other tentes, as a temple is amongst the priuate buildings of a cittie: and therefore Iosephus compareth it to a church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chaire of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Augurale*, with other appendices of maiestie and authoritie.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the pavillion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, euerie legion deuided one from another by a street or lane of 50 foote

foote in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that euerie legion had in the Armie, so were they lodged in the campe, either in the midst which was counted most honourable, or towards the sides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe; according to the place of euerie cohort in his legion, so was it lodged nearer the pavillion of the Emperour, towards the harte of the campe; and so consequently euerie maniple tooke place in the cohort, distinguishing their preheminance, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outsideward; according as they distinguished the place of their legions, there went a streete of fiftie in breadth ouerthwart the middest of all the legions, vvhich was called *Quintana*; for that it deuided the fift cohort of euerie legion from the sixth.

Betweene the tentes of the first maniples in euerie legion and the *Prætorium*, there went a waie of 100 foote in breadth throughout the whole campe; which was called *Principia*; in this place the Tribunes sate to heare matters of iustice; the souldiers exercised themselves at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publike place of meeting; and it was helde for a reuerent and sacred place, and so kept with a correspondent decencie. On either side the Emperours pavillion, in a direct line to make euen & straight the vpper side of the *Principia*, the Tribunes had their tentes pitched, euerie Tribune confronting the head of the legion whereof he was Tribune: about them, towards the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treasurer: the vpper part of the campe was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie.

Polybius describing the manner of incamping which the Romans vsed in his time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie associates, placeth the *Ablest* and *extraordinary*, which were select bandes and companies, in the vpper part of the campe; and the associates on the out-sides of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compassed the whole campe about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: vvhich Polybius giueth these reasons; first, that the souldiers marching into the campe in battell array, might there disclose themselves into maniples, centuries, and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And againe, if occasion were offered to sallie out vpon an enemye, they might verie conveniently in that spacious roome, put themselves into companies and troupes: and if they were assaulted in the night, the darts and fire vorkes, vvhich the enemye should cast into their campe, would little indammage them, by reason of the distance betweene the rampier and the tentes.

Their tentes were all of skinnes and hides, helde vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11 souldiers, as Vegetius saith, in euerie tent, and that societie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefeest was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contubernij*.

The ditch and the rampier were made by the legions, euerie maniple having his part measured out, and euerie Centurion: overseeing his Centurie; the

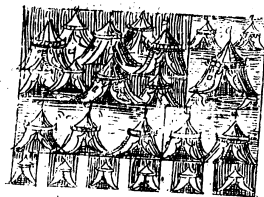
*Quintana.**Principia.**The tentes of the Tribunes.**The space betweene the tentes and the rampier.**Contubernij.**The ditch and the rampier.*

approbation of the whole worke belonged to the Tribunes. Their maner of intrenching was this: the soldiours being girt with their swords and daggers, digged the ditch about the campe, which was alwaies 8 foot in breadth at the least, and as much in depth, casting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not farre off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude, according to the discretion of the General: but what scantling foucer was kept, the ditch was made *directis lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottome as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch was three foot in height, and sometimes foure, made after the maner of a wall, with greene turfs cut all to one measure, halfe a foot in thickeffe, a foot in breadth, and a foot and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no such turfe; they then strengthened the loose earth, which was cast out of the ditch, with boughs and fagots, that it might be strong and wel fastened. The rampier they properly called *Agger*: the outside whereof, which hung over the ditch, they vsed to stick with thicke and sharpe stakes, fastened deep in the mound, that they might be firme; and these for the most part were forked stakes, which made the rampier very strong, and not to be assaulted but with great difficulty. Varro saith, that the front of the rampier thus stucke with stakes, was called *vallum*, a *varicando*, for that no man could stride or get ouer it.

The campe had foure gates; the first was called *prætoria porta*, which was alwaies behind the Emperours tent: and this gate did vsually looke either toward the east, or to the enemy, or that way that the army was to march. The gate on the other side of the campe opposite to this, was called *Porta Decumana*: a *decimis cohortibus*, for the tenth or last Cohort of euery legion, was lodged to confront this gate: by this gate the soldiours went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their forrage, and this waie their offendours were caried to execution. The other two gates were called *Portæ principales*, forasmuch as they stood opposite to either end of that so much respected place, which they called *principia*, onely distinguished by these titles, *laeva principalis* and *dextra*, all these gates were shut with doores, and in standing Campes fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engines of defence, as Balista, Catapultæ, Tolenones and such like.

The Romaines had their summer Campes, which they tearmed *Æstiuæ*, and their winter Campes, which they called *Hibernæ*, or *Hibernacula*: their summer campes were in like maner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in the. For if they remained in a place but a night or two; they called the *Castra* or *Mansiones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called the *Æstiuæ* or *Sedes*. And these were more absolute, aswel in regard of their tents, as of their fortification, then the former, wherein they staid but one night. The other, which they called *Hibernæ*, had greater labor & coast bestowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them frõ the winter season. Of these we read, that the tents were either thatched with straw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hospital, & other publike houses. These camps haue bin the beginning of many famous townes, especially whẽ they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did vpon the banks of Euphrates, Danow, & the Rhene. The

THE ROMAN CAMPE



Principia



Principia



Quintana



Quintana



order which they alwaies obserued in laying out their camp, was so vniforme, & well knowne to the Romaines, that when the Centurions had limited out euery parte, and marked it with different ensignes and colours, the soldiours entered into it, as into a knowne and familiar Citie: wherein euerie societie or small contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euery particular man coulde assigne the proper station of euerie companie, throughout the whole armie.

The vse and commodity of this incamping, I briefly touched in my first booke: But if I were worthie any way to commend the excellency thereof to our moderne soldiours, or able by perswasion to reestablish the vse of incamping in our warres; I woulde spare no paines to archieue so great a good, and vaunt more in the conquest of negligence, then if my sense had compassed a new found out meanes; and yet reason would deeme it a matter of small difficultie, to gaine a point of such worth, in the opinion of our men, especially when my discourse shall present security to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our armies, and terroure to our enemies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But sloth hath such interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and foole-hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and derision of good discipline, to repugne the designs of honour, and so far to ouer-maister reason, that it suffereth not former harmes to beare witnesse against error, nor correct the ill atchieuements of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vrge this pointe anie further, I wil leaue it to the careful respect of the wise.

The commodity of this incamping.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He fury of the enemy, and their sodaine assault, so disturbed the ceremonies which the Romaine discipline obserued, to make the soldiours trulie apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might cast vpon their state either soueraignty or bondage; that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here noted vnder these titles, the first was *vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurrere oporteret*: for when the Generall had determined to fight, hee caused a skarlet coate or red flag to bee hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the soldiours might be warned, to prepare themselves for the battell; and this was the first warning they had, which by a silent aspect presented bloud and execution to their eyes, as the onlie meanes to worke out their owne safetie, and purchase eternall honour. The second was *Signum tuba dandum*; this warning was a noise of manie trumpets, which they, teamed by the name of *clasi-cum a calando*, which signifieth calling: for after the eie was filled with species suitable to the matter intended; they then hastened to possesse the eare, and by the sense of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, and fill them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third was, *milites cohortandi*, for it was thought conuenient to confirme this valour, with motiues of reason, which is the strength and perfection of al such motions.

The ceremonies which they used in their preparation to battell.

The



the vse and benefit whereof I somewhat enlarged in the Heluetian warre, and could afford much more labour to demonstrate the commoditie of this part, if my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or be thought worthie regard to men so much addicted to their owne fashions. The last was *signum dandum*, which, as some thinke, was nothing but a word, by which they might distinguish and know themselves from their enemies. Hirtius in the war of Afrike saith, that Cæsar gaue the word *Felicitie*; Brutus and Cassius gaue *Libertie*; others haue giuen *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*, and such like wordes, as might be ominous to a good successe: Besides these particularities, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the matter. And that was distinguished by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth; that all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may bee much graced with ceremonies and complements, which like officers or attendants ad much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth farre meaner and of lesse regard.

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cæsar and the Neruij.

In these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was, the knowledge and experience of the souldiers: for by reason of their practise in former battels, they could as well prescribe vnto themselves, what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar had giuen commandement to euerie Legate, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, vntill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they sawe extremitie of danger, they attended no countermand from Cæsar: but ordered all things as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar hauing commanded such things as he thought necessarie, ranne hastily to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion; where he vied no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemy was no further off, then a weapon might be cast to encounter them, he gaue them the signe of battell: and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them already closed and at the encounter. For the time was so short and the enemy so violent, that they wanted leasure to put on their headpieces, or to vncase their targets: and what part they lighted into from their worke, or what ensigne they first met withall, there they staid; least in seeking out their owne companies, they should loose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The Armie being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declinitie of the hill, and the breuitie of time, then according to the rules

of art; as the legions encountered the enemy in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindered by those thicke hedges before spoken of, there could no succors be placed any where; neither could any man see what was needfull to be done: therefore in so great uncertainty of things, there happened diuers casualties of fortune.

The souldiers of the ninth and tenth legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army, casting their pikes, with the advantage of the hill, did drine the Attrebatij, breathles with running & wounded in the encounter, down into the riuer; as they passed ouer the water, slew many of them with their swordes: Neither did they sticke to follow after them ouer the riuer, and aduenture into a place of disadvantage, where the battell being renewed againe by the enemy, they put them to flight the second time. In like maner two other legions, the 11 and the 8, hauing put the Veromandui from the upper ground, fought with them vpon the bankes of the riuer; and so the front & the left part of the campe was well neere left naked. For in the right corner were the 12 and the 7 legions, where as all the Neruij, vnder the conduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together; and some of them began to assault the legions on the open side, and other some to possesse themselves of the highest part of the campe.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, and the light armed footmen that were intermingled amongst them, and were at first all put to flight by the enemy, as they were entering into the campe, met with their enemies in the face, and so were driuen to slie out another way. In like manner, the pages and souldiers boies, that from the Decumane port and toppe of the hill, had seene the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit ouer the riuer, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and saw the enemy in their campe; betooke them to their heeles as fast as they could. Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treuiri (who for their promesse were reputed singular amongst the Gallies, and were sent thither by their state, to aide the Romans) first when they perceiued the Roman campe to be possessed, by a great multitude of the enemy, the legions to be overcharged and almost inclosed about, the horsemen, slingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they tooke their waie homeward, and reported to their state, that the Romans were utterly ouerthrown.

Cæsar departing from the tenth legion, to the right corner, found his men exceedingly overcharged, the ensignes crowded together into one place, and the souldiers of the 12 legion so thicke thronged on a heape, that they hindered one another; all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being slaine, the ensigne bearer kild and the ensigne taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slaine, or sore wounded; amongst whom Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grievously wounded, that he could scarce stand vpon his feete, the rest not verie forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile and forsaking the field; the enemy on the other side, giuing no respite in front, although he fought against the hill, nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue, without any meanes or succour, to relieue them: he tooke a target from one of the hindmost souldiers (for he himselfe was come thither without one) and pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the rest, commanded the ensignes to be aduanced toward the enemy, and the Maniples to be enlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse vse their swordes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefeft Centurion of the 12 legion, being the first Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarii, that was of the first Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greatest dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or simplie *Primipilus*, and sometimes *Primopilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly published, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the rest of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar ensigne of euerie legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple. Neither was this dignitie, without speciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authors. We reade further, that it was no disparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunality was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a law made, I know not vpon what occasion, that no Tribune should afterward be Primipile. But let this suffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

And heere I may not omit to giue the Target any honour I may, and therefore I will take occasion to describe it in Cæsars hand, as in the place of greatest dignitie, and much honouring the excellencie thereof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex surface thereof; and the length foure foote, of what forme or fashion soeuer they were of: for the Romans had two sortes of Targets amongst their legionarie, the first caried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Ouall, a figure of an vnequall latitude, broadest in the midst, and narrow at both the endes, like vnto an egge, described in *Plano*: the other sorte was of an equall latitude, and resembled the fashion of a guttertile; and thereupon was called *Scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one fastened vpon another, with lint and Buls glew; and covered with an Oxe hide, or some other stiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of yron, to keepe it from cleauing; and in the midst there was a bosse of yron or brasse, which they called *umbo*. Romulus brought them in first amongst the Romans, taking the vse of them either fallow, alder, or figtree: whereof Plinie giueth this reason, for as much as these trees are colde and waterish, and therefore any blow or thrust that was made vpon the wood, was presently contracted and shut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of such reputation amongst the Roman Armes, and challenged such interest in the greatest of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the

the consideration of the vse and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderstood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betweene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to insert it in these discourses. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Weapons.

Promised in my sixt book that I would make a comparisson, between the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I would likewise write of the disposition of either of their armies; how they do differ one from another: & in what regard, the one, or the other, were either inferiour, or superiour: which promise I wil now with diligence endeavour to performe. And for as much as the armies of the Macedonians haue giuen so good testimonies of themselves by their actions, by ouercomming the armies as wel of those of Asia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conquered, as well those of Africa as all the Easterne countries of Europe: It shall not be amisse, but very profitable, to search out the difference of either; especially seeing that these our times haue not once, but many times scene triall, both of their battailes and forces; that knowing the reason why, the Romans do ouercome, and in their battailes carie awaie the better: we doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the same to fortune, and esteeme them without reason happy victors; but rather looking into the true causes, we giue them their due praises, according to the direction of reason, and sound iudgment. Concerning the battels betweene Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their losses, there is no neede that I speake much. For their losses are neither to be imputed to the defect of their Armes, or disposition of their Armies; but to the dexteritie and industrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated thereof when we made mention of the battels themselves, and the end it selfe of that warre doth especiallie confirme this our opinion. For vhen they had gotten a captaine equall vvith Hanniball, euen consequentlie vvith all his victories vanished. And hee had no sooner ouercome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, hee trained his Armie to their weapons, and so taking them vp in the beginning, he continued them on vnto the ende.

And Pyrrhus in his war against the Romans, did vse both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but notwithstanding it serued him not to get the victory, but alwaies the euent by some meanes or other, made the same doubtfull: concerning whom it were not vsfit, that I should saie something; least in being altogether silent, it might seeme to preiudice this mine opinion. But notwithstanding I will hasten to my purposed comparisson.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the disposition, and forces proper to it,

M ij.

nothing

nothing is able to oppose it selfe against it, or to sustaine the violence thereof; as maie easily by many documents be approued. For when an armed man doth stand firme in the space of three foote in so thicke an array of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the first basis, or scantling sixteene foote; but according to the true and right conueniencie of them, 14 cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the space betweene the left hand, which supporteth the same, and the butte ende thereof, vvhiles he standes in a readinesse to attend the incounter; being thus ordered, I saie, it is manifest that the length of tenne cubites doth extend it selfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his handes he doth aduance it readie to charge the enemy: By vvhich meanes it followeth, that some of the pikes doe not onely extend themselves before the second, third, and fourth ranke, but some before the formost, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thicknesse, according to his naturall disposition, both on the sides and behinde, as Homer maketh mention vvhien he saith, that one target doth enclose and fortifie another; one headpiece is ioyned to another, that they maie stande vnited and close together.

These circumstances being rightly and truely set downe, it must follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themselves two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betweene themselves: by which maie evidently be seene the assault, and impression of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, consisting of 16 ranks in depth, or thicknesse; the excessse of which number of ranks aboute siue. For as much as they cannot commodiously couch their pikes, without the disturbance of the former, the points of them not being long inough to enlarge themselves beyond the formost ranks, they grow vtterly vnprofitable, and cannot man, by man, make any impression, or assault: but serue onely, by laying their pikes vpon the shoulders of those which stand before them, to sustaine and hold vp the swaies and giuing backe of the former ranks, which stand before them to this end, that the front may stand firme and sure; and with the thicknes of their pikes they doe repell all those darts, which passing ouer the heads of those that stand before, would annoy those ranks which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe so presse vpon the former, that they doe make a most violent impression. For it is impossible that the formost ranks should giue backe.

This therefore being the generall and particular disposition of the phalanx: we must now speake on the contrarie part, touching the properties and differences, as well of the armes, as of the whole disposition of the Roman battell. For euerie Roman soldier for himselfe, and his weapon is allowed three foot to stand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himselfe with his target; and mutually mouing whensoever there is occasion offered. But those which vse their swordes, do fight in a more thinne and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they haue three foote more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to bellie, that they maie vse their weapons with the better commoditie. And hence it commeth to passe, that

that one Romaine soldiour taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: so that one Romaine is as it were to oppose himselfe against tenne pikes, which pikes the said one soldiour can neither by any agilitie come to offende, or else at handy blowes otherwise annoy; And those which are behinde him, are not onely vnable to repell their force, but also with conueniencie to vse their owne weapons. Vvhereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any battaile being assaulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper composition.

What then is the cause that the Romaines do ouercome, and that those that doe vse the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victorie? (Euen from hence) that the Romaine armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, whereto it may profitably applie it selfe: so that if it were of necessitie, that their enemy should encounter them at that instant, especially with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in all probability likelie, that the phalanx should euer carrie away the better. But if that may be auoided, which is easily done: shal not that disposition then, be vtterlie vnprofitable, and free from all terror? And it is farther euident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine & champion places; without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hills and riuers: for al these may hinder & disioyne it. And it is almost impossible to haue a plaine of the capacity of 20. *stadia*, much lesse more, where there shal bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee found such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the enemy refuse to come vnto them, and in the meane time, spoile, and sacke the cities, and countrie round about; what commodity, or profit shal arise by an army so ordered? for if it remaine in such places, as hath bene before spoken of; it can neither relieue their friends, nor preserve themselves. For the Conuoiues which they expect from their friends, are easily cut off by the enemy, whiles they remaine in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterprise, they are then exposed to the enemy. But suppose, that the Romaine army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not aduerture it selfe in gresse at one instant; but would by little & little retire it selfe; as doth plainly appeare by their vial practise. For there must not bee a coniecture of these things by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they do not so equally frame their battaile, that they doe assault the enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a stande, and parte charge the enemy, that if at any time the Phalanx doe presse them, that come to assault them and bee repell'd; the force of their order is dissolued. For whether they pursue those that retire, or flee from those that do assault them, these doe disioyne themselves from part of their armie; by which meanes there is a gap opened to their enemies, standing; and attending their opportunitie: so that nowe they neede not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consisteth: but to assault where the breach is made, both behind, and vpon the sides. But if at any

time the Romaine armie may keepe his due proprietie; and disposition, the phalanx by the disaduantage of the place, being not able to doe the like: doth it not then manifestlie demonstrate the difference to be great, betweene the goodnes of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx?

To this may bee added the necessities imposed vpon an army, which is to march through places of all natures, to encampe themselues, to possesse places of aduantage, to besiege, and to be besieged; and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in viewe of the enemy: For all these occasions necessarilie accompanie an armie; and oftentimes are the especial causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient: Forasmuch as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a conuenient place, are able to effect any thing of moment: but the Romaine army is apt for all these purposes. For euerie soldiour amongst them, beeing once armed and ready to fight, refuseth no place, time, nor occasion; keeping alwaies the same order, whether he fight together with the whole body of the army, or particularly by himselfe, man to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their disposition is aduantageous: so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to speake of at large, because many of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to bee overcome. And againe, many wondered; how the Macedonian phalanx should bee put to the worst by the Romaine army, considering the nature of their weapons.

Thus far goeth Polybius, in comparing the weapons and imbattailing of the Romaines, with the vse of armes amongst the Macedonians: wherein we see the Pike trulie, and exactlie ordered, according as the wise Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might giue most aduantage to the vse thereof: so that if our squadrons of Pikes iumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee see they doe not) they fall so much shorte of that strength, which the wisdom of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imputed vnto it. But suppose wee could allow it that disposition, in the course of our wars, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet forasmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the said maner of imbattailing is tied to such dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kinde of fight: I hold it not so profitable a weapon, as the practise of our times doth seem to make it, especially in woody countries, such as Ireland is; where the vse is cutt off by such inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtles, if our commanders did but consider of the incongruity of the Pike & Ireland, they would not proportion so great a number of the in euery company, as there is; for commonly halfe the company are pikes, which is as much to faile in the practise of our wars, that halfe the army hath neither offensive nor defensive weapons, but only against a troupe of horse. For they seldom or neuer come to the push of pike, with the foot companies, where they may charge & offende the enemy: & for defence, if the enemy think it not safe to buckle with the at hand, but maketh more aduantage to play vpon the far off with shot; it affordeth small safe ty to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entertaine

a vollee of shot with the body of their battailon. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; so I assure my selfe, there are weapons if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike euen in those seruices, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the iudgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatsoever, aswell in regard of the diuers and sundrie sortes of imbattailing, as the qualitie of the place whersoever: for their vse was as effectuell in small bodies and centuries, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thinne and spacious imbattailing, as in thicke thronged Teititudes. Neither could the nature of the place make them vserviceable; for whether it were plaine or couert; leuel or vnequall; narrow or large, if there were any commodity to fight, the Target was as necessarie to defend, as the sword to offende: besides the conueniency, which accompanieth the Target in any necessitie imposed vpon an armie, whether it bee to march through places of all natures, to make a fast march, or a speedie retraite, to incampe themselues, to possesse places of aduantage, to besiege and to be besieged, as Polybius saith, with manie other occasions which necessarilie accompanie an armie. The vse of this weapon hath beene too much neglected in these latter ages, but may be happily renewed againe in our nation, if the industrie of such as haue laboured to present it vnto these times, in the best fashion, shall finde anie fauour in the opinion of our commanders. Concerning which Target, I must needs saie this much, that the light Target will proue the Target of seruice, whensoever they shall happen to be put in execution: for those which are made prooue, are so heauie and vniwieldie, (although it be somewhat qualified with such helpees as are annexed to the vse thereof,) that they ouercharge a man, with a vsupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight disproportionable to his strength. For our offensive weapons, as namely the Harquebusers and musketiers, are stronger in the offensive part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable and fit for seruice. Neither did the Romaines regard the prooue of their Target further, then was thought fit for the readie vse of them in time of battell, as it appeareth in many places, both in the ciuill warres and in these Commentaries: for a Romaine pile hath often times darded through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and fastened them both to the ground, which is more then a musket can wel do; for the bullet commonly resteth in the bodie. And although it may be said that this was not comon, but rather y^e effect of an extraordinary armie; yet it serueth to proue, that their Targets were not prooue to their offensive weapons, when they were well deliuered and with good direction. For I make no doubt, but in their battailes there were oftentimes some hinderances, which would not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake of: for in a volley of shotte, wee must not thinke that all the bullets flie with the same force, and fall with the like hurt; but as armour of good prooue will hardly hold out some of them; so slender armes and of no prooue, will make good resistance against others. And to conclude, in a battell or encounter at hand, a man shall meete with more occasions, suting the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then such as will aduantage the

the heauie Target of prooffe, or counteruaile the furplus of waight, which it earieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vfe of this Target of prooffe, in some places and in some feruices: which I deny not to thofe, that defire to bee fecured from the extremity of peril: but this falleth out in some places and in some particular feruices, and hindereth not but that the vniuerfal benefit of this weapon confifteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the moft important occafions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the fworde of the Targetiers, that according to the praftife of the Romaines, it muft alwaies hang on the right fide; for carying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot be that the fword fhould hang on the left fide, but with great trouble and annoiance: And if any man fay, that if it hang on the right fide, it muft bee verie fhort, otherwife it will neuer bee readilie drawne out. I faie that the fworde of the Targetiers, in regard of the vfe of that weapon, ought to be of a very fhort fcantling, when as the Targetier is to command the point of his fword within the compaffe of his Target, as fuch as looke into the true vfe of this weapon, wil eafily difcouer. But et this fuffice concerning the vfe of the pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The battell continueth, and in the ende

Cæfar ouercommeth.



AT the prefence of their Generall, the foldiours conceived fome better hopes; and gathering ftrength and courage againe, when as euery man beftirred himfelfe in the fight of the Emperour, the brunt of the enemy was a litle ftayed. Cæfar perceiuing likewife the feuenth legion, which flood next vnto him, to bee fore ouerlaide by the enemy, commaunded the Tribunes by little and little, to ioin the two legions together, and fo by ioining backe to backe, to make two contrarie fronts; and beeing thus fecured one by another from feare of being circumuented, they began to make refiftance with greater courage. In the meane time the two legions, that were in the rere ward to guard the cariages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were difcrid. by the enemy vpon the top of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the campe of the Neruij, and beholding from the higher ground what was done on the other fide of the ruer, fent the tenth legion to helpe their fellowes, who vnderftanding by the horfemen and Lackies that fled, in what cafe the matter flood, and in what danger the campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the hafte they poffibly could. At whole comming there happened fuch an alteration and change of things, that euen fuch as were funke downe, through extreame griefe of their woundes, or leaned vpon their Targets, began againe to fight afrefh, and the Pages and the boies perceiuing the enemy amazed, ran vpon them unarmed, not fearing their weapons: the

the horfemen alfo ftriving with extraordinarie valour, to wipe away the difhonour of their former flight, thruft themfelves in all places before the legionarie fouldiers. Howbeit the enemy in the vtmoft perill of their liues, fhewed fuch manhood, that as faft as the moft of them were overthrowen, the next in place beftred their carcafes, and fought vpon their bodies: and thefe being likewife overthrowen, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, poffeff themfelves of that mount of dead carcafes as a place of aduantage, and from thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans. By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of bantie courage, that durft paffe ouer fo broade a river, climbe vp fuch high rockes, and aduventure to fight in a place of fuch inequality. The battell being thus ended, and the nation and name of the Neruij being well neare fwallowed vp with deftruction, the elder fort with the women and children, that before the battell were conuained into Ilands and Bogs, when they heard thereof, fent ambafadours to Cæfar, and yeelded themfelves to his mercie; and in laying open the miferie of their ftate affirmed, that of 600 Senatours they had now left but three; and of 60000 fighting men, there was fcarce fue hundred that were able to beare Armes. Cæfar, that his clemencie might appeare to a diftreffed people, preferved them with great care, granting vnto them the free poffeffion of their townes and country, and ftreightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATIONS.



ANd thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battell, which Ramus complaineth of as a confufed narration: much differing from the direct and methodicall file, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule holde good, which learned Rhetoricians haue obferued in their Oratorie, that an vnperfect thing ought not to be told in a perfect maner; then by Ramus leare, if any fuch confufion do appeare, it both fauoureth of eloquence, and wel fureth the turbulent cariage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to fortune, and prouidence was fwallowed vp with peraduventure. For that which Hirtius faith of the ouerthrow he gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be faid of this; that he got the victorie, plurimum adiuuante deorum benignitate, qui cum omnibus belli cafibus interfunt, tum præcipue iis quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari. For fo it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the fame caufe, that brought him to that pufh in the battell with Pharnaces: for he well vnderftood that the Neruij attended his comming on the other fide the ruer Sabis: Neither was he ignorant how to fortifie his camp in the face of an enemy, without feare or danger, as we haue feene in his war with Ariouiftus: when he marched to the place where he purpofed to iuncamp himfelfe with 3 battels, and caufed two of them to it and ready in armes to receiue any charge, which the enemy fhould offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the camp. VVhich courfe would eafily haue frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard leffe dangerous, but he little expected any fuch refolution,

so contrarie to the rules of militarie discipline, that an enemy should not sticke to passe ouer so broad a riuer; to clime vp such steepe and high rocks, to aduerture battell in a place so disaduantageous, and to hazard their fortune vpon such inequalities. And therefore, hee little mistrusted any such vnlikelie attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his owne ouerthrow, if the legions had bene ready to receiue them. Which may teach a generall that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courses; nor too carefull in his best aduised directions; considering that the greatest means may easily bee preuented, and the safest course weakened with an vnexpected circumstance: so powerful are weake occurrences in the maine course of the waightiest actions; and so infinite are the waies, wherby either wisdom or fortune may worke. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might do, how vnlikelie soeuer it might seeme vnto him, as appeareth by that accident in the battell with Pharnaces: which practise of attempting a thing against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our moderne wars; as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handled sparingly, as no way fauoring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as *temeritas non semper felix*, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefeft helpes which the Romaines founde, were first the aduantage of the place; wherof I spake in the Heluetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which the soldiours had got in the former battailes, which much directed them in this turbulent assault; wherein they caried themselves as men acquainted with such casualties: lastly, the valour and vndanted iudgment of the General, which ouerwaied the peril of the battell, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherin we may obserue, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the battell rested vpon his directions, he wholly intended warines & circumspection, so in the hazard and peril of good hap, he confronted extremity of danger with extremity of valor, and ouertopt fury, with a higher resolution.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduaticis betake themselves to a strong hold,
and are taken by Cæsar.

THE Aduaticis before mentioned, coming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and understanding by the way of their ouerthrow, returned home againe; and forsaking all the rest of their townes, and castles, conuied themselves and their wealth into one strong and wel fortified town, which was compassed about with mighty rocks and steepe downefalls, sauing in one place of 200. foot in breadth, where there was an entry by a gentle and easie ascent, which passage they had fortified with a double wal of a large altitude,

altitude, and had placed mightie great stones and sharpe beames vpon the walles ready for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbric and Teuton, who in their journey into Italy had left such carriages on this side of the Rhene, as they could not conveniently take along with them, in the custodie of these forces; who after the death of their fellows, being many yeares disquieted by their neighbours, sometimes invading other states, and sometimes defending themselves, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle themselves in. At the first coming of the Romaine army, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cæsar had drawne a rampier about the towne of 12 foot in height, 15 miles in compasse, and had fortified it with castles very thicke about the townes, they kept themselves within the wall: And as they beheld the vines framed, the mounr raised, and a towne in building a far off; at first they began to laugh at it, and with scoffing speeches from the wal, began to aske: with what hands, & with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men in respect of the Galles) a towne of that huge masse waight should bee brought vnto the walles? But when they saw it removed, and approaching neere vnto the towne, as men astonished at the strange and vnaccustomed sight thereof, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar, to intreat a peace with this message: They beleued that the Romaines did not make war, without the special assistance of the gods, that could with such facility transport engines of that height, & bring them to incounter at hand, against the strongest part of their town: and therefore they submitted both themselves, and all that they had, to Cæsar's mercy, desiring one thing of his meere clemency, that he would not take away their armes, forasmuch as at their neighbors were enemies vnto them, and enuied at their valour; neither were they able to defend themselves, if they should deliuer vp their armor: so that they had rather suffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butcherly murdered by them, whom in former time they had held subiect to their command.

To this Cæsar answered, that hee would saue the city rather of his owne custome, then for any desert of theirs; so that they yielded before the Ram touched the wal: but no condition of remedy should be accepted, without present deliury of their armes; for he would do by this as he had done by the Neruij, and giue commandement to their neighbours, that they should offer no wrong to such, as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answer being returned to the city, they seemed contented to doe what soeuer hee commanded them, and thereupon casting a great part of their armour ouer the wall into the ditch, in so much as they sild it almost to the top of the rampier: and yet (as after ward was known) concealing the third part, they set open the gates, and for that daie caried themselves peaceably. Towards night Cæsar commanded the gates to be shut, and the soldiours to be drawn out of the towne. But the Aduaticis having consulted together before, forasmuch as they beleued that vpon their submission, the Romaines would either set no watch at all, or at the least, keepe it verie careleslie; partly with such armour as they had retained, and partly with Targets, made of barke or wrought of wicker, which vpon the sodaine they had couered ouer with leather, about the third watch where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest, they issued sodainly out of the towne with all their power: but signification thereof being giuen by fiers, as Cæsar had commanded, the Romains hastened speedilie to that place. The enemy fought verie desperatelie, as men in the last hope of their welfare, incountering the Romains in a place of disaduantage, at length with the slaughter of 4000. the rest were driuen backe into the towne. The

next day when Cæsar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he sent in the soldiers, and sold al the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne amounted to 53000. bondslaves.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the surprise, attempted by the Belge vpon Bibract, I set downe the manner, which both the Galles and the Romaines vsed in their sodaine surprising of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any advantage in the course of the war) they then prepared for the siege, in that manner, as Cæsar hath described in this place. They inuiroed the town about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the saide rampier, with many castles and fortresses, erected in a conuenient distance one from another; and so they kept the town from any forraigne succor or reliefe: and withal secured themselves fro sallies or other stratagems, which the townsmen might practise against them. And this manner of siege was called *circumvallatio*; the particular description whereof, I refer vnto the history of Aleſia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there set down by Cæsar.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Ram, which Cæsar heere mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and helde that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruuius doth attribute the inuention thereof, to the Carthaginians; who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit instrument to raze and ouerthrow a castle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their armes and shoulders, with the one end thereof they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones: and so descending by degrees, they ouerthrew the whole towne. The Romaines had two sortes of Rams, the one was rude and plaine; the other artificial and compound: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vsed at Cadiz, and is purtraiued in the column of Traian at Rome.

The compound Ram is thus described by Iosephus; a Ramme (saith he) is a mighty great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthened at one end with a head of yron, fashioned like vnto a Ram; and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hanged by the middelt with roapes vnto an other beame, which lieth crosse a couple of pillars, and hanging thus equallie balanced, it is by force of men thrust forward, and recoiled backward; and so beatech vpon the wall with his yron heade: neither is there any towre so strong, or wal so broad, that is able to stande before it. The length of this Ramme was of a large scanning, for Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian warre had a Ram eighty foote long: and Vitruuius saith, that the length of a Ramme was vsuallie 106. and sometimes 120; and this length gaue great strength and force to the engine.

engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of souldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus saith, that Titus, at the siege of Ierusalem, had a ramme for euerie legion: it was oftentimes couered with a vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more safety. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued our vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not presume of any acceptation of rendrie; for as much as by their obtinacie, they had brought in perill the liues of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affoordeth such mercie as the victor pleaseth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe Aduatici, as it seemeth, were not ignorant of the small securitie, which one state can giue vnto another, that commendeth their safetie to be protected by it: for as Architas the Pythagorean saith, a bodie, a familie, and an Armie are then well gouerned, when they containe within themselves the causes of their safetie; so we must not looke for anie securitie in a state, when their safetie dependeth vpon a forraigne protection. For the olde saying is, that *Neque murus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem propria arma non texere*. Although in this case the matter was well qualified, by the maiestie of the Roman Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia, whereof the Hedui with their associates were very gainful witnesses: but amongst kingdomes, that are better suted with equalitie of strength & authority, there is small hope of safetie to be looked for, vnlesse the happy gouernment of both do mutually depend vpon the safetie of either nation. For that which Polybius obserued in Antigonus king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; That kinges by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemy, but as the calculation of profit shall finde them answerable to their proiectes. And contrariwise, it cutteth off many occasions of practises & attempts, when it is knowne that a state is of it selfe able and readie to resist the designs of forraigne enemies, according to that of Manlius: *Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent*.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

THe manner of signifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great vse in the night season, where the fortification was of so large an extension: for fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeed it is, for as much as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereof, in a reasonable distance cannot be discerned from the fire it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance: and contrariwise,

To giue notice of an Alarme by fire.

in the daie time it sheweth lesse then it is; for the cleare brightnesse of the airc doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall bodie: and therefore their custome was to vse fire in the night, and smoake in the daie, futing the transparent middle with a contrarie qualitie, that lo it might more manifestly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

And albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted diuers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemy; yet as Flavius Lucanus saith in *Liuiæ*, there was no nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romans were. The punishments which we find them to haue vsed towards a conquered nation, were these; either they punished them by death, or solde them for bondslaves, *sub corona*, or dismissed them *sub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie states.

Of the first we finde a manifest example in the third of these Commentaries, where Cæsar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by sea, in as much as they had retained his ambassadours by force, contrarie to the law of nations, he put all the Senate to the sword, and sold the rest *sub corona*.

Festus saith, that an enemy was said to be sold *sub corona*, in as much as the captiues stood crowned in the market place, where they were set out to sale; as Cato saith in his booke *de re militari*, *ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus, supplicatum eat: quam re male gesta coronatus vaneat*. And Gellius affirmeth the same thing, but addeth also another reason, for as much as the soldiers that kept them while they were in selling, incircled them round about, to keepe them together; and this round-about-standing was called *Corona*. Festus saith, that oftentimes they vsed a speare; and therefore they were said to be sold *sub hasta*: for as much as amongst the Greekes, by the speare or pike, was signified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

When they dismissed them *sub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallows, vnder which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a signe of bondage: for they had so conquered them by force of Armes, that they laide vpon their necke the yoke of thraldome. *Liuiæ* saith, that Quintius the dictator dismissed the *Aequos sub iugum*; and this *iugum* was made of 3 speares, whereof two were stucke vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The souldiers that passed *sub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus saith.

Sometimes againe they tooke awaie their landes and territories, and either solde it for mony, & brought it into the treasure; or deuided the land amongst the Roman people; or let it out to farme rent: of all which *Liuiæ* hath manie pregnant examples.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

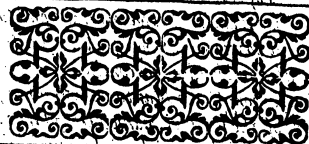
Craffus taketh in all the maritime cities that lie to the Ocean: the legions are carried into their wintering camps.



HE same time Pub. Craffus, whom he had sent with one Legion to the maritime cities that laie to the Ocean, aduertised him that all those states had yeilded themselves to the people of Rome. The wars being thus ended, and all Gallia being settled in peace, there went such a fame of this warre among other barbarous people, that from nations beyond the Rhene there came ambassadours to Cæsar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoever he commanded them. But Cæsar willed them to repaire vnto him againe in the beginning of the next sommer, for as much as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after he had placed his legions in their wintering camps. For these thinges, vpon the sight of Cæsars letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for 15 daies together, which honour before that time had happened to no man. And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Cæsar.

Of this supplication I will speake in the latter ende of the 4 booke.



OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CÆSAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former sommer; wherein the Belgæ had so leane a haruest: and then it proceedeth to the warre betweene Cæsar and the Veneti; Crassus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curiolitræ: And Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, being sent to cleere the passage of the Alpes, was besieged by the Seduni and Veragri.



CÆSAR taking his iourney into Italie, sent Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horsemen vnto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whose territories are extended from the riuer Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, vnto the tops of the highest Alpes. The ende of this voyage was chiefly to cleare the Alpes of theues and rabbers, that liued by the spoile of passengers that trauelled betwene Italie and Gallia: Galba hauing or-

der, if he found it expedient to winter in those partes after some fortunate encounters and the taking of some castles and holdes, he concluded a peace, and resolved to place two cohortes of his legion; amongst the Nantuates; and himselfe to winter with the other cohortes, in a towne of the Veragri, called Deodarius. This towne being situate in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mightie high hills, was diuided by a riuer into two partes, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he chose for his wintering campe, and fortified it about with a ditch and a rampier. After he had spent many daies of wintering, and giuen order, that corne should be brought thither for prouision; he had intelligence vpon a sudden, that the Galles, in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted vnto them; and that the hills which hung ouer the valley, wherein the towne stood, were possest with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reasons of this sudden commotion were chiefly

the paucitie of the Roman forces, not making a compleat legion; for as much as two cohortes wintered amongst the Nantuates: besides many particulars, that were wanting vpon necessarie occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselves, the place afforded such aduantage, that they were perswaded by reason of the steepe declinitie of the hill, that the Romans would not indure the brunt of the first assault: besides this, it greened them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, vnder the title of hostages; and the Alpes, which nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as boundes betweene two large kingdomes, to be seased vpon by the Roman legions, and vnted to their Prouince.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba not hauing as yet finished the fortification of his campe, nor made prouision of corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendrie: he presently called a councill of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken. In which councill the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terrour of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hills pestered with armed soldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the enimie, and no hope left of any succour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other waie for their safetie, then leaving behind them their baggage and impediments, to sallie out of their campe, and so to saue themselves by the same waie they came thither: notwithstanding the greater part concluded, to referre that resolution to the last push; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the euent, and defend the campe.

THE OBSERVATION.



WHich aduise although at this time sorted to small effect; yet it better suited the valour of the Romans, and fauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakenesse of their mindes, by their ouer hattie and too forward resolution. For as it imported greater danger, and discovered a more desperate spirit, to breake through the thickest troupes of their enemies, and so by strong hand to saue themselves by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater apprehension of terrour, and a stronger impressiion of feare, which can afford nothing but desperate remedies: for desperate and inconsiderate rashnes riseth sooner of feare, then of any other passion of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a lesse troubled eie and qualified the terrour of death with the life of their spirite, reseruing extremitie of helpe to extremitie of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterpriise the enimie should attempt; I say, they so gaue greater scope to fortune and enlarged the boundes of changing accidents.

CHAP. II.

The enimie setteth vpon the wintering campe:

Galba ouerthroweth them.

HE counsell being dismissed, they had scarce time to put in execution such thinges, as were agreed vpon for their defence: but the enimie at a watchword giuen assaulted the campe, on all sides with stones and darts, and other casting weapons: the Romans at first when their strength was fresh, valiantly resisted the brunt of the charge; neither did they spend in vaine any weapon which they cast from the rampier; but what part soeuer of their campe seemed to be in greatest danger, and want of helpe, thither they came with succour and reliefe; but herein they were overmatched. For the enimie being spent and wearied with fight, when soeuer anie of them gaue place and forsooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combatants to supplie it: but the Romans by reason of their small number, had no such helpe. For their extremitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither for wearinesse nor woundes, to forsake his station, or abandon his charge. And hauing thus sought continually the space of sixe houres, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enimie persisting with greater furie to fill the ditch and breake downe the rampier, and their hopes relying vpon the last expectation: P. Sex. Baculus the Primipile of that legion, whom we said to be so sore wounded in the Nernian battell, and Caius Volusenus Tribune of the souldiers, a man of singular courage and wisdom, ranne speedily to Galba and tolde him, that the only waie of safetie was to breake out vpon the enimie, and to trie the last refuge in that extremitie. Whereupon they called the Centurions, and by them admonished the souldiers to surcease a while from fighting, and onely to receiue such weapons as were cast into the campe; and so to rest themselves a little and recouer their strength: and then at a watchword to sallie out of their campe, and laie their safety vpon their vertue; which the souldiers executed with such alacrity and courage of spirit, that breaking out at all the gates of the campe, they gaue no leasure to the enimie to consider what was done, nor to satisfie his iudgement touching so vnexpected a noueltie. And thus fortune being suddenly changed, they slewe more then the third part of 30000, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to staie vpon the hills neere about them.

OBSERVATIONS.



Hich strange alteration liuely describeth the force of noueltie, and the effectfull power of vnexpected aduētures: for in the first course of their proceeding, wherein the Romans defended the campe, and the Galles charged it by assault, the victorie held constant with the Galles, and threatned death and mortality to the Romans. Neither had they any

meanes

meanes to recouer hope of better successe, but by trying another waie; which so much the more amazed the Galles, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victorie, by a set fight continuing the space of sixe houres, without any likelihood of contrarietie, or alteration. Which practise, of frustrating a designe intended by an indirect and contrary answer, serueth the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as besides this present example, in this Commentarie we shall afterward read, how Titurius Sabinus defeated the Vnellos, with the same stratagem; and ouerthrew them by eruption and fallying out, when they expected nothing but a defensiu resistance from the rampier. From whence a commander may learne, to auoide two contrarie inconueniences, according as the qualitie of the warre shall offer occasion: first (if other thinges be answerable, which a iudicious eie will easily discouer) that a sallie made out at diuers portes of a holde, will much mitigate the heate of a charge, and controll the furie of an enimie. And on the other side, he that besiegeth any place what aduantage soeuer he hath of the defendant, may much better assure himselfe of good fortune, if he appoint certaine troupes in readines to receiue the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are busily imployed in the assault may prouide to answer it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Galles had taken, they had not in likelihood so often been deceived.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Vnelli giue occasion of a new warre.



HE enimie being thus defeated, Galba was unwilling to trie fortune any further; and the rather for that he wanted both corne and forrage: and therefore hauing burned the towne, the next daie he returned towards the Prouince, and without let or resistance, brought the legion safe into the Nantuates; and from thence to the * Allobroge, and there he wintered.

After these thinges were dispatched: Cæsar supposing for many reasons, that all Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of anie new warre, the Belgæ being ouerthrown; the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni amongst the Alpes subdued and vanquished; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, hauing a great desire to see those nations: there grewe a sudden tumult and disension in Gallia vpon this occasion. Pub. Craesus wintering with the seuenth legion in Aniou neare vnto the Ocean, and finding scarcitie of corne in those partes; he sent out the Prefects of the horsemen, and Tribunes into the next cities to demaund corne, and other prouisions for his legion, of whom Titus Terrasidius was sent vnto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebius to the * Curiosolita, Q. Velanius, and Titus Silius to the * Veneti. These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritime nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of shipping, with

O ij.

which

Cæsar.

* Sauiens.

* Le Perche.
* Cornouaille
in Bretaine
* Vannes.

which they did trafficke into Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour states in skill and experience of sea-faring matters; having the most part of such as used those seas, tributaries to their state: These Veneti first adventured to retaine Silius and Velanius, hoping thereby to recover their hostages which they had given to Crassus. The summatimate cities induced by their authoritie and example, for the same reason, laide hold vpon Trebius and Terrasidius; and sending speedie ambassages one vnto another, conuired by their Princes and chiefeest magistrates, to approue their fact by common consent, and to attend all the same euent of fortune; soliciting also other cities and states, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had receiued of their Ancestors, then to indure the seruile bondage of a stranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe circumstance in this historie, which noteth the sudden breaking out of warres, when the course of thinges made promise of peace: sheweth first, what small assurance our reason hath of her discourse, in calculating the natiuitie of *After-chances*; which so seldome answer the iudgment we giue vpon their beginnings, that when we speake of happiness, we finde nothing but miserie: and contrariwise, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruel, if when almost all nations are at oddes, and in our best conceites, threaten destruction one to another, there happen a sudden motion of peace; or if peace be in speech, soothing the world with pleasing tranquillitie, and through the vncertainty of our weake probabilities, promise much rest after many troubles: there follow greater wars in the ende, then the former time can truly speake of. Which being well vnderstood, may humble the spirits of our haucie politicians, that thinke to comprehend the conclusions of future times, vnder the premisses of their weake proiectes, and predestinate succeeding ages, according to the course of the present motion: when an accident so little thought of, shall breake the maine streame of our iudgment, and falsifie the Oracles which our vnderstanding hath vttered. And it may learne them withall, how much it importeth a wise commander, to preuent an euill that may crosse his designe, (how vnlikely soeuer it be to happen) by handling it in such manner, as though it were necessarily to confront the same. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it selfe both the causes of his being; and the direct meanes to resist the repugnancie of a contrarie nature: and so hap what will, it hath great possibility to continue the same.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis practise of the Veneti may instruct a circumspect Prince in cases of this nature, to haue a more watchfull eye ouer that Prouince or city; which shall be found most potent and mightie amongst the rest, then of any other inferiour state of the same nature and condition: for as example of it

it selfe is of great Authoritie, making improbabilities seeme full of reason, especially when the intention shall sympathize with our will; so when it shall happen to be strengthened with powerfull meanes, and graced with the Acte of superior personages: it must needes be verie effectfull to stirre vp mens mindes, to approue that with a strong affection, which their owne single iudgment did no waie allow of. And therefore equalitie bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which differencie can not afford, that albeit example doe set on foote any rebellious motion, yet no supereminencie shall authorise the same.

The Authority of example.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar hauing aduertisement of these new troubles; hasteth into Gallia and prepareth for the warre.



ALl the maritimate states being by this meanes drawne into the same conspiracie, they sent a common ambassage vnto Crassus; that if he would haue his men againe, he must deliuer up the hostages, which he had taken from them. Whereof Cæsar being certified by Crassus, in as much as he was then a great way distant from his Armie, he commanded Gallies and shippes of warre to be built vpon the riuer * Loier, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallie men, Mariners, and Shipmasters should be mustered in the Prouince: which being speedely dispatched, as soone as the time of the yeare would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the rest of the confederacie, vnderstanding of Cæsars arriual, and considering how haynous a fact they had committed, in detaining the ambassadours and casting them into yrons, whose name is held sacred and inuolable amongst all nations: prepared accordingly to answer so eminent a danger, & especially such necessities, as pertained to shipping & sea-fights.

Cæsar.

* Ligeris.

THE OBSERVATION.

Rom hence I may take occasion, briefly to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, howe barbarous soeuer, haue generally conceiued of the qualite and condition of ambassadours: and what the groundes are of this vniuersall receiued custome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authentickall. And first we are to vnderstand, that all man kinde (as indued with the same nature and properties) are so linked together in the strict alliance of humane lociety; that, albeit their turbulent and disagreeing passions (which in themselues are vnnaturall; as proceeding from corruption and defect) driue them into extreme discord and disunion of spirit, and breake the bonds of ciuill conuersation, which otherwise we do naturally affect:

The groundes of that reuerent opinion which is held of ambassadours.

yet without a necessarie entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discord it selfe, in teames of reason and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with disordered confusion, & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bondes of nature, and so powerfull are the lawes which she enacteth. And therefore if it were for no other end, which might sort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vses thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it from falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reason of nations hath made a law, ought as religiously to be obserued, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the end of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may seeme so barbarous, as to maintaine a warre; which onelie intendeth blood, and propoeth as the chiefeſt object, the death and mortality of mankind, no way respecting peace and ciuill gouernment; such as refuse the entercourse of messengers, as the meanes of amitie and concord, are iustly condemned in the iudgment of all nations, as vnworthie of humane societie. Last of all, it is an iniurie of great dishonour, and deserueth the reward of extreme infamie, to reuenge the master his quarrell vpon a seruant, and punish ambassadours for the faults of their state: considering that their chiefeſt dutie consisteth in the faithfull relation of such mandates, as they haue receiued, which may as well tende to the aduancement and honour of that cittie, to which they are sent; as to the dishonour and ruine of the same, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therefore whether we desire warre or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of ambassadours, is reuerently to be respected, and defended from brutish and vnaturall violence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the entrance of this warre.

THE Veneti conceiued great hope of their enterprife, by reason of the strength of their situation: for as much as all the passages by land were broken and cut off, with armes and creekes of the sea; and on the other side, navigation and entrance by sea was so troublesome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether vnacquainted with the channels, and shoales of the coast. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Arme could long continue there without corne, which was not to be had in those quarters. And if it happened, that the course of thinges were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themselves were strong in shipping: whereas the Romans had none

none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and shallowes, Portes and Ilands of that coast, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they should finde the vse of Navigation in that narrow sea, to be farre different from that which they were accustomed vnto, in the vast and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their townes, stored them with prouision, and brought all their shipping to Vannes; against whom, Cæsar (as it was reported) would begin to make warre, taking the Osismi, Lexouij, Nannetes, Ambiuariti, Morini, Menapij, Diablintres, as consorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithstanding these difficulties, many motiues stirred vp Cæsar to undertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yeelded themselves by rendrie, and giuen hostages of their loialtie: the conspiracie of so manie citties, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and states to the like insolencie. And therefore understanding, that almost all the Galles were inclining to noueltie and alteration, and of their owne nature, were quicke and readie to undertake a warre; and further, considering that all men by nature desired libertie, and hated the seruile condition of bondage: he preuented all further insurrections of the other states, with the presence of the Roman forces: and sent Titus Labienus with the Cavalrie, vnto the *Treuiri, that bordered vpon the Rhene: to him he gaue in charge, to visit the men of Rhemes and the rest of the Belgæ, to keepe them in obedience; and to hinder such forces, as might peradventure be transported ouer the riuer by the Germans, to further this rebellious humour of the Galles. He commanded likewise Pub. Craſſus, with 12 legi-onarie cohortes, and a great part of the horse to go into Aquitaine, least there might come any aide from those nations. He sent also Q. Titurinus Sabinus with three legions, vnto the Lexouij, Curioſolita, Vnelli, to disappoint any practiſe which rebellious mindes might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gaue him in charge, to make towardes Vannes, with what speede he could: and hee himselfe marched thitherward with the rest of the foote forces.

Lendriguer.
Lysieux.
Nantes.
Aurenche.
Leondoul.
Cities in li-
tle Britaine

*Triers.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN the first booke, I obserued the authoritie which the Roman leaders had to undertake a warre, without further acquainting the senat with the consequence thereof: in this place, let vs obserue the care and circumspection, which the Generals had, not to undertake a troublesome and dangerous warre vpon a humor, or any other slender motion: but diligently waighing the circumstances thereof, and measuring the perill and hazard of the warre, with the good and consequence of the effect; informed their iudgments of the importance of that action; and so tried whether the benefit would answere their labour. And thus we finde the reasons particularly deliuered, that moued Cæsar first to undertake the Helucian warre: and then the causes which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouistus: then followeth the necessitie of that warre with the Belgæ; and nowe the motiues which induced him to this with the maritime cities of Britaine: and so consequently of his passage into Germanie, or what other enterprife he attempted: which he laith downe

downe as the groundes and occasions of those warres, and could not be auoided but with the losse and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs obserue the meanes he vsed to prevent the inclination of the Gallies, and to keepe them in subiection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into diuers quarters of that continent; and so settling the wauering disposition of the further skittes, with the waight of his Armie, and the presence of his legionarie souldiers, which he sent readie to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not breake out to the preiudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successe of his proceedings: besides the aduantage, which he gained in the opinion of the enemy; whom he so little feared concerning the vphot of that quarrell, that he had disperfed the greatest part of his Armie vpon other seruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The maner of their shipping, and their sea-fight.

THE site, of almost all these cities was such, that being built in pointes and promontories, they could not at full sea, which happened alwaies twice in 12 houres, be approached by foot forces, nor yet with shipping neither for againe in an ebbe, the vessalles were laid on the ground, and so left as a prize to the enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea, with mounts which they raised equal to the wals of the town, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townsmen hauing such store of shipping, would easily conuey, both themselves and their cariages, into the next townes, and there helpe themselves with the like aduantage of place. And thus they deluded Cæsar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleet by reason of continuall windes and foule weather, durst not adventure to put out of the riuer Loier into so vast a sea, wherein the hauens and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, and the tides great. The shipping of the Gallies was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Roman shipping, the better to beare the ebbs, and shallowes of that coast: the foredecke was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the ingresse of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were altogether built for strength: for the ribbes and seates were made of beames of a foote square, fastned with yron pins of an inch thicke: in steed of cables, they vsed chaines of yron, and raw hides and skins for sailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant of the vse thereof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serue to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman naue, with this kinde of ships was such, that they onely excelled them in celeritie and speedie nimblenes, with force of oares; but in all other thinges, either concerning the nature of the place, or the dangers of the foule weather, were farre inferiour vnto them: for the strength of them was such,

such, that they could neither hurt them with their beake-heads, nor cast a weapon to anie purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie gust chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselves to the mercie of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safetie shelter it selfe amongst flats and shallowes, without feare of rockes or any such hazard: of all which chances the Roman naue stood continually in danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

And here, let it not seeme impertinent to the argument which we handle, considering the generall vse which we Initiulairs haue of nauigation, briefly to set downe the most eminent causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, as farre forth as shall seeme necessarie to the knowledge of a souldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this great secret; yet for as much as they stand for true principles of regularitie, and well approued rules in our Arte of nauigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they effect, and giue them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefe estence consisteth in conceit and supposall; yet for as much as they serue to direct our knowledge to a certainty, in that variety and seeming inconstancie of motion, we esteeme of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Considering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right sphere (for in that position, the Naturalistes chiefly vnderstand celestially influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is deuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the first quarter is that, betwene the east horizon and the noone meridian, which they call a flowing quarter: the second, from the noone meridian, to the west horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the west horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewise call a flowing quarter: and againe, from the midnight meridian to the east horizon, the second ebbing quarter: And so they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these sensible qualities; and contrarie effects, are the sunne and the moone, as they are caried through these distinct partes of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moone to be of greatest power in warlike motions; yet we may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the sunne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that when the moone or the sunne begin to appeare aboue the right horizon, and enter into that part of the heauen which I termed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea begetteth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; so it increaseth vntill it come to a high flood. And againe, as those lightes passing the meridian, decline to the west, and runne the circuit of the ebbing quarter: so the water decreaseth and returneth againe from whence it came. Againe, as they set vnder the west horizon,

The causes of the ebbing and flowing of the sea.

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The causes of the ebbing and flowing of the sea.

hizon and enter into the second flowing quarter; so the sea beginneth againe to flow, and still increaseth vntill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then againe, it resloweth, according as the sunne and moone are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the east horizon.

And hence it happeneth that in coniunction or new of the moone, when the sunne and the moone are caried both together in the same flowing, and ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebbes are very great: and likewise in opposition or full of the moone, when these lightes are caried in opposite quarters, which we haue described to be of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: forasmuch as both these Planets, through the symbolising quarters wherein they are carried, doe ioyne their forces, to make perfect this worke of nature in the ebbing and flowing of the sea. And contrariwise, in a quadrate aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moone is caried in a flowing quarter; and at the same instant, the sunne doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of nature doth necessarily require: then are the tides lessened, as daile experience doth witnesse.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, deuide euery diurnall circle, which either the sun or the moone maketh in their reuolutions, into equall parts; it followeth that euery tide is continually measured with the quantitie of 6 houres: and therefore that which Cæsar here saith, must needs be true, that in the space of 12 houres, there are alwaies 2 high tides. And least any man should imagine, that euery inland citie, standing vpon an ebbing and flowing riuer, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderstand that this which I haue deliuered, is to be conceiued principally of the sea it selfe; and secondarily of such portes and hauens, as stand either neare or vpon the sea: but where a riuer shall run many miles from the sea, and make many winding meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought conuenient to insert in these discourses touching the ebbing and flowing of the sea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath onely receiued the bare names, and some fewe circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critiques of these times haue laboured to set forth a fleet, answerable to that, which the tearmes and title mentioned in historie seeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answere their charge. For manie men rest vn-satisfied, first touching the names themselves, whereof wee finde these kindes,

Names { *Longas.*
Onerarias.
Actuarias.
Triremes.
Quadrirèmes.
Quinquerèmes.

The first we may vnderstand to be Gallies or ships of seruice: the second ships of

of burthen: the third, ships that were driuen forward with force of oares, and the rest sounding according to their Names; for I dare not intitle them with a more particular description. Nowe whether these Names *Longas* and *Actuarias*, were a seuerall sorte of shipping by themselves; or the generall Names of the *Quadrirèmes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinquerèmes*, for as much as euery kinde of these might be called both *Longas* and *Actuarias*, as it yet remaineth in controuersie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea Critiques, is in what sense they maie vnderstand these vocabularies, *Triremes*; *Quadrirèmes*, and *Quinquerèmes*, whether they were so tearmed in regard of the number of rowers, or watermen that haled continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either side, a *Quadrirème* foure, and a *Quinquerème* five: whereof they tooke their distinction of Names.

Such as holde, that a *Trireme* had on each side three ranks of oares, and so consequently, of a *Quadrirème* and *Quinquerème*, alleadge this place of Liuius, to make good their opinion. In the warres betweene Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Adherball in the straights of Gibraltar, each of them had a *Quinquerème*, and seauen or eight *Triremes* a peece, the current in that place was so great that it gaue no place to Arte, but carried the vessailes according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertaintie the *Triremes* of the Carthaginian, closed with the *Quinquerème* of Lælius: which either because she was *pondere tenacior*, as Liuius saith, or otherwise, for that *pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices facilius reueretur*; in regarde of the pluralitie of bankes of oares, which resisted the billow and steamed the current, the sunke two of the *Triremes*, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquerème* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therefore it tooke the name from the pluralitie of bankes of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare.

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo Remorum*, to be a couple of oares one answering another, on each side of the vessaile, which we call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquerème* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, and those oares were handled with fise men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of sea-fights, wee must vnderstand that the Romans, wanting the vse of Artillerie and managing their ships of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vse of their Arte, in their conflicts and incounters by sea: for all their shippes of seruice, which we tearme men of warre, carried a strong beake-head of yron, which they called *rostrum*, with which they ranne one against another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Arte gaue great aduantage; for he that could best skill to turne his ship, with greatest celeritie, and so frustrate an offer; or with speedie and strong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly got the victorie.

In the battell, which D. Brutus had with the Massilians, we reade that two

P ij.

Triremes

Lib. 2. de bello cimiti.

Lib. 27.

Their manner of sea fights.

Triremes charging the Admirall, wherein Brutus was one at the one side, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Marriners so cunningly handled the matter, that when they should come to the hurt, they speedily in a trice of time, wound themselves from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with such a carriere one against another, that one brake her beakehead, and the other split with the blowe.

For this skill and fortune withall, Euphranor the Rodian was of great fame in Cæsars time; although his ende found too true the saying of the Historian, that Whom fortune honoureth with many good haps, she oftentimes referueth to a harder destinie; as other seamen besides Euphranor, can truly witnesse.

This first battell being ended: when they came to grapple and boarding: one of another, then the art and practises of their land seruices came in vse: for they erected turrets vpon their deckes, and from them they fought with engines and casting weapons, as slinges, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with sword and target. Neither did the legionarie souldier finde any difference, when he came to the point, betweene their fight at sea and that at land: sauing that they could not be martialled in troups and bandes, in regard wherof the sea seruice was counted more base, and dishonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuersie, by slinges and casting weapons: which kinde of fight was of lesse honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The battell continueth: and Cæsar ouercommeth.



THE maner of their fightes being this, as I haue described, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his nauie, knewe what to doe or what course of fight to take: for the shipping of the Galles was so strong, that the beake-head of their Quinqueremes could performe no seruice vpon them: and although they should raise turrets according to their vse, yet these would not equall in height the poupe of the enemies shipping; so that there

in also the Galles had aduantage: neither had they any meanes, whereby they might foile so great a nauie, which amounted to the number of 230 shippes of warre. One thing there was amongst their prouisions which stood them in great speed: for the Romans had provided great sharpe hookes or sickles, which they put vpon great and long poles, these they fastened to the tackling which held the maine yarde to the mast; and then haling away their ship, with force of Oares, they cutte the said tackling, and the maine yarde fell downe: Whereby the Galles, whose onely hope consisted in sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant both their sailes and the vse of their shipping: And then the controuersie fell within the compasse of valour, wherein the Romans exceeded the Gals; and the rather, inasmuch as they fought in the sight of Cæsar

and the whole Armie, no valiant act could be smothered in secret; for all the hills and clifts, which afforded neare prospect into the sea, were couered with the Roman Armie.

Their maine yarges being cutte downe, and the Romans indeuouring with great furie to boord them, failed not to take manie of their ships: which the Galles perceiving, and finding no remedie nor hope of resistance, began all to flie, & turning their ships to a forewind, were vpon a sudden so becalmed, that they were able to make no waie at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a nauie, verie few through the helpe of the euening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8 houres: with which battell, ended the warre with the Veneti, and the rest of the maritime nations. For all sort of people both young and olde, in whom there was either courage, counsell, or dignitie, were present at this battell, and all their shipping was taken and lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their townes any longer: and therefore yielded themselves to Cæsar, in whom he used the greater seueritie, that he might thereby teach all other barbarous people, not to violate the law of nations: for he slew all the Senat with the sword, and solde the people for bondslaves.

THE OBSERVATION.

*I*N this battell I chiefly obserue the good fortune, which vsually attendeth vpon industrie: for amongst other prouisions, which the diligence of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made readie these hookes, not for this intent wherin they were imploied, but at all occasions & chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather then principall instruments: and yet it so fell out, that they proued the only meanes, to ouerthrow the Galles. Which proueth true the saying of Cæsar, that industrie commaundeth fortune and buyeth good successe, with extraordinary labour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an assent beyond the strength of reason; and striueth through continuall pursuit, to make good the motiues, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that disposition, which will easily admit whatsoeuer is required: In like manner diligence and labour some industrie, by circumspect and heedfull cariage, seldome faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For euerie action is intangled with many infinite adherents, which are so interessed in the matter, that it succeedeth according as it is carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherentes, some of them are by wisdom, foreseene; and directed to that course which may fortunate the action: the rest being vnknowne, continue without either direction or prevention, and are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyonde the compasse of our wisest reach, and stand in the waie either to assist or disadvantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authoritie; in as much as she armeth her selfe for all chances, whereby she is said to command fortune.

The force of industrie.

CHAP. VIII.

Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manner thereof.



WHILE these things happened in the state of Vannes, I. Titurius Sabinus entereth with his forces, into the confines of the Vnelli, ouer whom Viridoux was made chiefe commander, hauing drawne the * Aulerci and the * Eburonices, with a great number of vagabondes and thecues into the same conspiracie: Sabinus incamping himselfe in a conuenient place, kept his souldiers within the rampier. But Viridoux, being lodged within lesse then two miles of Sabinus his campe, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him oportunitie to fight if he would: which Sabinus reysed in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the enemye of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprochfull speeches of his owne souldiers; which opinion of feare being once settled in the mindes of the enemye, he vsed all meanes to increase, and caried it so wel, that the enemye durst approach the verie rampier of the campe, the colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the Generall, to fight with an enemye of that strength, but vpon some good oportunitie, or in a place of aduantage. In this generall perswasion of feare, Sabinus chose out a subtil witted Gall, whom he perswaded with great rewards, and further promises, to sue to the enemye, and there to carrie himselfe, according to the instructions, which he should giue him. This Gall, comming as a renouler to the enemye, laide open vnto them the feare of the Romans: the extremitie that Cæsar was driuen into by the Veneti; and that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces secretly out of his campe, and to make all the haste he could to relieue Cæsar. Vpon which aduertisement, they all cried out with one consent, that this oportunitie was not to be omitted; but setting apart all other deuises, to go and assault the Roman campe. Many circumstances perswaded the Galles to this resolution; as first the lingering doubt which Sabinus had made, when he was offered battell: secondly the intelligence which this fugitive had brought: thirdly the want of victuals, wherein they had bin negligent and vnadvisedly carelesse: fourthly the hope they conceived of the warre of Vannes; and lastly, for that men willingly beleue that which they would haue come to passe. The force of these motiues was so strong, that they would not suffer Viridoux, nor the rest of the capitaines, to dismisse the counsell vntill they had permitted them to take Armes, and go to the Roman campe. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and fagots to fill up the ditch, and with cheerefull hearts, as though the victorie were already gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped, which was the toppe of a hill rising gently from a leuell, the quantitie of 1000 paces: hither the Gals hastened with all expedition; and to the intent the Romans might not haue so much time, as to put on their armour, the Galles for haste ran themselues out of breath.

Sabinus

Sabinus encouraging his souldiers, gaue the signe of battell, and sallying out at two severall gates of his campe, it fell out that through the oportunitie of the place, the wearines and vnexperience of the enemye, the valour of the Roman souldier and their exercise in former battells, that the Galles could not indure the brunt of the first encounter; but presently tooke themselves to flight, of whom veriefew escaped. And so it happened that at one time, Sabinus had newes of the ouerthrow at sea; and Cæsar of Sabinus victory by land. Vpon these victories, all the cities and states yielded themselves to Titurius: for as the Galles are prompt to undertake a warre; so are they weake in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATIONS.



THIS practise of a counterfeit feare was often put in vse by the Roman leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemye, as to draw them into an inconuenience, & so to defeat them of their greatest helps in time of battell. Cæsar comming to succour the campe of Cicero made such vse of this Art, that he put to route a great Armie of the Galles, with a handfull of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is particularly set downe by Cæsar.

The chiefe thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for it is a thing hardly to be digested in busineses of final consequence, to be frustrated of a settled expectation, when the minde shall dispose her selfe to one only intent, and in the vpshot meete with a counterbuffe to crosse her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained: how much more then in things of such importance, when we shall proceede in a course of victorie, and humour our conceits with that we wish and would haue to happen; and in the end meete, either with bondage or death; must our best wittes be appauled? hauing neither respite nor means, to thinke how the euill may be best preuented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, and counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by such as knew not the secrets of wisdom; while they in the meane time foresaw their good fortunes, throwded vnder the cloake of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a leader, so to take the oportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution he omit not the chiefe points of order and discipline, as well for the better effecting of the designe, as for his owne safety and the securitie of his Armie. For order is as the sinewes and strength of martiall discipline, vniing the particular members into the firme composition of a well proportioned bodie: and so it maketh it more powerfull then any number of disunited partes, how able or infinite soeuer. I might here alleadge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux serue for all; wherein the protestantes ouercharging the catholike Army, followed the retrait so hard, that they quickly became masters of the field: and then neglecting martiall discipline, fell in confusedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious

*The vse
which the
Romans made
of a counter-
feit feare.
Lib. 5.*

glorious by slaughter and mortalitie: the Duke of Guise all this while bouged not a foot: but in vnexampled patience kept his regiment close together, and would not suffer them to rescue their general that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condé was likewise dispersed and broken; and then perceiving no difference of order, betweene the Victor Protestant, and the vanquished Catholicke; he dissolved that terrible cloud that had hung so long in suspence, and so changing the fortune of the daie, that he tooke the chiefe of their Princes prisoners, with little or no losse of his owne men: so powerfull is order in the deedes of Armes, and of such consequence in obtaining victorie. And thus we haue first seene the inconueniences, which a counterfet feare well dissembled, may cast vpon a credulous and vnadvised enemy, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an error, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and secondly, what strength and safetie consisteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to set vp.

CHAP. IX.

The Proceedings of Crassus in Aquitanie.



*A*t the same instant of time it happened also, that Pub. Crassus comming into Aquitania, (which both in regard of the large extension of the countrey, as also for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and considering that he was to make warre in those partes, where L. Valerius Pretextus the Legate was slaine, and the Armie overthrowen; and where Lucius Manilius was slaine to the losse of his cariages, he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence: and therefore hauing made prouision of corne, and mustered many Auxiliarie forces, and sent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouse and Narbone, he caried his Army into the confines of the Sontiates, which was no sooner knowne but they leuied great forces both of horse & foote, and with their horse charged vpon the Romans in their march: which being easily repelled, as they followed the retrait, the infanterie of the Galles shewed it selfe in a valley as it laie in ambush. These setting vpon the Romans renewed the battell, and there the fight continued hot a long time, the Sontiates being animated with the former victories, saw all the hope of Aquitanie relye vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other side, desired to shew what they were able to doe of themselves, without their grand Captaine, and vnder the conductiō of a young souldier: At length the enemy ouerwaged with proweesse, and wearied with woundes, betooke themselves to flight; of whom the Romans slew a great number. And then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid siege vnto it; the siege grew hot on both sides; the Romans approched the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts: the townesmen defended themselves some time, by sallying out; sometimes, by vndermining the mounts and fortifications, wherein the Aquitani are very skilfull. But when they perceined the industry of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Crassus to accept their rendy.

which

which being granted, and al the armie intending the deliury of their Armes, Adcantanus their chiefe magistrate, fled out in the meane time at an other port of the citie, with 600. deuoted companions whom they called Soldurij: but as they attempted to escape, the soldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his easion by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselves to armes; and so repelled him againe into the towne, where he desired to bee taken in the number of the submissie multitude. Crassus hauing taken hostages of them, went into the confines of the Vocontij.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

E Hese skilfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Cities in Aquitane, were those, whom the Romans called *Enocati*: such as were free from warfare, and exempted by their lawes from giuing their names in musters, either by reason of their yeares, or the magistracy which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that privilege: And in that regard were sent for by letters, intreating their assistance in the cariage of that war, as men well acquainted with the nature of such businesses, Their places were nothing inferiour to the Centurions, for aduise and direction, although they had no part in command or authority.

Enocati.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this fight we may further obserue, their maner of defence against Mountes, and Caulieros; which we find chiefly to bee mines. Iosephus in the Iewish warre saith, that the Romans hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes vndermined the same with such Art, that as they digged vnderneath, they supported the mount with huge props and planks, that it might not shrinke: and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they set all the timber worke, which vnderpropped the mount, on fire, which taking fire with the helpe of brimstone and pitch, the mount fell vpon a fodaine; to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

At the siege of *Auaricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vneffectuall. But if it were for the most parte made of woode, or other combustible matter, they fought then by all meanes to burne it; as it happened at the siege of *Massilia*: and oftentimes when both burning and vndermining failed, they confronted it, with an other mount within the walles, to disappoint the disaduantage by equall contesting of it; and so made it vnprofitable. Concerning mines, this much may I saie, without preiudice to that Art: that the chiefe points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a designed place, which is best got by instrument and helpe of Geometrie, where other marks of certainty are wanting: secondlie, the direction of the myne, that wee may not erre in our course which the compass affoordeth: thirdlie, the strengthening of the mine with timber worke,

Lib. 7. de bel. lo Gall.

Q. j.

if

If neede require: lastly, the countermining and crossemeeting: All which parts haue very many circumstances, and require a larger discourse, then may be thought pertinent for this place:

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their chieftaine, may wel deserue a place amongst these obseruations, especiallie considering the obligatorie conditions, which either party stood bound to obserue: for the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happines in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whatsoeuer ill chance or disaster should happen to befall him. If death, which is the last end of all sensuall miserie, tooke hold of their head, these deuoted were tied voluntarilie to follow him the selfe same way: neither in any memory was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, chanced to be slaine. Which bloody league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of nature, multiplying particular destinie to a generall calamitie: so was it dangerous in a well ordered state, if the ringleader were either ambitious, or sought to practise any thing contrarie to good gouernement: for hee himselfe would presume much vpon the assistance of his Soldurij; and they on the other side, must needs wish well to his attempts that were so interessed in his life & death.

CHAP. X.

The Galles raise new forces, against Crassus.



He barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that strength should so soone bee taken; and therefore they sent ambassadours into all quarters, coniuined one with another, confirmed their couenants with mutuall hostages, and leuied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other states that bordered vpon Aquitaine; at the coming of these forces they began to make warre, with a great power, and with many soldiours of great fame. For they appointed such leaders as had seene the experience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the arte militarie: these according to the custome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortifie their campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free passage of conuoyes, and necessary encounteres. Which when Crassus perceiued, and considering withall, that his owne forces were so few, that hee could not well dismember them vpon any seruice or aduantage; and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient garrison in his campe; by which means their corne and prouision would in time grow scarce, and the enemy waxed euery daie stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to giue them battell.

The

The matter being referred to a council of warre, when hee understode that all men were of the same opinion, he appointed the next daie to giue them battaile; and in the dawning putting his men in a double battaile, and placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middest, he attended to see what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were perswaded, that they might aduenture battell both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowes of warre, as also in respect of the paucitie of the Romaines, yet they thought it better to blocke up the passages, and so cut off all cariages, and conuoyes of corne; and so the victory would follow without bloudshed: and if the Romans for want of corne should offer to make a retreat, they would then set vpon them as they marched, wearied with trauell, and heauilie laden with their burthens. This resolution being approved by the whole councill of the Galles, when the Romans imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and when Sylla had ouerthrowne both the elder and yonger Marius, hee fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote against Pompeie and Metellus; and ouerthrew them in many battels: but in the end was treacherously slaine by Perpanna at a banquet. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; and vnder him were these captaines brought vp, which Cæsar commendeth for their skill in armes.

Sertorius.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



N histories, propounding to our consideration the deedes and monuments of former ages, we may obserue two especiall meanes, which the great commanders of the world haue entertained to atchieue victory, and ouermaster their enemies: the first by cunning and wise cariage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the second, by forceable meanes & waging of battell; the one proceeding from wisdom and the better faculties of the soule; and the other depending vpon the strength and ability of the body. Concerning the first, it hath euer bin held more honorable, as better fitting the worth of the spirit and the diuine essence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerse part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the proiects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, & so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driuen to that exigent, which may determine of the controuersie before they come to blowes, & conclude the matter by tearmes of arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For to speake a truth, the action of battell, as it is the last part in that facultie; so it is the worst in regarde of christian duty, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his second wife, which the Diuines do note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind, then the children of grace, whose ioy consisteth in peace and loue.

Two meanes to atchieue victorie and to ouermaster their enemies

Tubalcaine by war and Naamah by the sword.

Q. ij.

Cæsar

Cæsar in the first of the ciuill warres respected the same thing, but from other grounds: for hauing shut vp Afranius, and Petreius in a place of disaduantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet forasmuch as he foresaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest vpon the enimie: *Cur etiam secundo pr alio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optime de se meritis milites? cur denique fortunam periclitaretur?* And this course did these Galles take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Arte, and the Romaine industry; and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romans at their owne weapon. This first meanes is principally to be embraced, as the safest waie in these vncertaine and casual euentures: for that which resteth vpon corporall strength, and maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is verie terrible euen to the better party, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For it were a miracle of fortune neuer heard of yet, so to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatsoeuer, that the victor army shoulde buie so great a fortune without bloudshed or losse of men; and erect a Trophee to honour at the sole cost of the enemy, without losse or expence of his owne treasure. And for the vncertainie in a battell, who knoweth not what infinite chanches and changes may happen in euery small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that party, and make both sides vnconstant in their affections, by presenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, ioy and sorrow; and therefore Cæsar thought it not best to tempt the waie-wardnes of fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his desires. This I say is chiefly to be embraced, if our meanes wil afford vs that happineffe: but howsoeuer I holde it wisdome so to entertaine this course of victorie, that we omit not the chiefest helpes of furtherance when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conquest by arte and wit, as necessarie, if our meanes will serue vs to compass it; and of the other, as necessarie whether we will or no: for the historie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himselfe destitute of meanes to vndertake that course of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and discrete cariages hee then betooke himselfe necessarie to the latter, and by the helpe of battell, sought to free himselfe from those disaduantages, into which the Galles had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Obserue further out of this place, that what course soeuer be taken, a discreet leader wil not easily forgo an aduantage, without great assurance of a better fortune: nor change the certaintie of a benefite, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the interest of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promised to performe. For so he might forgo his fortune by presuming too much vpon the fauour of future chanches, which are oftner seene to crosse our purposes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

THE

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Wherther I obserue, this double battell to be answerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for their visuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the first might haue a second, and a third helpe: but where their number would not afford that commoditie, they then made two battels, that there might be the succour of a second supplie. But they neuer fought with one single battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their histories.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

The last thing which I obserue, is the place, where Crassus bestowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troupes to battell; which is here said to be, in *mediam Aciem*: for as their Armies were diuided into three battels; so euerie battell was deuided into three partes; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein these Auxiliarie forces were in this seruice bestowed: of these he afterward saith, that in as much as he durst not put any confidence in them, he commanded them to serue the Romans in time of battell, with stones and weapons, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount. The reason why suspected troupes are placed in the battell, rather then in either of the cornets, is, for that the battell hath not such scope to sling out, or take aduantage of place to doe mischief, as the cornets haue: for wherefoeuer there hath beene set battels fought, the strength of their armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell; and as long as these stood sound, the victorie went alwaies certaine on that part: for the cornets kept the enimie both from incompassing about the bodie of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie. At the battell of Cannas Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enimie, left the two cornets behind: so that, when the enimie came to charge vpon the battell, they easily beat them backe, and as they followed the retreat fell in betweene the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted, and being by them incompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrowen. And thus we see the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets stand firme; although the battell shrinke in the encounter. Hanniball in the battell he had with Scipio in Africke, placed the strangers in the front and in the rereward, according peradventure as he found their number and the vse of their Armes, which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather vpon the iudgment of a generall, then of anie prescription that can be giuen in this matter.

The place where suspected forces are best bestowed in battell.

Q. iij.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Crassus taketh the campe of the Galles : and
with their ouerthrow endeth that

warre.



CRASSVS understanding their drift, and finding his men willing to set vpon their campe, encouraged his soldiers; and to the contentment of all men, went directly to the place where they were lodged: and as some began to fill up the ditch; and others with casting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commanded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom he had no great assurance, to bring stones and weapons to the soldiers that fought, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount; that so they might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy began valiantly to make resistance, and to caste their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Roman souldier; the worstemen in the meane time riding about the campe of the Galles, brought worde to Crassus that the rampier at the Decumane port, was not fortified with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the commanders of the horse, to encourage their men with great promises and rewardes; and instructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their instructions, tooke foure cohorts that were left in the campe, and carrying them a further waie about, that they might not be discovered by the enemy; while all mens eyes and mindes were intent vpon the fight, they speedely came to the place. of the fortifications, which the horsmen had found to be weake, which being easily broken down, they had entered the campe before the enemy could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour & shout being heard about that place, the Roman legions renewing their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, began to charge them a fresh with great furie: the Galles being circumuented on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselves ouer the rampier, sought by flight to escape the danger. But for as much as the country was open and champion, the horsmen pursued them with that execution, that of 50000 there scarce remaineth the fourth part.

THE OBSERVATION.



From this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an enemy that is strongly incamped, and for some aduantage will not remoue, may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great consequence, in matter of warre: and therefore deserueth due consideration. Concerning which he laith this downe for a maxime, that all forts and strong holds are taken by the foot, and that camps and lodgings are taken by the head: By which

which is meant, that he who purposeth to winne a fortresse well manned and provided, must first get the foot and take hold of the ditch; and then seale himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for he saith, that mounts and eminent eleuations are of little vse against fortresses or sconses, vnlesse they ouertop them; which may be easily preuented by raising the parapet of the fortresse in front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall carie his mounts aloft; and so they shall neuer come to ouertop the holdes. But all camps and lodgings are taken by the head: That is, by mountes and eleuations, which by the aduantage of their height command the champion. For he holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemy shall make without. This foundation being laide, he proceedeth to discover a waie, how to raise a mount maugre the enemy, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murther them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call Helicall; by this double ditch, he maketh his approach to anie place of most aduantage, where he maie in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to plaie vpon any quarter of the campe. The censure of this practise, I referre to our iudicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme in the behalfe of these workes, that they were of high esteeme amongst the Romans, when daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to finde out the readiest meanes, both for security and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to taste the commoditie of these workes, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practises: but our men had rather flie vpon desperat aduentures, and seeke victorie in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

Lib. de bello Gallico.

C H A P. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the
Menapij and Morini.

AT the same time also, although the sommer was almost at an end, yet for as much as all Gallia was in peace, and the * Morini only with the * Menapij stood out in armes, and had neuer either sent ambassadour, or otherwise treated of peace; Cæsar thinking that warre might quickly be ended, lead his Armie into their country. At his coming, he found them to carrie the wars farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done: for understanding that the greatest nations of Gallia, which had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and ouerthrowen; and hauing whole continents of woods and bogs in their territories, they conuaid both themselves and their goods into those quarters: Cæsar

Cæsar.
* Terouine
* Cleue and
Guedres.

Cæsar comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his campe, not discovering any enemy neare about him; but as his men were dispersed in their charges, they suddenly sallied out of the woods and assailed the Romans; but being speedely driven in againe with the losse of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine. The time that remained, Cæsar resolved to spend in cutting downe the woods; and least the souldiers might bee taken vnawares, while they were busied in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Armie; that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaultes. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies; so that their goods and cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themselves were fled into thicker woods. At which time there happened such a continuall raine, as forced them to leaue of the worke; and the souldiers could no longer indure, to lie in tentes of skins: and therefore Cæsar, after he had wasted and spoiled their country, burned their townes, and their houses, he carried backe his Armie, and placed them in such citties to winter in, as were subdued by the late warres.

OBSERVATIONS.

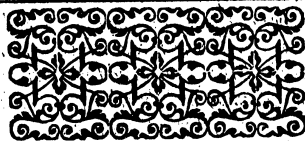
THe Irish rebels, hauing the like commoditie of woods and bogs, doe entertaine the like course of warre, as the Morini did with Cæsar: the meanes which he vsed to disappoint them of that practise, was to cutte downe the woods, which if it be thought monstrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of warre; let them consider that the Roman discipline wrought greater effectes of valour, then can bee made credible by the vse of these times. For besides their exquisite discipline, which of it selfe was able to frame patterns of vnexampld magnanimitie; their industrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and carried it with such vncessant trauell, that the souldiers thought it great happines when they came to wage battell with the enemy; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues. Neither let it seeme strange, that the Romans vnderooke to cut down the woods; but rather let vs admire their facilitie in so difficult a task: for as the historie witnesseth: *magno spacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate*: a great quantitie of ground was rid in a few daies with incredible speede. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each side of the legions, to hinder anie sudden assault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deserueth as great admiration, as the former part. There is another place in the sixth booke of these Commentaries, which expresseth more particularly the nature of such warres, and may serue to acquaint vs with that which Cæsar did in these difficulties.

The Eburones or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods and bogges, and made vse of them in the warre they had with Cæsar: The matter (saith hee) required great diligence, not so much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie, (for there could no danger come from an enemy that was frightened and dispersed) as the safetie of euerie particular souldier, which in part did

pertaine

pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For the desire of bootie caried manie of the souldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to goe either thicke together or close imbattailed. If he desired to haue the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to bee rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, and deuide his men into many bodies: but if hee would haue the maniples to keepe at their ensignes, as the discipline and custome of the Roman Army required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the enemy: neither did they want courage to laie ambushments, and to circumuent such as they found alone, stragling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; prouiding rather to be wanting in the offensive part (although all mens mindes were set on fire with reuenge) then to hurt the enemy with the losse of the Roman souldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the bordering states, to come out and sacke the Eburones, and they should haue all the praie for their labour: that the life of the Galles rather then his legionarie souldiers might be hazarded in those woods; as also that, with so great a multitude, both the race and name of that people might bee quite extinguished.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better obserued by such as know those warres by experience, then by my selfe that vnderstand them onely by relation: and therefore to preuent such exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallell in these two cases: I will leaue it to be done by themselves. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.



R j.

THE

THE FOVRTH COMMENTARIE.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Vſipetes, and Tenchtheri are driuen to ſeek new ſeates in Gallia; they driue the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrowen by Cæſar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Armie ouer into Germanie. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri; and giueth libertie to the Vbij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The * Vſipetes, and * Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, over the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

THE winter following, Pompeie and Craſſus being Conſuls, the Vſipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germane nations, paſſed ouer the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not far from the place, where it falleth into the ſea. The reaſon of their ſitting, was the ill intratie, which for manie yeares together they had receiued of the Sueui, the greateſt & warlikeſt nation amongſt the Germans. For theſe Sueui had one hundred Cantons or ſhires, which yearely furniſhed their warres, with 1000 men a peece; and kept as manie at home to maintaine both themſelves, and their Armies abroad: and theſe the yeare following were in Armes; and the other ſtaied at home, and performed the like dutie; and ſo by this meanes, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and matter of warre. They lived chiefly vpon cattell and milke, and vſed much hunting, which was the cauſe (what through the qualitie of their diet, their continuall exerciſe, and libertie of life, being neuer tied to any diſcipline, nor vrged to any thing againſt their diſpoſition) that they were ſtrong and of a large ſtature, vſing ſkins and hides for their cloathing, which covered but part of their body, the reſt being naked. Their horſemen oftentimes, in time of battell, forooke their horſe, and fought on foot.

being taught to ſtand ſtill in one place, that when they would they might returne vnto them. Neither was there any thing more baſe, or diſhoneſt in the courſe of their life, then to vſe furniture for horſes: & would adueniure to charge vpon great troops of horſe, that vſed Equipage, with a few of their owne qualitie. They admitted no wine to be brought in vnto them, leaſt it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them vnapt for labour. The greateſt honour in their opinion, was to haue their bordering Territories lie waſt and deſolate: for ſo it would be thought, that manie ſtates together, would not reſiſt their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country laie waſt from them one waie 600 miles together.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practice of the Sueui, it appeareth, how little a naked reſolution of valour auaileth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and ciuill diſcretion, to make vſe of that greatneſſe which prowle hath obtained: for notwithstanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were ſovainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it ſorted to no other end, then to maintaine barbariſme at home, and deſolation abroad; where as true valour is alwaies ſubordinate to the preſeruation of common weales, and is as the deſenſive armes of ciuill ſocietie. Which I haue the rather noted, in as much as it reſembleth an humour that aboundeth in this age, eſpecially in the particular hauour of our young gallants, whoſe naked valour reuelling it ſelfe onely in the lie and in the ſtabbe, for want of other aſſiſtant vertues to temper the heat of ſo brittle a metall, leadeth them into ſuch inconueniencies and diſordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed raſhneſſe; and in lieu of vertues guerdon, is repaide with irriſion.

CHAP. II.

The motiues, inducing the Vſipetes to come ouer the Rhene into Gallia.

NEXT vnto theſe Sueui, inhabited the Vbij, a very ample and potent ſtate: and through their intercouſe and trafficke with marchants, ſomewhat more ciuill, then the reſt of the Germans. With theſe, the Sueui had often waged battell: and albeit, they could not expell them out of their country, for as much as their ſtate was very great and populous; yet by continually incurſions they brought them vnder, and much weakened their eſtate. In the ſame caſe were the Vſipetes and Tenchtheri: for hauing made head againſt the Sueui

Cæſar.

for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to forsake their possessions, and wandering the space of three yeares through the continent of Germanie, at last they arrived where the Menapi inhabited the banks; on both sides the river Rhene: but being terrified with the arrivall of such a multitude, they forsooke all their dwellings beyond the river, and planted themselves on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.

The Vspetes with their associates, having tried all meanes, and not finding themselves able to passe over by force, for want of boates, nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapi, gained a retreat to their olde habitation: and after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedely returned againe, and slew the Menapi, both ungarded and unprovided. For they upon the departure of the Germans, feared not to returne over the river into their towne and houses: these being slain, and their shipping taken, they got over the river, before the rest of the Menapi had notice of their comming: by which meanes they easily dispossessed them of their dwelling places, and lived that winter upon the provision they found there.

Cæsar understanding of these things, and fearing the weakness of the Gallies, as much as they are sudden and quick in their resolutions, and will be desirous of novelty: he durst not quite trust their unconstancy, for it was their practise and custome to state travellers and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knew, concerning any thing that had happened; and the common people would flock about marchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whome they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumours and hearesayes they altered the maine course of their actions; wherof they could not but repent themselves, being grounded upon such weak intelligence, as was usually coined to please the multitude. Which custome being knowne, Cæsar to prevent a greater warre, hastened to his Arme sooner then he was wont to doe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Such as have spent their time in the contemplation of nature, and have made diligent search of the temperance & quality of climates and nations, have all with one consent made choler the regent of the French complexion; distinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the saide humour vually breedeth. Neither have these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe observed in the ancient Gallies, any dissemblance from that, which the learned of this age have delivered, concerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irresolute constitution, which breedeth such novelties and contrarieties of actions, continued the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what els so long a time hath changed; which argueth the vntexturable power of celestiall influence, establishing an uniformitie of nature, according as the site of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuersity in the temperance of nations, which are differenced

by North and South, is not without apparant cause, attributed to their propinquity, or distance from the course of the sunne, which distinguished by heate and cold the Northren and Southerne climates of the earth, and separateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their active qualities. But the reason whie two nations which are both in the same climate, and vnder the same parallel, receiuing the virtue of the celestial bodies, by the same downefall and rebound of their beames, being differenced only by East and West are so much disunited in nature, and so vnlike in disposition, is not so apparant: whether it be as some have imagined, for asmuch as the all inclosing sphere, which remaineth quiet and immouable about the circuit of the first motion, hath his parts diuersly distinguished with varietie of properties; which by continuall reference and mutual aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residency of one and the same quality, in one and the same place; and make also the varietie of seasons in such partes; as otherwise are equall favorites of the heauens maiestie; by receiuing an equall measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the saide quarters of the earth are in themselves diuersly noted, with seuerall qualities, which appropriate the selfe same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions; or whether there be some other vnkown cause: I wil leaue every man to satisfie himselfe with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to the discouerie of this cholerike passion. Wherem I will inueior to shew how impatiencie, sodaine resolution, and desire of novelty, are naturall aduises of this humor: And if Cæsar made vie of this philosophie in the managing of that warre, let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a General, to enter into the consideration of this learning. Wherem first, I must laie for a maxime that which long experience hath made authentical; that the motions of the minde are either quicke or slow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moist, cold and heavy nature, begetting weake and grosse spirits, and benumbing the instruments with a liueles disability; so is the motion of the internall faculties, proceeding likewise after a slow maner, according to the qualitie of the instruments, whereby it moueth: and therefore men of this watrish constitution, are no way apt to receiue an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible apprehension, vnles it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions; and then also they proceede as slowlie in discoursing of the consequence, and linger in the choise of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this *flava bilis*, being of a hote piercing nature, and resembling the active vertue of the fire, doth so purifie the instruments of sense, and quicken the spirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had bene oftentimes presented vnto them, with many strong circumstances. And thence it happeneth, that inasmuch as the *species* is so readily received, and possesseth the apprehending facultie, with such facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the soule, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had bene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest arguments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtilie and

in disposition of the instruments, which proceedeth from heate the chiefest qualitie in choler) that the object is at the first moment so strongly fettered, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speede manifest their offices, concerning the apprehension, and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delaie, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discursive power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances; nor to giue iudgment according to the course of our intellectual court, it behooueth therefore euery man, in that vnsteady disposition, especially in matter of moment, to be suspicious of his owne credulity, and not to giue place to resolution, before his iudgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weaknes of the conceiued opinion.

But to leaue these speculatiue meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceits: for as much as the right use of passions is either true wisdom, or cometh nearest to the same, I will only touch in a worde what degree of choler best becometh a soldier; or howe it, auaileth, or disadvantageeth in matter of warre. And first it cannot bee denied, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclips the light of reason, or sooner corrupteth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, then this of anger, which we now speake of. Neither is there any motion that more pleaseth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heate in the execution. And if the truth chance to shewe it selfe, and conuince a false pretended cause, as the authour of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage euen against truth and innocency. Piso condemned a soldier for returning from foraging, without his companion, being persuaded that he had slaine him: but at the instant of the execution, the other that was missing, returned, and with great ioy of the whole army, they were caried to the generall, thinking to haue much gratified him, with the manifestation of the truth; but hee through shame and despight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that he found one innocent; the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of law: the second, for that hee was the cause of the death of his companion: and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it consisteth of differenced partes; so hath choler diuers effectes. In case of discourse and consultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to bee cleere of all violent affections, it greatly darkeneth the vnderstanding, and troubleth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, as Cæsar noted in his speech to the senate concerning Cærelina: and therefore a commander must, by al meanes in deuor to auoid, euen the least motions of so hurtfull a passion; and season his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may, either hinder his vnderstanding, or with-hold his will from following that course, which reason appointeth, as the best means to a fortunate successe: alwaies remembering, that al his actions are presented vpon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which applaud graue and patient motions, as the greatest prooffe of true wisdom, and

and disallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sincere carriage of an action, how iust soeuer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to let valour on foote, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terror, with a furious resolution: for considering that the noblest actions of the minde, stande in neede of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to bee the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for as feare is trecherous and vn safe, so anger is confident and of an vnquenchable heate; and therefore a Commander ought by all meanes, to suggest matter of anger against an enimie, that his men may behold them with a wrathfull regard, and thirst after the daie of battell, to satisfie their furie with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vrge that it hath beene heretofore obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battell they were more then men, and in the latter end they were lesse then women; and therefore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seem to make it. I answer, that there is a difference between a disposition to choler, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for the first is subiect to alteration and contrarietie of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer satisfied but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is proued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; whereunto some answer very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for wee doe manage other weapons, and this doeth manage vs; our hande guideth not it, but it guideth our hande; it possesseth vs, and not wee it, as it happened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at *Vetera*: and therefore a Commander ought to take greate heede, whome he maketh the object of that anger, which kindleth in his army: for as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to bee wisely directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiers.

But to leaue this hastie matter, and fall nearer that which we seeke after. I may not omit the prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people; the euent whereof proued the truth of his predictions; which sheweth what aduantage a learned general that hath bin somewhat instructed in the schoole of nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiue rudiments of the war, & thinketh of no further lesson in that art, then that which the office of a seriant or lancepizado containeth.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth to his armie, marcheth towards the Germanes, and by the way treateth of conditions of peace.

CÆSAR being come to his armie, found that to haue happened which he before suspected: for some of the States of Gallia had sent messengers vnto the Germanes, to leaue the banks of Rhene, and to come further into the continent, where they should find ready, what soeuer they desired. Whereupon the Germanes began to make further incursions, and to waste the lande as far as the confines of the Eburones. The Princes of the Galles being called together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what hee had discovered, concerning their reuolt; and confirming their mindes with an approbation of their loialtie, hee commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leued, and resolved to make warre vpon the Germanes; and hauing made prouision of corne, hee directed his march towards them. From whom as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their campe, he receiued this message: The Germanes as they were not willing to make warre vpon the Romaines, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly prouoked; for their ancient custome was to answere an enemy by force, and not by treaty; yet this much they would confesse, that they came thither very unwillingly, being driuen by violence out of their possessions. If the Romaine people would accept of their friendship, and either giue them territories to inhabit, or suffer them to keepe that which they had got by the laipe of armes, they might proue profitable friends vnto them. They only yeilded to the Sueni, to whom the Gods in feates of armes were inferior, any other nation they wold easily conquer.

To this Cæsar answered what hee thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions of other mens hands. Gallia had no vacant place to entertaine so great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the Vbij, whose agents were at that instant in his campe, complaining of the iniurie of the Sueni, and desiring aide against them; this much he himselfe would intreat of the Vbij. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his armie any neerer their quarters; which request Cæsar denied: for understanding that a few daies before, a great part of their Cavalrie were passed ouer the Moja, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the returne of their horsemen.

When Cæsar was come within twelue miles of their campe, their Ambassadors returned; and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to marche no further towards them: but being denied of their suite, they besought him to send to those troupes of horse, which marched before the army, that they should not fight nor make anie hostile encounter; and that he would giue them leaue to send messengers to the Vbij, of whose entertainment they would willingly accept, if the Princes

and

and senate would sweare faith & safe continuance vnto their people: Neither would they require more then 3. daies, so negotiat this busines. Cæsar conceived this treatie to import nothing else, then the returne of their horsemen that were absent in pillage, whom they expected within 3. daies; not withstanding hee promised them to march but foure miles further that day, to a conuenient waiting place: in the meane time he sent to the commanders of the horse that were before, not to prouoke the enemy to fight; and if they were seer vpon to sustaine the charge, until he came neerer with the armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IFst we may obserue his dissembling of the practise of the Galles, with the Germans; & the incouragement which he gaue them in a faithful and loial affection to the people of Rome, when he himselfe knew they had started from that duty, which both their honor and a good respect of their friendes required: for he well vnderstood that his presence did take away al scruple of any further motion in that kind; & therefore to haue objected vnto the their errors, had not been to heale, but to discouer their wound: only he tooke the way, to cut off their hopes of any practises, which they might attempt against the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the apparance of faithful friends, that they might not bee discouraged, by the detection of their reuolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, vpon this resolutio that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this side the Rhene; we may obserue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with such consents and denials, as might manifest his readines to further what he made shew of, & not weaken the meanes of his best aduantage. For as he was content they should take a quiet farewel of Gallia, and plant themselves in the possessions of the Vbij; so was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might disaduantage his forcible constraint or weaken his command, if perswasion failed: for he well knewe that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the course of a peaceable conclusion, and carry more authoritie in a parlee, then any other motiue, howe reasonable foeuer.

Moreouer wee may obserue, howe carefull hee was not to impose vpon the Germanes a necessity of fighting; but opened a passage (by propounding vnto them the association of the Vbij) by which they might auoide the hazarde of bataille. Which thing was alwaies obserued by Commanders of ancient times, who diligently teaching into the nature of thinges, founde that neither of those noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hande and the tongue) had euer brought so many excellent works to that type of perfection, vnles they had bin forced thereunto by

S j.

necessity:

Vinctur
hand gratis
ingulo qui
pronocat bon
item.

necessitie: and therefore wee are wisely to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent garde, we giue occasion to the enemy, by the way of *Antiperistasis*, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which Vetus Mescius calleth *ultimum* and *maximum telum*, the last and greatest weapon; the force whereof shall better appeare by these examples.

Some few of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, hauing made incursions into the territories of the Romaine confederates; the senate of that state sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of satisfaction. But being reiected, Claudius Pontius generall of their forces, in an excellent oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be reuenged by war: and therefore necessity constrained them to put on armes: *iustum est bellum* (saith he) *quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes est.*


Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian armie had entered the Romaine campe; which Manlius perceiuing, hee haisted with a band of men to keepe the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no sooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they slew Manlius; and had ouerthrowne the whole campe, had not a Tribune opened the passage, by which they fled away.

In like manner Camillus, the wisest of the Romaine Captaines, beeing entered into the citie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie, and disarm the enemy of that terrible weapon of necessitie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian shoulde bee hurt, that was founde vnarmed. Whereupon euery man cast away his weapon, and so the towne was taken without bloodshed.

Let a soldior therefore take such holde of occasions, and oportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battaile hee may seeme to cast necessitie vpon his own cause, and retaine it in his paie: considering how the power thereof altereth the workes of nature, and changerh their effects into contrary operations, being neuer subiect to any ordinance or lawes; and yet making that lawfull which proceedeth from it.


CHAP. IIII.

The Germans, contrary to their owne request made to Cæsar, set vpon the Romaine horsemen, and ouerthrew them.

 *Notwithstanding the Germans request, concerning the truce, as soon as they saw the Romaine horsemen, which were in number 5000, (whereas the Germans had not about 800. horse) they charged vpon the Romans, not expecting any hostile encounter, inasmuch as their ambassadors were newly departed from Cæsar, and had obtained that daie of truce; but being*

being set vpon, they made what resistance they could. The Germans, according to their vsuall custome, forsake their horse, and fighting on foot, with ease, put the Romaine to flight, who neuer looked backe, until they came into the sight of the legions: in that battell were slaine 74. Romaine horsemen. After this battell, Cæsar thought it not safe, either to harken to any condition, or to receive any message from them, that by fraud and deceit had longt for peace, and menning nothing but war: And to attende any longer until their horsemen returned, was but to giue them that aduantage against him, especially considering the weaknesse of the Gallies, amongst whom the Germans by this battell had gained great reputation; and therefore he durst not giue them space to thinke vpon it.

OBSERVATIONS.

 His cunning of the Germans offereth occasion to speake somewhat concerning that maine controuersie of policie, which is, whether the actions of Princes and great commanders, are alwayes to bee attended with integrity, and faithful accomplishment thereof. Wherein I will only set down such arguments, and grounds of reason, which vertue and morall honesty on the one part, (for we will make it no question, in a Christian minde) and the daily practise of states men on the other side, alleadge to make good their contrary assertions.

The great Politicians of the world, that commend vertue in a shew; and not in esse and being, and study to maintaine their states onely with humane reason, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, set this downe as a maxime in their Art: That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an ende sutable to his contentment, must in all respects bee like qualified, both in iudgement and disposition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwise he cannot be sufficiently prepared, to hold himselfe strong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For a wraffler that cometh with meer strength to encounter another that hath both strength & cunning, may bestrew his strength that brought him thither, to be cast by skil, and be laught at, as an vnworthy champion for serious sports: in like maner in this vniuersall confusion of infidelitie, wherein subtilty flieth at so high a pitch, he that thinketh with simplicitie of spirit to winde through the labyrinth of falshood, and auoide the snares of deceit, shall finde himselfe too weake for so difficult a taske, and belesse his honesty, if he regard his commodity: for it is the course that euery man taketh, which must bring vs to the place, to which euery man goeth: and he that opposeth himselfe against the current of the world, may stand alone in his own conceit, and neuer attaine that which the world seeketh after. Forasmuch therefore, as craft and deceit are so general, it behooueth a man of publike negotiations, to carry a mynd apt & disposed to these qualities. This was signified by that, which ancient writers report of Achilles, who was sent to Chiron the Centaure, half a man & half a beast, to be instructed in the rudiments of princely cariage; that of the brutish part, he might learn to strengthen himself, with force & courage; & of the humane shape, to manage

manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answer or prevent, what
 soether mans wit might forge to overthrow it: Neither ought a private man to
 wonder at the strangenesse of these positions; considering that the government
 of kingdomes, and Empires is caried with another bias, then that which con-
 cerneth particular affaires in a well ordered state: wherein truth-breakers and
 faine-leave-dissemblers are worthely condemned, inasmuch as they necessarie-
 ly enforce the ruine thereof. But these that sit at the helme of government, and
 are to shape the course of a state, according to the variation of times and for-
 tunes, deriue their conclusions from other principles, whereof inferiour sub-
 iects are no more capable, then men are able to vnderstande the workes of the
 Godes: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, to bee reuerenced rather,
 then lookt into.

To conclude, the affaires of particular persons are of so short extension, and
 incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacitie may easily apprehend
 the aduantages or inconueniences, which may ensue vpon the contract: and
 therefore it is requisite they should stande to the aduenture, and their iudge-
 ment is worthely taxed with the losse: but the busineses of a common weale
 are, both subiect to so many casualties of so rtune, and relie vpon such vnex-
 pected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, howe proudlent fouler, to
 foresee the issue, in that variety of chances. Besides that, euery particular sub-
 iect is much interessed in the fortune of the euent, and may iustly challenge an
 alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwracke through the er-
 rour of their Pilot: And so the safety of the state doth balance out the losse of
 credit in the Gouernor.

On the other side, such as zealously affect true honour, affirme vertue to be
 the same both in prince and people; neither doth condition of state, or calling,
 or the qualitie of publike or priuate busineses, alter the nature and essence of
 goodnes: for to deprive the tounge of truth and fidelitie were to breake the bond
 of ciuill societie, which is the basis and ground plot of all states and common-
 weales. They do not denie but that a wise Prince maie so carrie a treatie, that
 he maie seeme to affect that most which he least intendeth; or answer doubte-
 fully concerning the propositions; and that he maie vse with great honour the
 practises and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consisteth
 vpon their owne industrie: but to breake any covenants agreed vpon, may well
 get a kingdom, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the meanes, whereby a state is continued
 in happie government: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this hi-
 storie, that he who falsifieth his words vpon aduantage, howsoever he regardeth
 his honour, had neede to paie them home in regard of his owne safetie: for if
 they once recouer the losse, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers,
 they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæsar.

CHAP. V.

**Cæsar marched directly to the campe of the
 Germans, and cut them all in pieces, and
 so ended that warre.**



V P O N these considerations, Cæsar manifesting his resolution to
 the Legates, and Questor; there happened a very fortunate ac-
 cident. F. or the next daie, very early in the morning, most of
 the Princes and chieft of the Germans came vnto Cæsar into
 his campe, to excuse their fraudulent practise, and withall to
 continue their petition of truce. Whereof Cæsar was exceeding
 glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant,

brought his Armie out of the campe, commanding his horsemen to follow the legions,
 because they had bene daunted with so late an ouerthrow: And making a triple bat-
 tell, marched speedely eight miles, and so came vpon the Germans, before they had na-
 tice what had happened; and being terrified with our sudden arriual, and the depar-
 ture of their owne leaders, knew not whether it were their best course, to bring forth
 their forces, or to defend their campe, or otherwise to seeke their safety by flight. Which
 tumult and feare was no sooner perceiued by the Roman souldier, but calling to mind
 their perfidious trecherie, they brake into the campe, and were at first a little resisted;
 in the meane time, the women and children fled every one awaie: which Cæsar per-
 ceiuig, sent his horsemen to pursue them. The Germans hearing the clamour and
 schrichings behinde their backs, and seeing their friends pursued and slaine, did cast
 awaie their weapons, and fled out of the campe, and comming to the confluence of the
 Mase and the Rhene, such as had escaped cast themselves into the riuers where, what
 through feare, and wearinesse, and the force of the water, were all drowned. In this
 conflict the Romans lost not a man: the number of the enemy was 430000 with wo-
 men and children. To them, whom he had retained in his campe, he gaue leave to de-
 part; but they fearing the crueltie of the Galles, desired that they might continue
 with the Romans: which Cæsar agreed vnto.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.



HIS relation affoordeth little matter of warre, but onely a seuer re-
 uenge of hateful trecherie: notwithstanding I will hence take oc-
 casion, to discouer the offices of the Questor and the Legates; and
 shew what place they had in the Armie. And first concerning the
 Questor, we are to vnderstand, that he was elected by the common voice of the
 people, in the same court, which was called to create the Generall. His office
 was, to take charge of the publike treasure, whether it came out of their *Æra-
 tium*, for the paie of the Armie; or otherwise was taken from the enemy. Of

him the souldiers receiued their stipend both in corne and money; and what other bootie was taken from the enemye, he either kept them, or solde them, for the vie of the common-weale.

The Legates were not chosen, by the people, but appointed by the Senat, as assistants & Coadjutors to the Emperour, for the publike seruice, and were altogether directed by the Generall, in whose absence they had the absolute command: and their number was for the most part vacertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Germanie.



THE German warre being thus ended: Cæsar, though he it necessary, to transport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the continuall of Germanie, for many causes: whereof this was not the least, that seeing the Germans were so easily perswaded, to bring their colonies and their vngant multitudes into Gallia: he thought it good to make knowne vnto them, that the Roman people could, at their pleasure, carrie their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreover, those troupes of horse, which were absent at the late overthrow of the Germans, were fled into the confines of the Sicambri: to whom, when Cæsar sent messengers to demand them to be sent vnto him, they answered, that the Roman Empire was limited by the Rhene: and if the Germans were interdicted Gallia, why should Cæsar challenge any authority in their quarters: Lastly, the Vbi, who amongst all the rest of the Germans had only accepted of Cæsars friendship, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earnest suit vnto him, to send them aid against the Sueui, or at the least to transport his Armie ouer the Rhene: for the name and opinion of the Roman Armie was so great, and of such fame, what with Ariouistus overthrow, and this last seruice, that it sounded honourable amongst the furthest nations of Germany. For these reasons, Cæsar resolved to passe the Rhene: but to carrie his Armie ouer by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnesse, and depth of the river, to make a bridge; yet he resolved to trie what he could doe, otherwise he determined not to passe ouer at all: and so he built a bridge after this maner:

At two foote distance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharpened at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the river: these he let downe into the water with engines, and droue them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable wise and bending with the course of the water: opposite vnto these he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the same fashion, being 40 foote distant from the former, by the dimension betweene their lower parts

in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the river: these two paire of couples thus placed, he ioyned together with a beame of two foote square, equall to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each end on either side of the couples, with braces and pins: whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such, that the greater the violence of the streame was, and the faster it fell vpon the timber worke, the stronger the bridge was vntied in the couplings and iointes. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, vntill the worke was brought vnto the other side of the river: and then he laide straight planks from beame to beame, and couered them with hurdles; and so he made a floore to the bridge. Moreover, on the lower side of the bridge, he droue downe supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water; and on the upper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distance, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what els the enemy might cast downe to trouble the worke: within ten daies, that the timber began to be cut downe and carried, the worke was ended, and the Armie transported. Cæsar, leauing a strong garrison at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as wel in regard of the ingenious Architecture therof, as also that we may somewhat imitate Cæsar, whom we may obserue to insist with as great plenty of wit & eloquence, in presenting vnto vs the subtilty of his inuention in such manner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actiōs; as this particular description of the bridge, may sufficiently witnes: besides the fortifications at Alefia, and the intrenchments in Britanie, for the safetie of his shipping, with many other workes, which he might well record, as the greatest designes of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effectes of magnanimous industrie; that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowes, which his vertue had not exprest; or otherwise might wonder at that worth, which they themselues could not attaine vnto: And to that purpose hee entertained Vitruuius, the father of architecture, and as worthilie to bee imitated in that facultie, as his maister Cæsar is in feates of armes. By whose example a great commander may learne howe much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest designes with arte, and to esteeme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematicall muses, to shew themselues vnder the shape of a sensible forme; which albeit through the rudenesse of the matter, fall farre short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perish.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefly in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the streame, and the lower ranke against the streame, when they came to be coupled together with overthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the streame fell vpon the worke, the faster the

the jointes of the building were vnited, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be exprest by any circumstance of wordes.

I might hence take occasion to speake of the diuersitie of bridges, and of the ractiles which antiquitie hath deuised to transport Armies ouer riuers: but inasmuch as it is a common subiect for all that vndertake this militarie taske; and hath bene handled by Lipsius, vpon the occasion of this bridge; I will refer the reader to that place; and only note the singular disposition of this action, inasmuch as Cæsar made the meanes correspondent to that end which he intended, for considering that the chiefe end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Roman Empire was not bounded with the Rhene; and that a riuier could not so separate their Territories, but that they were able to ioine both the continents together, and make a common roade waie, where it seemed most vnpassable: he thought it best to passe ouer his Army by a bridge, that so the Germans might know the power of his forces, and also conceit their Territories, as vnited vnto Gallia; or to be vnited at the pleasure of the Romans, with a firme Isthmus & plaine passage by loot, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mightie riuier. Neither would a transportation by boat haue wrought that effect, for as much as the daily vse thereof was so familiar to the Germans, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnaccessible passage: but when they saw so strange a thing attempted, and so suddenly performed, they would easily vnderstand, that they were not so farre off, but that they might be ouertaken; and so direct their demeanour accordingly.

Let this suffice therefore to proue, that a passage ouer a riuier by a bridge, is more honourable, safe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuised; especially if the riuier carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it haue either shallowes or foordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incombrance, it were but lost labour to stand about a bridge, but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with such hindrances, as men often meeete with in a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth libertie to the Vbij; and returneth againe into Gallia.

THE Sicambri, vnderstanding that Cæsar was making a bridge ouer the Rhene, prepared themselves to flie; and at the perswasion of the Vsiptes, forsooke their country, and conuayed selues and their possessions into woods, and solitarie desertes. Cæsar continuing a few daies in their quarters; hauing set on fire their villages and houses, and burned vp their corne and prouision; he came to the Vbij, promising them aide against the Sueni: by whom he vnderstood, that assoone as the Sueni had intelligence, that he

went

went about to make a bridge, calling a counsell according to their maner, they sent vnto all quarters of their state, that they should forsake their townes, and carie their wiues and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, should make head in one place, which they appointed to bee the midst of their country, and there they attended the comming of the Romaines, and were resolu'd in that place to giue them battell. Which when Cæsar vnderstood, hauing ended all those thinges, in regard whereof he came into Germanie, which was chiefly to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged vpon the Sicambri, to set the Vbij at libertie; hauing spent in all 18 daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his owne honour, and the good of the common-weale: he returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: he enquireth of marchants, concerning the nature of that people.



ALTHOUGH the sommer was almost spent, and that in those partes the winter hasteneth on a pace, inasmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithstanding he resolu'd to go ouer into Britanie: forasmuch as he vnderstood, that in all the former wars of Gallia, the enemy had received most of their supply from thence. And although the time of the yeare would not suffer him to finish that warre; yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he went only to view the Iland, to vnderstand the qualitie of the inhabitants, and to know their coast, their portes, and their landing places; whereof the Galles were altogether ignorant: for seldome any man, but marchants, did trauell vnto them. Neither was there any thing discovered but the sea-coast, and those regions which were opposite vnto Gallia: And therefore calling marchants together from all quarters, he neither could vnderstand of what quantitie the Iland was, what nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what vse or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they vsed; nor what hauens they had to receiue a naue of great shipping.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

AS the Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Galles, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had vpheld most of their warres, by furnishing them with such supplies, as from time to time they stood in neede of. So that if Cæsar, or the Roman people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable gouernment in Gallia, as they had chastised the info-

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lencie of the Germans, & sent them backe againe, with greater losse then gaine; so was it necessarie to make the Britains know, that their assistance in the warre of Gallia would draw more businesse vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For as I haue noted in my former discourses, the causes of an vnpeaceable gouernment are as well externall and forraigne, as internall and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Physition, to continue the bodie in a perfect state of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internall sicknesse whatsoeuer.

In the second Commentarie, I briefly touched the commoditie of good discouerie; but because it is a matter of great consequence, in the fortunate carriage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæsar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius in the life of our Cæsar reporteth, that he neuer vnderooke any expedition, but he first receiued true intelligence of the particular site, and nature of the country, as also of the maners and qualitie of the people; and that he would not vndertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill he had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and situation of the Iland. Which Suetonius might vnderstand by this first voiage, which Cæsar would needes vndertake in the latter end of a sommer, although it were as he himselfe saith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by auncient writers, that those demigods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honor to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the resemblance of all parts, and namely in the discouerie and knowledge of a country; without which all enterprises, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres were friuolous and of no effect. And therefore Zeniophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth that his expedition against the king of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of such sportes, as he had vsed in hunting. Howsoeuer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the dexteritie of some leaders it hath gained great victories, & through the negligence of others, irrecoverable ouerthrowes; are not sufficient motiues to perswade the to this duty; let their owne experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weaknesse of their proceedings, when they are ignorant of the chiefest circumstances of the matter they haue in hand. But let this suffice in the second place, to proue the necessitie of good discouerie; and let vs learne of Cæsar, what is principally to be inquired after in the discouerie of an vnknowne country; as first the quantitie of the land: secondly, what nations inhabite it: thirdly, their vse of warre: fourthly, their ciuill gouernment: and lastly, what haue they had to receiue a nauie of great shipping. All which circumstances are such principall Arteries in the bodie of a state, that the discouerie of any one of these demaundes would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole bodie.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar sendeth C. Volusenus, to discouer the coast
of Britanie; and prepareth himselfe for
that voiage.



CÆSAR sent out Caius Volusenus, with a gallie to discouer what he could concerning these thinges; and to returne againe vnto him very speedely: he himselfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, vnto the Morini; forasmuch as from thence laie the shortest cut into Britanie. Thither he commanded that shippes should be brought from all the maritimate cities of that quarter, and namely that flete, which he had built the yeare before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time his resolution being knowne, and carried into Britanie by merchants and others, manie priuate states of that Iland sent ambassadours vnto him, promising him hostages of their loialtie, and signifying their readinesse to submit themselves to the Roman Empire. To these he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and so sent them backe againe: And with them he sent Comius, whom he had made king of Arras, whose wisdom and vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in those Regions: to him he gaue in charge to go to as many of the states as he could, and perswade them to accept of the friendship of the Roman Empire, and that Cæsar himselfe would presently follow after.

Volusenus, hauing taken what view of the country he could; for he durst not go on shore to commit himselfe to the barbarisme of the enemy; after fine daies returned to Cæsar: and while he staid in those places for the furnishing of his flete, the Morini sent messengers vnto him, excusing their former faultes, and manifesting their readinesse to obey his mandates. Cæsar not willing to leaue any enemy behinde him, or to neglect his voiage into Britanie, for such small matters; hee willingly accepted of their submission, hauing first receiued manie hostages of them, and hauing made readie eightie shippes of burthen, which he thought sufficient to transport two legions, he deuised the Gallies to the Quæstor, the Legates and the commanders of the horse. There were also eghtene shippes of burthen more, which laie windbound at a port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horsemen: the rest of the Armie he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta, commanding them to go to the confines of the Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keepe the port, with a sufficient garrison.

Cæsar.
Teroanne, or
Monstrell.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar faileth into Britanie, and landeth
his men.

THES E things being thus dispatched: having a good winde in the third watch, he put out to sea, commanding his horsemen to imbarke themselves at the further port, which was but slowly performed: hee himselfe arrived upon the coast about the fourth houre of the daie, where he found all the cliftes possessed with the forces of the enemy. The nature of the place was such, that the hills laie so steepe over the sea, that a weapon might easily be cast, from the higher ground upon the lower shore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithstanding he cast anker untill the rest of the naue were come up unto him. In the meane time calling a counsell of the Legates and Tribunes, he declared unto them what advertisements he had received by Volusenus, and told them what he would haue done; and withall admonished them that the course of militarie affaires, and especially sea matters, that had so sudden and an vnconstant motion, required all thinges to be done at a becke, and in due time. The Councell being dismissed, hauing both wind and tide with him, he waighed anker, and sailed eight miles from that place, unto a plaine and open shore. The Britaines perceiuing the Romans determination, sent their horse and chariots before, and the rest of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romans intended to land. Cæsar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for these respectes: the ships were so great, that they could not be brought nere unto the shore: the souldiers in strange and unknowne places, hauing their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one instant to go out of the shippes, to withstand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemy; whereas the Britaines either standing upon the shore, or making short sallies into the water, did boldly cast their weapons in known and frequented places, and managed their horses as accustomed to such seruices.

The Romans being terrified with these things, and altogether vnskillfull of this kinde of fight, did use the same courage, as they were wont to doe in land seruices: which when Cæsar perceiued, he caused the Galleies, that were both strange to the Britaines, and readier for use, to be removed from the shippes of burthen, and to be rowed up and downe, and laide against the open side of the enemy; that from thence with singes, engines & arrowes, the enemy might be beaten vp from the water side, which stood the Romans in good steede: for the Britaines, being troubled with the strangeness of the Galleies, the motion of their Oares, and the vnusuall kinde of engines; were somewhat dismayed, and began to retire backe, and giue waie to the Romans: but the souldiers still lingering, and especially for feare of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion desiring the Gods, that it might fall out happily to the legion: If you will (saith he) forsake your Eagle, O ye souldiers, and betraie it to the

the enemy, for mine owne part I will do my duty both to the common weale, and to my Imperator, and hauing spoken this, with a loud voice, hee cast himselfe into the sea, and caried the Eagle towarde the enemy; the Romaines exhorting one another, not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, they all leaped out of the ship: which when others that were nere at hande perceiued, they followed them with as great alacritie, and pressed towards the enemy to incounter with them. The fight on both parties was very eager, the Romaines not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their ensignes, forasmuch as euery man kept with those ensignes, which he first met withal, were wonderfully troubled: But the enemy acquainted with the flats and shallows, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their ships, putting spurs to their horse, would set upon them incombred and vnprepared, and many of them would ouerlay a few; others would get the aduantage of the open side, and cast their weapons amongst the thickest troupes of them: which when Cæsar perceiued, he caused the shipboates and smaller vessels to be manned with soldours, and where he sawe neede of helpe, he sent them to rescue such as were overcharged. As soone as the Romaines got footing on the firme land, they made head together and charged the enemy, and so put them to flight, but they were not able to follow them, nor take the land at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was only wanting to Cæsars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

VPON this circumstance of landing, I may iustly take occasion to handle that controuerfie, which hath bene often debated by our English Captaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an inuasion, and in the abfence of our shipping, to oppose an enemy at his landing vpon our coast; or quietly to suffer him to set his men on shore, and retire our forces into some inland place, and there attend to giue him battell? It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion, that we ought not by any meanes to encounter an enemy at his landing; for so wee might much endanger our felues and our countrey; did ground themselves vpon the authority of Monsieur de Langey, not obliuening the difference betweene an Iland and a continent. For where he setteth down that position, he plainly aimeth at such Princes, as border one vpon another in the same continent: but where their territories are disioyned by so great a barre as the Ocean, and haue not such meanes to suppress one another, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appeare by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first laie downe the reasons, that may be vrged to proue it vnfaile to oppose an enemy at his landing, not as beeing vrged by that party; for I neuer hearde any probable motiue from them which might induce any such opinion, but set down by such as haue looked into the controuerfies, both with experience and good iudgement.

And first, it may be objected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vncertaintie of place, as of time: for beeing ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee must either defende all

places of access, or our intentions will proue mere trifolous; and to performe that, it is requisite that our defensue forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualitie of euery place subiect to danger: which considering the large extension of our maritime parts, and the manie landing places on our coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland canne afford. And although it could furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some sort sufficient; yet the vncertainty of the time of the enemies arriual, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon or neere the places of danger, manie daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which would exhaust a greater masse of treasure, then could bee well afforded by the state.

Secondly, it may be objected, that all our landing places are of such disadvantage, for the defendantes; that it were no safetie at all to make heade against him at the landing: for in asmuch as such places are open and plaine, they yeelde no commodity to shelter the defendantes from the fury of the artillerie, wherewith the enemy will plentifully furnish their long boates and landing vessailes; which beating vpon the beach (for most of our landing places are of that quality) will so scatter them, that no man shall bee able to indure the inconuenience thereof.

The thirde obiection may arise from the disparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first it must needs be granted, that the defendantes being to garde so many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to euery particular place for defence, as the assailants may for offence. Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without question, that a great and potent Prince, (for such a one it must bee, that undertaketh to invade the territories of so absolute and well obeyed a Princess as her Maiestie is) would drawe out the floure of his soulderie wherefoeuer; besides the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which do commonly attend such seruices. Now these being thus qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one body: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt being vncertaine) that the defendantes should equal them with forces of like vertue and experience?

These are thereasons, which may be drawne from the disadvantage, which they haue that go about to oppose an enemy at his landing: the rest that haue beene vrged, by such as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the question, or taken altogether from false grounds. But before I proceede to the answer of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle. That it is impossible for any foraine Prince how puissant soeuer, to make such a preparation as shal be fitting to invade a state so populous, and respectiue of their soueraigne, (notwithstanding the pretences deuised to dissemble the same) but it must of necessity be discovered, before it can bee made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for so great a fleet. But I will rest my selfe in the example of the yeere 88. which proueth the discovery of the pretended inuasion, before it could come to execution.

Concerning

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed bee denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must generally extend it selfe to all places of access: but that our defensue forces are not sufficient in a competent maner to garde all such places, according as the necessity of them shall require, that is the point in question. To proue that our forces are sufficient: wee must necessarily enter into particularities, wherein I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof; which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritime partes, as any other within this kingdom, for the breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the vtermost skirt vpon the coast of Suffex, vnto Margate vpon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twenty foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not that the sixt part thereof is not subiect to the landing of such an enemy, as wee speake of, partly in regarde of the hugeness of the cliffes, which do inclose a great part of that skirt; and partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an armie that shoulde put it selfe there on shore, shoulde find it selfe being opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparant ruine of their whole forces. Further it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelues, flats, and other impediments, that a nauie of great ships canne haue no commodity to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it wil appeare that this large skirt of Kent will afford a far lesse part fit for the landing of an army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publike a treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would undertake to make it so euident, by the particular description both of the number, quantity and qualitie of the places themselves; as no man of an indifferent iudgement would imagine our forces to be insufficient, to afford euery of them such a safe and sure garde, as shall bee thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vsfitting to giue such particular satisfaction in this publike discourse, giue me leaue, submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to giue a generall taste of that meanes as would secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Hauiug shewed you before the circuit of the maritimat parts of Kent, I would obserue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shall be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I wil suppose the number to be 12000 of which I would lodge 3000. about the point of Nesse, and 3000. about Margate, & 6000. about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for my greatest care should be so to dispose of them, as they might not only succor one another in the same shire, but as euery shire bordereth one vpon another; so they should mutually giue helpe one vnto another, as occasion should bee offered: as if the enemy shoulde attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the 6000. lodged as before, shoulde march to their succours, but such also of the

Suffex

*Answer to
the first ob-
iection.*

Such forces as were neere vnto that part; and so likewise of the rest: by which you may see how great a force would in few houres bee assembled, for the reinforcing of any of these out skirts; and the rather, forasmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces are thus lodged in the center of the shire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place whatsoever. There would also in the quartering of them, an especiall care bee had to the places of daunger, as might bee answerable to the importance thereof: for my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along the coast by regiments and companies, as the country might afford best opportunity, to entertaine them.

Now concerning the latter part of this objection, which vrgeth the vncertainty of time, when the enemy shall make his approches: I holde it most requisite that our defensue forces should be drawne into a heade, before the enemy should be discouered neere our coast ready to put himselfe on shoare: for it were a grosse absurdity to imagine, that companies coule vpon such a sodaine be assembled, without confusion; and make so long a march, with such expedition, as the necessity of the occasion would require. Nowe for that husbanding respect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrge to such extremity, as it would be vnsupportable for this state to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that supposed immoderate expence; so I assure my selfe, that men of sound iudgement, will deeme it much out of season to dispute about vnecessary thrift, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of being made subiect to a stranger:

*Vt ingulens homines surgunt de nocte latrones,
Non exaspereris, ut te ipsum serues?*

the enemy (peradventure) hath kept 30000. men in paie 2. months before, to make hauocke of our countrey, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome; shall we thinke it much to maintaine sufficient forces vpon our coast, to assure our selues, that no such enemy shall enter into our countrey? the extremity of this charge would bee qualified by our good espiall, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessity which is imposed vpon vs to bee carefull in busines of this nature. Let this suffice therefore to proue, that our forces are sufficient to keepe the sea coast; and that the vncertainty of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and countrey imposeth vpon euery good subiect, which is the substance of the first reason, which I set downe in the beginning of this discourse.

Now concerning the second reason, which vrgeth the disadvantage of the place, in regarde of the fury of the enemies artillery. True it is, that such places as yeelde the enemy commodity of landing, are for the most parte plaine and open, and afford naturally no couert at all. What then? shall a soldiour take euery place as hee findeth it, and vse no arte to qualifie the disadvantages thereof? or shall a man forgo the benefit of a place of aduantage rather, then hee will relieue with industry the discommoditie of some particular circumstance? I make no question but an ingenious commander, being in seasonable time lodged with conuenient forces vpon any of those places, yea vpon the beach

beach it selfe, which is vnapt to make defensible, as anie place whatsoever; would vse such industrie as might giue sufficient securitie to his forces, and ouerwaie the enemy with aduantage of place; especially considering that this age hath afforded such plentifull examples of admirable inuentions in that behalfe: but this cannot be done, if our forces doe not make head before the instant of the enemies attempt, that our commanders may haue some time to make readie store of Gabions, handbaskets, with such moueable matter as shall be thought fit for that seruice.

Neither let this trouble anie man, for I dare auouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a heade before the enemy bee discouered vpon the coast, although wee neuer meane to oppose their landing, but attende them in some inlande place, to giue them battaile; our Commanders will bee farre to seeke of manie important circumstances, which are requisite in a matter of that consequence. And therefore let vs haue but a reasonable time to bethinke our selues of these necessities, and we will easilie ouercome all these difficulties, and vse the benefit of the firme lande to repell an enemy, weakened with the sea, tossed with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with manie other hinderances and discouragements, which are presented vnto him both from the land and the sea. He that saw the landing of our forces in the Island of Fiall, in the yeere 97. can somewhat iudge of the difficulty of that matter: for what with the working of the sea, the steepnesse of the cliffes, the troublesomes of their armes, the soldiours were so incombred, that had not the enemy bene more then a coward, he might wel with 200. men haue kept vs from entering any part of that lland.

Concerning the thirde obiection, this briefelie shall bee sufficient, that wee are not so much to regarde that our forces doe equall them in number, as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good against the enemies landing: for wee knowe that in places of aduantage and difficult accessse, a small number is able to oppose a great; and wee doubt not but all circumstances duclie considered, wee shall proportionable equall the enemy, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our state shall neuer bee destitute of sufficient forces trained, and exercised in a competent maner, to defende their Countrey from forraine enemies. For the neglect thereof, were to drawe on such as of themselves are but too forward, to make a praie of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onelie to oppose an enemies landing, but to defende our selues from beeing ouerrunne, as other nations liuing in security, without due regarde thereof, haue bene.

And this much concerning the answer to those three reasons, which seeme to proue that an enemy is not to bee resisted at his landing. Nowe if we do but looke a litle into the discommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an enemy, we shall easilie discover the dangerousnesse of this opinion: as first, we giue him leaue to liue vpon the spoile of our countrey, which cannot be prevented by any wasting, spoiling, or retiring of our prouisions, in so plentifull a countrey as this is, especially considering that wee haue no strong townes

at all to repose our selues vpon. Whereof wee neede no further testimonie, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the seuenth booke of these Commentaries, in that war, which Cæsar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly weakened at such times; whereby all necessary meanes to maintaine a war is hardly drawn from the subiect. Thirdly, opportunity is giuen to malecontents and ill disposed persons, either to make head themselves, or to flie to the enemy. Fourthly, the madnes to aduenture a kingdom vpon one stroke, hauing it in our disposition to do otherwise, with many other disadvantages, which the opportunity of any such occasion would discouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He worde *imperator*, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæsar, was the greatest title that could be giuen to a Romaine leader: and as Zonaras in his second Tome saith, was neuer giuen but vpon some great exploit, and after a iust victorie obtained; and then in the place where the battaile was fought, and the enemy ouerthrowne, the Generall was saluted by the name of *Imperator*, with the triumphant shout of the whole armie; by which acclamation, the soldiours gaue testimonie of his worth; and made it equialent with the most fortunate Commanders.

This ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Romaine Empire, as appeareth by manie histories, and namelie by Tacitus, where hee saith, that Tyberius gaue that honour to Blesus, that hee should be saluted Imperator by the legions; which hee sheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the enemy, with an eminent ouerthrowe. For euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might challenge so great an honour, but there was required (as it seemeth) a certaine number of the enemies to be slaine. Apian in his second booke saith, that in olde time, the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploits: but in his time 10000 of the enemy being slaine in one battell, was a sufficient ground of that honour. Cicero saith, that 2000 slaine in the place, especiallie of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthily merit the name of Imperator. Howsoever it seemeth by the same author, that there was a certain number of the enemy required to be slaine, where he saith, *Se infra victoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Britains make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe, vpon the losse of the Romaine shipping.




THE Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; as soone as they had recovered their safety by flight, they presently dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreate for peace, promising hostages and obedience, in whatsoeuer he commanded. And with these ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britanie. Cæsar complained, that, whereas they sent vnto him into Gallia to desire peace, not withstanding at his coming they made warre against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, he commanded hostages to be deliuered vnto him: which they presently performed in parte; and the rest being to bee set further off, should likewise be rendered within a short time in the meane while, they commanded their people to returne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commend themselves and their states to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; foure daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the eighteen shippes which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle winde, and approaching so neere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Romaine campe: there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the port from whence they came; other some were cast vpon the lower part of the Ilande, which lieth to the West ward; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselves againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were verie high in those seas; whereof the Romaines being altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne up vpon the shore were slide with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that lay at anchor, were shaken with the tempest, neither was there anie helpe to be giuen vnto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces and the rest lost both their anchors, Gables and other tackling: and by that meanes became altogether vnerserviceable. Whereat the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; for there was no other shipping to recarrie them backe againe: Neither had they anie necessaries to newe furnish the olde: and euerie man knew that they must needs winter in Gallia for as much as there was no prouision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing beeing knowne to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to confer of such thinges as Cæsar had commanded them to performe, when they understood that the Romaines wanted both their horsemen, shipping, and prouision of corne, and coniecturing of the paucitie of their forces, by the small circuit of their camp, and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his soldiours without such necessarie carriages, as they vsed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romaines from corne and connoies of prouision, and so prolong the matter, until winter came on. For they thought that if these were once ouerthrowne

Cæsar.


Vij. and

and cut off from returning into Gallia, neuer any man would after ward adventure to bring an army into Britanie: therefore they conspired againe the second time, and conuained them selues by stealth out of the campe, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in some conuenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Concerning the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and the causes thereof; it hath already beene handled in the second booke, to which I will adde this much, as may serue to shew, how the Romaines became so ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and new of the moone. It is obserued by experience, that the motion of this watricie element is altogether directed by the course of the moon, wherein she exerciseth her regency, according as shee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And for asmuch as all mediterranean seas, and such gulfs as are inclosed in sinues and bosomes of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallnes of their quantity, are not so capable of celestially powers; as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followeth, that the Tuskane seas, wherewith the Romaines were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the maine sea, whose bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plenteous abundance of his parts, better answereth the vertue of the moone. The Ocean therefore being thus obedient to the course of the celestially bodies, taking hir course of flowing from the North, falleth with such a currant between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that she filleth our channel between England and France, with great swelling tides; and maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other partes of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receive the tyde as it commeth, and hauing withall a plaine leuelled belly, and a very smal fresh currant, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known riuer of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the spring tides in the ful of the moone.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Vch as either by their own experience, or otherwise by obseruation of that which history recordeth, are acquainted with the gouernment of common weales, are not ignorant with what difficulty a nation, that either hath long liued in liberty, or bin gouerned by commanders of their own choosing, is made subiect to the yoke of bondage, or reduced vnder the obedience of a stranger. For as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill societie; so by the same nature wee desire a free disposition of our selues and possessions, as the cheefest end of the saide society: And therefore in the gouernment of a subdued state, what losse or disadvantage happeneth to the victor, or how indredible

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foeuer it concerneth the bond of their thraldome, the captiue people behold it as a part of their aduersaries ouerthrow; and conceiue thereupon such spirites, as answer the greatnes of their hope, and fort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that seeme easie to be effected which it desireth. And this was the reason, that the Britaines altered their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had receiued in their shipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar new trimmeth his late shaken nauie: the Britaines set vpon the Romans as they haruested, but were put off by Cæsar.



ÆSAR although he had not discovered their determination, yet coniecturing of the euent by the losse of his shipping, and by their delay of giuing vpper hostages; hee provided against all chances: for he brought corne daily out of the fields into his camp; and tooke the huls of such ships as were most dismembred, and with the rymbier and brasse thereof hee mended the rest that were beaten with the tempest, causing other necessaries to be brought out of Gallia. Which being handled with the great industrie and trauell of the souldiers, he lost onely twelue shippes, and made the other able to abide the sea. While these things were in action, the seuenth legion being sent out by course, to fetch in corne, and little suspecting any motion of warre; as part of the souldiers continued in the field, and the rest went and came betweene them and the campe; the station that watched before the gate of the campe, gaue aduertisement to Cæsar, that the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust then was vsually scene. Cæsar suspecting that which in deede was true, that the Britaines were entered into some new resolution, he tooke those two cohorts which were in station before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the rest to arme themselves, and presently to follow him, and went that waie, where the dust was descried. And when he had marched some distance from the campe, he saw his men overcharged with the enemy, and scarce able to sustaine the assault, the legion thronged together on a heape, and weapons cast from all partes amongst them. For when they had haruested all other quarters, there remained one piece of corne, whither the enemy suspected the Romans would at last come; and in the night time conuained themselves secretly into the woods, where they continued, untill the Romans were come into the field, and as they saw them disarmed, dispersed and occupied in reaping; they suddenly set vpon them, and slaying some few of them, rowted the rest and compassed them about with their horsemen, and chariots. Their manner of fight with chariots, was first to ride up and downe and cast their weapons, as they saw aduantage; and with the terrour of their horses & rattling of their wheelles, to disorder the companies; and when they

they had wound themselves betwene anie troupes of horse, they forsooke their chariots and fought on foot: in the meane time the guiders of their chariots would driue a little aside, and so place themselves, that if their masters needed anie helpe, they might haue an easie passage vnto them. And thus they performed in all their fightes, both the nimble motion of horsemen, and the firme stabilitie of footmen; and were so readie with daily practise, that they could staie in the declinitie of a steepe hill, and turne short or moderate their going, as it seemed best vnto them; and runne along the beame of the coach and rest vpon the yooke, or harnesse of their horses, and returne as speedely againe at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæsar came to rescue them in verie good time: for at his comming, the enimie stood still; and the souldiers gathered their spirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almost spent. Cæsar, thinking it an vnfit time, either to prouoke the enemy, or to giue him battell; he continued a while in the same place: And then returned with the legions into the campe. While these things were a doing, and the Romaines thus busied; the Britaines that were in the field, conuained themselves all awaie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

BY this wee plainly finde, that there were vsually two cohortes (which according to the rate of 120. in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720 men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the campe, and were alwaies in readinesse vpon any seruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident, for considering that the aduertisement required haste and speedie recourse, it greatly furthered their rescue to haue so manie men readie to march forward at the first motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the rest of their fellowes came in.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeir manner of fight with chariots, is very particularly described by Cæsar, and needeth not to bee stood vpon any longer: onely I obserue, that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europe, the vse of chariots is neuer mentioned: but they haue euer beene attributed, as a peculiar fight, vnto the easterne countries, as futable to the plaine and leuell situation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the scripture: which may serue for an argument to Geoffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines descent from Troie in Asia, where we likewise finde mention of such chariots.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

AHardly we may obserue, the discrete or moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes he vsed to make his souldiers confident in his directions: for notwithstanding the Britaines had exceedingly vrged him, to make hazard of a present reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inasmuch as his men had beene somewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britaines) hee thought it best to expect some other oportunitie. And againe, to auoid the inconueniences of a fearefull retrait, he continued a while in the same place, to imbolden his men with the sight of the enimie. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full pertwasion in his souldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull respect of their safetie; which gaue his mē resolution when they were caried vpon seruice, being assured that what seruice soeuer they were imploied vpon, was most diligently to bee performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate issue of that warre: whereas if they had perceiued that headstrong furie, which carrieth men on with a desire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes whereby it may be obtained, had directed the course of their proceedings, they might with reason haue drawne backe from such imploiments, and valeded their safetie about the issue of such an enterprize. And hence ariseth that confident opinion, which the souldiers haue of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the course of a warre.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into Gallia.

AFTER this; for manie daies together, there followed such tempests and foule weather, that both the Romans were constrained to keepe their campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters; publishing the small number of the Roman forces, and amplifying the greatness of the bootie, and the easie means offered vnto them of perpetuall libertie, if they could take the Roman campe. Shortly vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horse and foote; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæsar (although he foresaw the euent by that which before had happened, that if the enimie were beaten backe, he would auoide the danger by flight) yet hauing some 30 horse, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his comming

Cæsar.

comming into Britanie; he imbattailed his legions before his campe; and so gaue them battell. The enimie not being able to beare the assault of the Roman souldiers, turned their backs and fled: the Romans followed them, as farre as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their townes farre and neare, they returned to their campe. The same daie the Britaines sent messengers to Cæsar, to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And forasmuch as the *Aequinoctium* was at hand; he thought it not safe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shipping: and therefore having got a convenient time, he hoised saile a little after midnight, and brought all his ships safe vnto the continent. Two of these ships of burthen, not being able to reach the same haven, put in somewhat lower into the land: the souldiers that were in them being about 300, being set on shore, and marching towards their campe: the Morini, with whom Cæsar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a bootie, first with a few of their men stood about them, commanding them upon paine of death to laie downe their weapons; and as the Romans, by casting themselves into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noise and clamour amongst them, there were suddenly gathered together about 6000 of the enemy. Which thing being knowne, Cæsar sent out all the horsemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans sustained the force of the enimie, and fought valiantly the space of foure houres; and receiuing themselves some few woundes, they slew many of the enimie. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the enimie cast awaie their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

OBSERVATIONS.

OF all the figures which the *Tartari* haue chosen to make vse of in militarie affaires; the circle hath euer beene taken for the fittest, to be applied in the defensue part, as inclosing with an equall circuit on all partes whatsoever is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometrie teacheth a circumference a simple line, for as much as if you alter the site of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equall bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which propriety, as it proueth an vniformitie of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be said that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flanke. So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3 of his Elements, concerning the small affinitie betwene a right line, and a circle (which being drawn to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatnes of this strength in regard of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howsoever they seeme, as speculatiue qualities, conceived rather by intellectuall discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehension; yet forasmuch as experience hath proued the strength of this figure, in a defensue part, above any other manner of imbattailing; let vs not neglect the knowledge of these naturall properties, which discover the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this

this part of militarie knowledge, being so strong a meanes to maintaine valour, and the finew of all our abilitie: for order correspondent to circumstances, is the whole strength and power of an Armie. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or void of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eate nor sleepe, without the direction of the Confull, or chiefe commander; otherwise their valour might rather haue bene tearmed furie then vertue: but when their courage was ranged with order; and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the said order continued perfect.

It appeareth therefore, how important it is for a commander to looke into the diuersitie of orders for imbattailing, and to waigh the nature thereof; that hee may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans tearmed this figure *Orbis*, which signifieth a round body both with a concaue, and a conuex surface: in resemblance whereof, I vnderstand this Orbe of men imbattailed to be so named; which might peraduenture consist of fiew or more or fewer rankes, inclosing one another after the nature of so manie circles, described about one Center: so that either the middest thereof remained void, or otherwise contained such cariages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This forme of imbattailing was neuer vsed, but in great extremitie: for as it was the safest of all other; so it gaue suspicion to the souldiers of exceeding danger, which abated much of their heat in battell, as wil hereafter appeare by the testimonie of Cæsar himselfe, in the fift Commentarie, vpon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP. XIII.

THE next daie, Cæsar sent Titus Labienus a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britanie, against the revolted Morini; who hauing no place of refuge because their boggs & fens were dried up, where they had sheltered themselves the yeare before; they all fell vnder the power of his mercie. *Q. Titurius*, and *A. Cotta* the Legats, who had led the legions against the Menapij, after they had wasted their fieldes, cut up their corne, burned their houses, for the Menapij were all hid in thicke woods; they returned to Cæsar: these things being thus ended, Cæsar placed the wintering campes of all his legions amongst the Belgæ; to which place two only of all the cities in Britanie, sent hostages vnto him: the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: vpon the relation of Cæsars letters, the senate decreed a supplication for the space of 20 daies.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

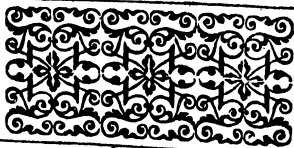
IN the ende of the second Commentarie, we reade of a supplication granted by the senate, for 15 daies; which was neuer granted to any man before that time, since the first building of the citie: but forasmuch as in this fourth yeare of the warres in Gallia, it was augmented from 15

X j.

vnto

vnto 20 daies, I thought it fit to referre the handling thereof, vnto this place. We are therefore to vnderstand, that whensoever a Roman Generall had carried himselfe well in the warres, by gaining a victorie, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire; that then the senate did decree a supplication to the Gods, in the name of that captaine. And this dignitie was much sought after, not onely because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their Gods should be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concourse and gratulation of the Roman people: but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honour in the Roman gouernment: And therefore Cato nameth it the prerogative of a triumph. And Liuius in his 26 booke saith, that it was long disputed on in the senate, how they could denie one that was there present to triumph, whose absence they had honoured, with supplication, and thanksgiuing to the Gods, for things happily effected? The maner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magistrate had publicly proclaimed it with this forme or stile, *quod bene & faciliter rempublicam administrasset*; the Roman people clothed in white garments and crowned with garlands, went to all the temples of the Gods, and there offered sacrifices, to gratulate the victorie in the name of the Generall. In which time they were forbidden all other busineses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplication, was at first included within one or two daies at the most, as appeareth by Liuius in his third booke, where he saith, that the victorie gained by two seuerall battels, was spitefully shut vp by the senat in one daies supplication: the people of their owne accord keeping the next daie holie and celebrating it with greater deuotion then the former.


Vpon the victorie which Camillus had against the Veij, there were granted foure daies of supplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the vsuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsuall time of fiue daies was doubled, and made 10, and in the second of these Commentaries, made 15, and now brought to 20 daies. Which setteth forth the incitements and rewards of well doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to such as indued to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.



THE

THE FIFT COMMENTARIE OF THE WAR, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

 Cæsar caused a great nauie to be built in Gallia: he caried 5 legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Gales reuolted; and first the Eburones vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the campe of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumvented by subtilty; and then besieged the campe of Cicero: but were put by, and their Armie ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great
store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commandeth them to be brought to the
hauen Iccius.



LCIUS Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italie, gaue order to the Legats to build as manie ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are used in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & unlading of the, and because the tides in these seas were verie great: and forasmuch as he was to transport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the use of Oares, to which purpose their low building serued verie conueniently. Other necessaries, and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to haue it brought out of Spaine. Cæsar after the assembly of the states in Lombardie, and that he set free Illyricum from the incursions of the Pirusta, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600 ships built, by the extraordinary industrie of the souldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessarie matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanced: having commended the souldiers and ouerscers of the worke, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britanie, was not aboue thirtie mile ouer.

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THE

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Iccius Portus Floide thinketh to be Caleis; others take it to be Saint Omer, partly in regard of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe verie lowe, hath notwithstanding very high bankes, which incompass the towne about; and in times past was a verie large hauen. To this maie be added the distance from this towne, to the next continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320 stadia, which agreeth to the French computation of 13 leagues. Cæsar maketh it thirtie mile: this is the hauen, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum*.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces,
and seeketh the enemye.

CÆSAR having prepared all things in readinesse, he left Labienus in the continent with three legions, and 2000 horse, both to keepe the hauen and make provision of corne; and also to observe the motion of the Galles: and with five legions and the like number of horse, as he left in the continent, about sun-setting he put out to sea, with a soft south winde, which continued untill midnight; and then ceasing, he was carried with the tide untill the morning, when he perceived that the Iland laie on his left hand: and againe, as the tide changed, hee laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where he had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the souldiers deserved great commendation; for by strength and force of Oares, they made their great ships of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noone, they arrived in Britanie, with all their ships: neither was there any enemye scene in that place; but as afterward Cæsar understood by the captives, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinite number of shipping, which they discovered from the shore (for there were in all above 800) they forsooke the shore, and hid themselves in the upland countrie. Cæsar having landed his men, and chosen a convenient place to incampe, as soone as he understood by the captives where the enemy laie, in the third watch of the night, he marched towards them; leaving ten cohortes and 300 horse, for a garizon to his shipping: which he the lesse feared, because it lay at anchor in a soft and open shore: he marched that night about 12 mile before he found the enemy: The Britaines sending out their horse, and chariots to a river that ran betweene them and the Romans, and having the advantage of the upper ground; began to hinder the Romans, and to give them battell, but being beaten backe with our horsemen, they conuayed themselves into a wood. The place was strongly fortified both by art and nature, and made for a defence (as it seemeth) in their ciuill wars: for all the entrances were

shut

but up with great trees, laid oneithwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselves out of the wood but here and there, not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the soldiours of the seawenth legion, with a Testudo which they made, and a mount which they raised, tooke the place and droue them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; saving some fewe wounds which they receiued. But Cæsar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long pursuit, because hee was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that daie being spent, he would imploy the rest thereof in the fortification of his campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



Cæsar, having taken what assurance of peace he could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefeft of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the continent, to keepe the vulgar people in obedience: he embarked al his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same aduentures, which being neglected the yeare before, drew him into many inconueniences for want of horse, which being embarked at an other hauen met with other chāces, and saw other fortunes; and neuer came to him into Britanie: The place of landing in this second voiage, was the same where he landed the yeere before: and by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is said that Cæsar landed. In the first yeere we finde, that he neuer remoued his campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in corne, as far as they might wel returne againe at night: but now hee entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a riuier, which must needs be that of Canturbury, which falleth into the sea at Sandwich.

In that he saith that the garizon of his shipping consisted of ten cohortes, which I haue said to be a legion: we must vnderstande, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that garizon; but he tooke ten cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of euerie legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his nauies to take order for
such losses as had happened by tempest
the night before.



HE next daie earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into 3. companies, and sent them out to pursue the enemy: but before they had marched any farre distance, and came to haue the rereward of the enemy in vewe; there came newes from L. Atrius, with whom he left the ten cohortes,

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X ij.

cohortes,

cohorts, and the charge of the shipping, that the night before there was such a tempest at sea, that the whole navy was either fore beaten or cast on shore; and that neither anchor nor Gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather; and that there was great losse in the shipping, by running against one another, in the violence of the tempest. Vpon these newes, Cæsar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from following the enemy any further, he himselfe returned to the navy, where he found 40. ships lost, and the rest not to be repaired but with great industry and paines: first therefore he chose shipwrights and Carpenters out of the legions, and caused others to be sent for out of Gallia; and writ to Labienus to make ready what shipping he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty and much labour; yet he thought it best, to hale up all the ships on shore, and to inclose them within the fortification of his campe: in this businesse he spent ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, untill hee had drawn up the ships, and strongly fortified the campe, leaving the same garrison which was there before to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

WHerein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vsed to preuent fortune of her stroke in his busines, and comprehend casualties and future contingents, within the compas of order and the bounds of his owne power, being able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred ships from the hazarde of winde and weather; and to make his campe the Roade for his nauie, that so he might rest secure of a meanes to retume at his pleasure.

CHAP. III.

The Britains make Cæsiuellaunus generall in this warre: the Island, and the maners of the people described.

CÆSAR returning to the place from whence hee came, founde far greater forces of the Britains there assembled, then he left whe he went to the nauie. And that by publike consent of the Brittaines, the whole government of that war was giuen to Cæsiuellaunus, whose kingdome lay deuided from the maritime states, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the sea, & extending it selfe 80. mile into the Island. This Cæsiuellaunus, made continually war with his neighbor states: but vpon the comming of the Romans, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and cast the whole government vpon his shoulders, as the fittest to direct that war.

The

The inner part of Britanie is inhabited, by such as memory recordeth to be borne in the Islands, and the maritime coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incurfions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the cities from whence they came: the countrey is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like vnto them in Gallia. They haue great store of cattell, and vse brasse for money, or yron rings waighed at a certaine rate. In the mediterranean partes there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritime parts yron: their brasse was brought in by other nations. They haue all sorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the figge and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eate, either Haire, Hen, or Goose; not withstanding they haue of all sorts, as well for nouelty as variety. The countrey is more temperate, and not so colde as Gallia. The Island lieth triangle wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherein Kent is pointed to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500. mile. An other side lieth toward Spaine and the West, that wate where Ireland lieth, being an Island halfe as big as England; and as farre distant from it as Gallia: in the mid way between England & Ireland, lieth an Island called Mona, besides many other smaller Islands, of which some write that in winter time for 30. daies together, they haue continuall night, whereof we learned nothing by inquirie, only we found by certaine measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter then in the Continent. The length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth 700. mile. The thirde side lieth to the North and the open sea, sauing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie; this side is thought to contain 800. miles: And so the whole Island containeth in circuit 2000. miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most curteous and ciuill; at their countrey bordering vpon the sea, and little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the inlande people sowne corne, but liue with milke and flesh, clothed with skins, and hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing al other parts of their body shauen, sauing their upper lip. Their wines are common to ten or twelue, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first giuen in mariage.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedigree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vnderstand that in those ages, the Nations of the worlde thought it no small honor, to deriue their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of a famous memorie, the father of that progenie, and founder of their state; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their government, being first laide and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being so strong and fruitful, that it yeilded of it selfe such a people, as they were: and so we read howe the Athenians, for as much as they were ignoraunt from whence they came,

were

were an Oaken leafe, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And hereupon also grew the controuersie, betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquity: wherein the Egyptians seemed to haue great aduantage, because of the fertility and heat of their countreys; whereas the Scythians inhabited a colde climate, vnfruitfull and an enemy to generation. Of this sort were the Britains, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Ilande: who not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, satisfied themselves with that common receiued opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The sea coast was possesst by such as came out of the continent and retained the names of the cities from whence they came, as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For concerning the difference of longitude between the Easterne angle of Kent, and the furthest point of Cornwall, they make it eight degrees; which in a maner iumpeth with Cæsars dimension: the other sides are somewhat longer; and therefore Tacitus in the life of Agricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that side which bordereth vpon France to resemble the Edge, and the other two sides to incline by little and little, one towards an other; and so make the Ilande narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers, who by the quantity of the circuit, did vually iudge of the content, not considering that the Area of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantity of the angle, as the length of the side. Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the colde winters in France, we must vnderstand that Britanie hath euer beene found of a more temperate constitution, in regarde of sharpe and colde winters, then any other countrey lying vnder the same parallell: whether the cause thereof may bee imputed to the continuall motion of the sea about the Iland, which begetteth heat, as some haue imagined; or to the site thereof, in regard of other Continents from whence the winde alwaies riseth, and carrieth with it the nature of the countrey by which it passeth; and so the Ilande hauing no other continent lying North to it, from whence the winde may rise, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such colde windes to distemper it, as other parts of Germany, which are vnder the same parallell; but the Southerly wind, which is so frequent in Britany, tempereth the ayre, with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnkowne cause, our Philosophers rest vn-satisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may bee saide, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South, then this Iland doth, the aire thereof by reason of the continuall heate, is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this grosser aire of Britany, & carrieth the cold further into the pores, and so seemeth sharper and of a far colder disposition.

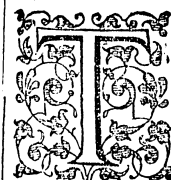
This Iland, which Cæsar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of *Man*, and lieth betweene Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemie calleth it *Monada*, Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of *Mona*, peraduenture from the nomination of the Britains, who calleth it *Tyr mon*, the land of *Mon*.

Concer-

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midst of winter for 30. dayes together, they must be sited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the continent, we must vnderstand it to be only in summer: for the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the nearer it commeth to a right horizon, the nearer it commeth to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in summer time, the nights in France are longer then here in England, and the winter shorter. The like we must vnderstand of all Southerne and Northerne countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuility of the Kentish men, and their courteous disposition about the rest of the Britaines, which must be imputed to that ordinary course which brought ciuillitie vnto all other nations: of whom such as were first seated in their possessions, and entertained societic, were the first that brought in ciuill conuersation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of ciuill gouernement. So we find that first Assirians and Babilonians (as nearest to the mountaines of Armenia where the Arke rested, and people first inhabited) reduced their states into common weales of monarchies of exquisite gouernment, flourishing with all maner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other countries lay either wast, or ouerwhelmed with Barbarisme. From thence it flowed into Egypt, out of Egypt into Greece, out of Greece into Italy, out of Italy into Gallia, and from thence into England, where our Kentish men first entertained it, as bordering vpon France, and frequented with merchants of those countries.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmishes betweene the Romaines
and the Britaines.

THE *caualrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a sharpe conflict to the Romaine horsemen in their march: but so, that the Romaines got the better every way, driving them with great slaughter to the woods and hills, and loosing also some of their owne men, being too venturous in the pursuit. The Brittaines after some intermission of time, when the Romanes little thought of them, and were busied in fortifying their campe, came sodainly out of the woods, and charged vpon those that kept station before the campe. Cæsar sent out two the chiefeest cohorts of two legions to second their fellows: these two cohorts standing with a small alley betweene them, the other that were first charged, being terrified with that straunge kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickest of the enemy, and so returned in safetie to their fellows. That day Quintus Laberius Durus, a Tribune of the souldiers was slaine; the Brittaines were repelled with more cohorts, which Cæsar sent to second the former.*

Cæsar.

Ti.

And

And so far as much as the fight happened in the view of all the campe, it was plainly perceived, that the legionarie souldiers, being neither able for the waight of their armour, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to go farre from his ensigne, was not a fit aduersary to contest this kind of enemie: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, inasmuch as the enemie would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a litle from the legions, they would then light from their chariots and encounter them, with that aduantage which is betweene a footman and a horseman. Furthermore, they neuer fought thicke and close together, but thin and in great distances, hauing stations of men to succour one another, to receiue the weary, and to send out fresh supplies.

OBSERVATIONS.



Pon this occasion of their heavy armour, I will describe a legionary souldier in his compleat furniture, that we may better iudge of their maner of warfaie, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionary souldiers were called *Milites grauis armaturæ*, souldiers wearing heavy armor, to distinguish them from the Velites, the archers, slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensive armes were a couple of pikes, or as some wil, but one pike, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensie armes, were a helmet, a corslet, and bootes of brasse, with a large target, which in some sort was offensive, in regard of that *umbonem* which stucke out in the midst thereof. The pike is described at large in the first booke, and the target in the second: the sword (as Polybius witnesseth) was short, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point: and therefore Liuius in his 22. Booke sayeth, that the Gaules vsed very long swordes without pointes; but the Romaines had short swordes, readier for vse; these they called Spanish swordes, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniard. The old Romaines were so girt with their swordes, as appeareth by Polybius, and their monuments in marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of these times, which as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their left arme: this sword was hung with a belt of leather, beset with studs, as Varro noteth, and these were their offensive weapons.

Their helmet was of brasse, adorned with three Ostrich feathers of a cubite in length, by which the souldier appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixth booke. Their breast-plate was either of brasse or yron, ioynted together after the manner of scales, or platted with little rings of yron: their bootes were made of barres of brasse, from the foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionarie souldiers armed, to stand firme rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselves into a bodie of that strength which might not easily recoil at the opposition of any confrontment; for agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreat

or

or a pursuit, and nimble footed soldiours are as readie to flie backe, as to march forward; but a waighy body keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: so that whensoever they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practise, and exercise in continual workes, that they neuer fainted vnder any such taske; but the victorie went alwayes cleere on their side. But if the enemy gaue waie to their violence, and came not in but for aduantage, and then as speedilie retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged; then did their nimblenesse much helpe their weakenesse, and frustrate the greatest parte of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Corra, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckeling at handy blowes, commanded his men to fight a far off; and if they were assaulted, to giue backe; and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines, that they all fell vnder the execution of the Galles. Let this suffice therefore to shew, how vnapt the Romans were to flie vpon any occasion, when their armour was such, that it kept them from al starting motions, and made the futable to the staied and wel assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore not so fit either for a pursuit, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betweene a horseman and a footman, it may be thought strange, that a footman shoulde haue such an aduantage against a horseman, being ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but wee must vnderstande, that as the horse is much swifter in a long carriere; so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combat consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the horseman in aduantage, hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, and his fortune in the good speede of his horse, his wounds and his death doe consequentlie pull the rider after, his feare or furie maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soeuer riseth from the horse, must bee answered out of the honour of the rider. And surely it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soeuer draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power. The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affordeth greater assurance then the harquebuse, wherein there are many partes belonging to the action, as the powder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but howe probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Roman wars, the horse were euer defeated by the foot, as is manifestly proued in the first of these bookes.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar giueth the Britains two seuerall
ouerthrowes.

*H*E next daie, the enemy made a stand upon the hills a far off from the campe, and shewed themselves not so often; neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, when Cæsar sent out three legions, and al his Cavalry to get forrage, vnder the conduction of the Caius Trebonius a legate, they made a sodaine assault upon the forragers, and fell in close with the Ensignes, and the legions. The Romans charged very fiercely upon them, and beate them backe; neither did they make an end of following them, untill the horsemen trusting to the succour of the legions which were behinde them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to forsake their chariots. After this ouerthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romans with any great power. Cæsar vnderstanding their determination, caried his armie to the riuer Thames, and so to the confines of Cassiellaunus, which riuer was passable by foot but in one place only, and that very hardly; at his comming hee found a great power of the enemy to be imbattailed on the other side, and the bank fortified with many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted covertly vnder the water. These things being discovered to the Romans by the Captiues and fugitiues; Cæsar putting his horse before, caused the legions to followe sodainlie after, who notwithstanding they had but their heades cleere about the water, went with that violence, that the enemy was not able to endure the charge, but left the bankes and betooke themselves to flight.

THE OBSERVATION.

*H*is attempt of Cæsar seemeth so strange to Brancatio, that hee runneth into as strange conclusions, concerning this matter, as first that he that imitateth Cæsar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great commander hath nothing common with other leaders: but especially, he crieth out at the baseness of the Britains, that would suffer themselves to cowardly to be beaten. But if wee looke into the circumstances of the action, we shal find both Art & good direction therein; for being assured by the fugitiues, that the riuer was passable in that place, & in that place onlie, he knew that he must either aduēture ouer there, or leaue Cassiellaunus for an other summer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to that enterprise. The difficultie

difficultie wherof was much relieved by good direction, which consisted of two pointes, first, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemy, then the footmen could, that were vpp to the necke in water; and withall, to sheltet the footmen from the furie of the enemy. Secondly, he sent them ouer with that speed, that they were on the other side of the water, before the enemy could tell what they attempted: for if he had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer bin able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place, where this seruice was performed; for since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue bene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time carried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

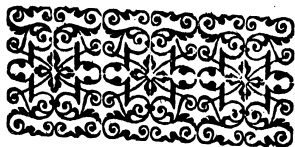
The conclusion of the Brittish warre: Cæsar
returneth into Gallia.

*C*assiellaunus hauing no courage to contend anie longer, dismissed his greatest forces, and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, obserued their iourneies, keeping the wood countries, and driving men and catt out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans; and as their horsemen straid out either for forrage or bootie, hee sent his chariots out of the woods by unknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer aduēture further then the legions, neither was there anie more spoile done in the countrey, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselves. In the meane time, the Trinobantes, being almost the greatest state of all those countreies (from whom Mandubratius had fled to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiellaunus) sent Ambassadors to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiellaunus, and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, and came for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, being thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagi, Seguntaci, Anacalites, Bibrocassi, yeelded themselves to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogges, and well stored with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Armie, and found it well fortified both by arte and nature: And as he assaulted it in two seuerall places, the enemy vnable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe waie, and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of cattell, and slew manie of the Britaines.

While these things were a doing, Cassiuellannus sent messengers into Kent, where in there were foure severall kinges, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segomax, them he commanded with all the power they could make, to set upon the campe where the naue was kept. These kinges comming to the place, were ouerthrowne by a sallie which the Romans made out upon them, manie of them being slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moued thereunto with the reuolt of the forenamed cities, Cassiuellannus intricated peace of Cæsar by Comius of Arras. Cæsar being determined to winter in the continent, for feare of sudden commotions in Gallia, and that the summer was now farre spent, and might easlie be lingered out, hee commanded pledges to be brought vnto him, and set downe what yearly tribute the Britaines should paie to the Romans: the hostages being taken, he caried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarked his men and arriued safe with all his ships vpon the coast of Gallia.

THE OBSERVATION.

And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affoordeth little matter of discourse, being indeede but a scambling warre, as wel in regard of the Britaines themselves, who after they had felt the strength of the Roman legions, would neuer aduenture to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britany as are recorded to haue been in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the warre, if there had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken in by Cæsar. And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, being desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we finde here, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skirt, or the heart of Britanie, (for our Historians doe vnderstand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire and Lancashire) were brought vnder the Roman Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that euer laide tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heauie name of a subdued people.



THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



V T leaft I may seeme negligent in these occurrences of Britanie, as not deeming the alteration happening in this Island by the power of Rome, worthy due memorie: I will briefly set downe the state thereof from this Area during the liues of the twelue Emperours.

Iulius Cæsars next successors, first Augustus and then Tiberius, thought it policie to restraine the infinite desire of enlarging the Romaine Empire, and so left this entrance into Britanie vnsecceded. Caius is said to haue had a meaning to inuade it, but did nothing. Claudius transported legions and aides, and first sent Aulus Plautius gouernour, and after him Ostorius, who ouerthrew king Cradocke in battell, and shewed him at Rome to Claudius, to Agrippina and the Lords of the Senate, who affirmed the sight to be no lesse honourable, then when P. Scipio shewed Siphaces, or L. Paulus Perles, him Didius Gallus succeeded, who being old and full of honour, thought it sufficient to keepe that which his predecessors had gotten. Next vnto Didius came Veranius, onely memorable in dying the first yeare of his Proprætorship: but Suetonius Paulinus following got a great name, first by inuading Anglesey, strong with inhabitants, and a receptacle for fugitiues; secondly by ouerthrowing Boadicea Queene of the Iceni, in a battell comparable to the victories of old times, wherein fourescore thousand Britaines were slaine, with the losse of foure hundred Romaine souldiers; but being thought to be ouer seuer, he left his charge to Petronius Turpilianus, who composing former troubles with a milder carriage, was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, whose easie course of gouernment taught the Britaines good manners, and made the souldiers first wanton with ease, and then mutinous, which by his gentle intreatie being ended without bloodshed, he left his place to Vectius Bolanus, of like looseness of discipline, but in stead of obedience got much good wil. The errors of these three soft Proprætors, were holpen by Petilius Cærealis a great commander, and worthy his place, he subdued the Brigantes, and left the place to Iulius Frontinus, who with no lesse happinesse vanquished the Silures. The last was Agricola, fortunate in diuers battels against the Britaines, and as vnhappy in his reward, for Domitian maligning his honour, first discharged him of his place, and then as it is thought poisoned him. And this was the state of Britanie vnder the twelue Emperours.

Tacit. 12.
Annal.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their
wintering camps.

After he had put his ships in harbor, and held a counsell of the Gaules at Samarobrina; forasmuch as that yeare by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of corne in Gallia, he was constrained to garrison his armie, and to disperse them into more cities then he had done the yeares before. And first he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be led among the Morins; another to Quintus Cicero, to be caried to the Nerui; another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commaunded to winter amongst the men of Rhemes, in the marches of the Treuiri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom he sent Marcus Crassus his Questor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius Legates; he sent one legion, that which he had last inrolled, beyond the riuer Po in Italy, with five cohorts, vnto the Eburones, the greatest part of whose countrie lyeth betwene the Maze and the Rheine; with them he sent Q. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By distributing his legions in this manner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne; and yet the garrisons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius caried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of 100 mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering camps fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Hauē heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the waight of a multitude, when it was said, that an armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthen some to the common-wealth in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular cities and families, before the time of the muster and inuolment: for (say they) in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000. men be maintained with necessary prouisions in one intire bodie together, or dispersed particularly throughout euery part of the countrey: forasmuch as euery man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which he cannot want, in what sort or condition of life soeuer he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude where soeuer. But such as looke into the difference with iudgement, shall find a maruellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is provided: for first we must vnder-

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stand, that an armie lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fatte and the flesh (as they say) and leaueu nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of prouisions, would in a small time come to vtter destruction. This want then must be relieued by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furnish the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be obserued that proportion of moderate taking, to vittaille the Armie with a sufficient competence, but the partiall respect which the purueiers, and vittailers will haue to their priuat commodity, wil quickly make an inconuenience either in the countrey, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is provided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline soeuer be established in that behalfe. Whereas on the contrarie part, when euery particular man of that multitude shal be billeted in a seuerall family, throughout all parts of the kingdome, the charge will be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the said families, that the country will neuer feele any inconuenience. And if euery housholder that had receiued into his house one of the said army, should giue a true account of that which riseth aboue his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall farre short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnited together into one bodie. Neither doth the difference consist in the quantitie of vittailles, which euery man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnited; but in the maner of prouision, and the meanes which is vsed to maintaine them: wherein euery master or steward of a familie, endeouureth to make his prouisions at the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competence, and not for superfluitie; and by that means, the general plenty of the country is maintained, & the comon-wealth flourisheth by well directed moderation. But in the vittualing of an army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for there the gaine of the purueier riseth by experience & superfluous wasting, rather then by thrift and sauing frugalitie: and so the common-wealth is weakned by the ill husbanding of that great portion of vittaille, which is allowed for so great a multitude. And if they should haue such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in seuerall families, it were vnpossible it should continue any time together. And therefore the Romans, notwithstanding the exactnesse of their discipline, could afford their armies no other prouision but corne, and larde, as well in regard of the commoditie which that kinde of diet afforded them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that countrey, wherein they were resident. And if it so fell out, that the extremities of the season, or any other cause, had brought a dearth into the lande, there was no readier waie to helpe that inconuenience, then by dispersing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæsar disposed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

C Concerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrolment, I had rather referre the reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their mindes of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but for as much as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrolment should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this Legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it consequently followeth, that such Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the olde Romans did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time. But he that desireth to see the maner of their choise, with such complements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the worke, let him reade Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the campe of Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth to take them by guile.

FIFTEENE daies after the legions were settled in their wintering campes, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catuunculus, who, having received Sabinus & Cotta into their confines, and brought them in corne to the place, where they laie; at the inducement of Induciomarus of Triers, they stirred up their people to rebellion: and suddenly surprising those that were gone abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the campe. But when our men had tooke Armes, and were got vppon the rampier, and had overmatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sallie out of the campe vpon the Gallies: Ambiorix despairing of good successe, withdrew his men from the assault; and then after their manner, they cried vnto vs, that some of our companie should come and speake with them: for they had somewhat to discover touching the publike state, whereby they hoped all controuersies might be ended. Whereupon Caius Carpineius a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friendes, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who diuers

times before had bene sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Cæsar; for manie curtesies, in that by his meanes hee was freed from a pension which hee paid to the Aduatici; and for that both his own sonne, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had held in prison vnder the name of hostages, were by Cæsar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the campe, hee had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsio[n] of the state, among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authoritie ouer him, as he himselfe had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Gallies, whereof his small meanes might be a sufficient argument. For his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so small a power to overthrow the people of Rome; but it was a generall appointment throughout all Gallia, vpon this daie to assault all Cæsars garrisons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Gallies could not easily denie the request of Gallies, especially when it concerned their publike libertie. Nowe hauing satisfied that dutie which he owed to his country, hee had respect to Cæsar and his benefites, in regard whereof, he admonished them, and praised Titurius for the hospitalitie that had bene betweene them, that he would looke to the safetie of himselfe, and his souldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadye passed the Rhene, and would be here within two daies: and therefore let them aduise themselves, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceived it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of who the one was not past fiftie mile off; and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should haue safe passage through his territories; for so he should both doe a pleasure to his country, in disburdening it of garrisons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Cæsar for his benefites. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpineius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

OBSERVATIONS.

BEa[n]der his counsell, to vse the foxes skin where the lyons faileth, doth shew, that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with error, then the powers of our bodie are overcome with force. For oftentimes the minde is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take sound instructions, nor the iudgment determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are we caried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of error, or mistrust of well-succeeding: where as the bodie continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it maie bee subdued and overthrowen. It behooueth vs therefore to take good heed, that our surest holde bee not vnfastened by the subtiltie of the foxe, when it

hath continued firme against the force of the Lyon: and that the trecherie of the spirit doe not disadvantage those meanes, which either our owne power or oportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion doe not hinder the course of sound deliberation: and withall, to bee iealous of whatsoever an enemy shall, either by speech or action, seeme to thrust vpon him, how colourable soeuer the reasons maie be, which are, alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties, to resist the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions, it may easily bee seduced either by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or ouer easie credulitie, with manie other such disturbing powers, from that waie, which a good discretion and an vnderstanding, free from passion, would haue taken. First therefore I holde it necessarie, to haue the consistorie of our iudgment well settled, with a firme resolution, and with the presence of the minde, before wee enter into deliberation of such things, as are made happie vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other circumstances, will giue some helpe to a good conclusion; when we consider how improbable it is, that an enemy, whose chiefe care is to weaken his aduersarie, and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that maie concerne his good; vnlesse the profite, which he himselfe shall thereby gather, doe farre exceede that which the contrarie part may expect. I grant that in ciuill warres, where there are many friends on either partie, and haue the aduerser cause as deere vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes many aduertisements giuen, which proceede from a true and sincere affection, and maie advantage the partie whom it concerneth, as well in preuenting any danger, as in the furtherance of their cause; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be waied by circumstances, and accordingly to be respected; whereof wee haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warres of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Nou* his discourses: But where there are two Armies, different in nation, language and humor, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keepe that which is dearest vnto them, possesseth the one, and hope of gaine stirreth vp the other; there is commonlie such an vniuersall hatred betwene them, that they are to looke for small aduantage, by aduertisements from the enemy: which if the Romans had well considered, this subtil Gall had not dispossessed them of their strength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertisement, and resolute to depart, and ioyn them-
selues to some other of the
legions.



THE Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those things were spoken by an enemy, yet they thought them no way to be neglected; but especially it moued them, for that it was incredible that the Eburones, being base and of no reputation, durst of themselves make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell, wherein there grew a great controuersie among them: *L. Arunculeius* and most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashlie, nor to depart out of their wintering camps, without expresse commandment from *Cæsar*; forasmuch as they were able to resist neuer so great a power, yea euen of the Germans, hauing their garizons well fortified: an argument whereof was, that they had valiantly withstood the first assault of the enemy, and giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they anie victuals, and before that prouision which they had was spent, there would come succor from other garizons and from *Cæsar*. And to conclude, what was more dishonorable, or sauered of greater inconstancy, then to consult of their weightiest affaires, by the aduertisement of an enemy? *Titurius* urged vehementlie to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to seeke a remedie, when a greater power of the enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were assembled against them; or when anie blow were giuen to anie of the next wintering camps: hee tooke *Cæsar* to be gone into Italie, for otherwise the Eburones would not haue come so proudly to the camp. Let them not respect the author, but the thing it selfe; the Rhene was not far off, and hee knewe well that the ouerthrow of *Ariouistus*, and their former victories, were greuous to the Germans. The Gallies were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in subiection to the Romaine Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deedes of armes. And to conclude, who would imagine that *Ambiorix* should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certaintie thereof? but howsoeuer things stood, his counsell was sure, and could bring no harme: for if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safelie to the next garizons; or other wise, if the Gallies conspired with the Germans, their onelie safetie consisted in celeritie. As for the counsell of *Cotta*, and such as were of the contrarie opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not present danger; yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The dispute being thus continued on either part, and *Cotta* with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it, doe as please you, since you will needes haue it so, saith *Sabinus*; and that he spake with a loud voice, that a great part of the soldiers might well heare him. For I am not he that most feareth death among you, let

Cæsar.

Z iij.

let these be wise: and if any mischance happen vnto them, they shall aske account thereof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldest let them, they might ioinc themselves within 2. daies to the next garizons, & with them sustaine what chance fouer their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellowes. After these wordes, they began to rise out of the counsell; but holde was laide vpon them both; entreatie was made that they would not obstinatelie bring all vnto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staid, so that they all agreed vpon one thing; whereas in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolonged untill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they should set forth by the breake of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching, every soldior sought out what he had to carry with him, and what he should be constrained to leaue behind him of such necessaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were disposed in such sort, to make the soldours beleecue, that they could not stay without danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wise deliberation auaieth, when it is impugned with the violence of passion, according to the truth of my former obseruation; for the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions were grounded vpon things certaine, and well knowne to the whole counsell: and yet the feare of Sabinus was such, that it caried the conclusion by such supposed assertions, as the qualitie of his passion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the enemy had suggested, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often scene, when a Counsell disputeth vpon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from such troublesome motions, but that it will somewhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the gouernment of the soule, and so interested in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a counsell of warre should so much varie in case of deliberation, when as many especiall points of military discipline remaine yet vndecided; hauing the authoritie of the great Commanders of all ages, to ratifie the trueth on either parte; whereof I coulde alleage many examples. But concerning the issue and euent of our deliberations, what can bee more truelie saide then that of the Poet?

*Et malè consulis; pretium est, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas, sequiturque merentes;
Sed vagaper cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

Notwithstan-

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wildome is not so subiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it selfe, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our businesse; or if we must needs miscarrie, yet it somewhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set down some rules for the better directing of a mature consultation. Wherein we are to vnderstand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehend onely particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or disagree in their feuerall properties: from whence there arise intellectual notions, and rules of Arte; wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so hee that intendeth to debate a matter, with found deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions and a knowledge in generall, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall substance of euery action: he therefore that can giue best direction, either by experience, or iudicious discourse, concerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best aduise which is the safest way to auoid the opposition of contradieting natures. But to make this somewhat plainer, I will alleage 2. examples: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may seeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apology, yet forasmuch as it freely censureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may giue great light to that which we seeke after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the state of Ferrara and the Duchie of Milan: wherein there arose a controuersie among the French captaines, whether it were better to go directlie to seeke the enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong and secure place, yet there was hope, that with the virtue of armes and importunitie of artillerie, they might bee dislodged and driuen to a retreat: or otherwise, to take the way either of Modena or Bologna, that so the enemy for feare of loosing either of those townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara should bee freed from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduise: But Triulue, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing bene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (saith he) to go seeke the enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great captaines holde this as a firme principle: Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnlesse there be either an offer of an especiall aduantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessitie. The rules of warre giue it to the enemy that is the inuader, and hath vndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, to seeke to assaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is sufficient to defende our selues, it cannot be but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibility to execute that deuise, but to our harmes and disadvantage: for we cannot go to their campe but by the side of a hill, a streight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot be imploied; and yet they

Lib. 9.

they with small numbers will make resistance, hauing the oportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues: wee must march by the rising of a hill, one horse after another; neither haue we anie other waie to draw our Artillerie, our baggage, our cartes and bridges, but by the freight of the hill: and who doubteth not but in a waie so narrowe and combrous, euerie artillerie, euerie carre, or euery wheele that shall breake, will not stay the Armie a whole houre at the least? By which impediments euerie contrarie accident may put vs to disorder. The enemy is lodged in couert, prouided of victuals and forrage; and wee must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which should serue for our necessarie nouriture, but expect the things to come after; which in reason ought to go with vs. To attempt newe enterprises, whereof the victorie is lesse certaine then the perill, is contrarie to the grauitie and reputation of a leader; and in actions of the warre, those enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will and not by reason. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our aboade there, two or three daies; yea the snowes and raines ioyned with the extremite of the season, may suffice to detaine vs: how shall we then doe for victuals and forrages? What shall we be able to doe in the warres, wanting the things that should giue vs strength and sustenance? What is he that considereth not, how dangerous it is to go seeke the enemy in a strong campe, and to be driuen at one time to fight against them, and against the discommoditie of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their campe, wee cannot but be enforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey so wholly against vs, and where euerie little disfaueur will turne to our great disaduantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue discourse, in the disconerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterprise; which being laied open to their confused iudgments, did manifestly point at the great disaduantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the arraignment of certaine senatours, for the friendship that had past betwene Seianus and them. Amongst whom M. Terentius thus answered for himselfe; according as it hath of late been published by translation.

It would be peradventure lesse behooeufull for my estate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with: but hadde what hadde maie, I will confesse that I haue bene Seianus friend, and that I desired so to bee, and that after I had obtained his friendship, I was glad of it. I had seene him ioint officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort; and not long after in managing the citie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinsmen and allies were aduanced to honour, as euerie man was inward with Seianus, so he was graced by Cæsar: and contrariwise, such as were not in his fauour, liued in feare, and distressed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuie to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulsiniensis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian familie, which by alliance hee had entered into; thy sonne in law Cæsar, thy companion in the Consulship, and him, who tooke vpon him thy charge of administering the common-wealth, wee did reuerence and

and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt above the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. We looke into those things which we see before our eyes, whom thou doest enrich, whom thou doest aduance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping, which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about any secret drift, it is not lawful to sound, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely Lordes of the senate, of Seianus last daie; but of sixteene yeeres, in which wee did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be knowne vnto his freed men and partners, was reckoned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence bee generall, and not distinguished, but a confession made of times past, and his latter actions? no, but let it by iust boundes and tearmes be detided: let the treasons against the common wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, dueties, pleasures and good turnes, the same ende shall discharge and quit thee, O Cæsar, and vs! The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see howe particularities decide the controuersie, and make the waie plainē to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towards
the next legion; and are set vpon by
the Galles.



As soone as the daye byght appeared, they set forth of their Campe, like men perswaded that the counsell had bene giuen them not by an enemy, but by Ambiorix, an especiall friende, with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Galles vnderstanding of their iourney, by their noise and watching in the night; secretlie in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two severall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romaines; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entered into a valley, sodainlie they shewed themselves on both sides the vale, pressing harde vpon the rereward, and hindering the foremost from going vpper the hill; and so beganne to charge vpon the Romaines in a place of as great disaduantage for them as coule bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had prouided for nothing before hande, began to tremble, ran

Caesar.

Cai.

vp

up and down, and disposed his cohorts, but so fearefully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to such, as are forced to consult in the instance of execution.

THE OBSERVATION.



I nowe plainelie appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for encounter which the Galles gaue the, that feare had ratified in the iudgment of Sabinus the smooth suggestion of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and laied that for a principle, which a discourse free from passion would haue difcerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which so much the more amazed Titurius; by howe much his apprehension had erred from the truth, and betraied good counsell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needs fall vpon such, as are then to seeke for direction when the businesse requireth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of disappoyment; and therefore at this time wil but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to preuent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the saying, *præuisa pereunt mala*; so the greatest mischief in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and besides our expectation; for then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturall waight, and affrighteth the minde with a superstitious astonishment, as though the diuine powers had preuented our designements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carie no such importance, but might be remedied, if wee were but prepared with an opinion, that such a thing might happen. It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution soeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to crosse our intentions, as that which is likelie to happen from the direction of our chiefeft proiects; and so we shall be sure to haue a present mind in the midst of our occasions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Romans cast themselues into an Orbe;
and are much discouraged.



*B*V T Cottā, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waie, and for that cause would not bee the author of the iourney, was not wanting in anie thing that concerned their common safetie: for both in calling vpon the soldiours and encouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commaunder; and in fighting, the durie of a soldiour. And when they found, that by reason of the length of their troupe, they were not able in their owne person to see all things doone, and to giue direction in euerie place; they caused it to bee proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselues into an Orbe: which direction, although in such a case bee not to be reprooued; yet it fell out ill fauoredlie: for it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the enemy greater encouragement, inasmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but vpon a great feare and in extremitie of perill. Moreouer, it happened, as it coulde not otherwise chuse, that the soldiours went from their Ensignes, to take from the cariages such things as were most deere vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongst them but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne howe to carrie themselues: for their Commaunders caused it to bee proclaimed, that no man shoulde sturre out of his place; for the prae was theirs, and all that the Romaines had lasde aparte, was reserved for them: and therefore let them suppose that all things consisted in the victorie. The Romans were equal to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhoode at the hope of their safety: and as often as any cohort issued out, they failed not to make a great slaughter of the enemy on that part.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



I Haue already handeled the nature of an Orbe, with such properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of safe and strong imbattailing: I will nowe adde this much concerning the vse thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbattailing for a defensiu strength, and therefore neuer vsed but in extremitie; so we must be very careful, that the sodaine betaking of our selues to such a refuge, doe not more dilimate the soldiours, then the aduantage of that imbattailing canne benefit them.

A a ij

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballaunced, both in number and quality of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had beene in a Ciuill warre: neither could fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestowe her fauour, or where to shewe her disdaine; but that the worthinesse of the Roman leaders brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of an Armie, to haue a leader worthie of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequalitye betweene two equall Armies, then the wisdom and experience of a graue commander, or the disabilitye of an vnskillfull leader; which are so powerfull in their seuerall effectes, that there is greater hope of a heard of Hartes led by a Lyon, then of so many Lyons conducted by a Harre.

CHAP. XIII.

Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might
best fight with aduantage, and frustrate
the weapons of Romaine
souldiers.

THE which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons a farre off, and keepe themselves from comming neare at hand, and where the Romans charged vpon them to giue waie; and againe, as they sawe them retire to their ensignes, then to pursue them. Which commandement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort sallied out of the Orbe to giue an assault, the enemye gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no help, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons; and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumuented as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by such as stood next about them: And if they went about to keepe their ground, they could neither helpe themselves by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude cast vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences besides the wounds which they had receiued, they stood still at their defence, and hauing so spent the greatest part of the daie (for they had fought eight houres together) they counted nothing dishonourable or vnworthie of themselves.

Caesar.

THE OBSERVATION.

Hauē spoken alreadie of the manner of the Roman fight, consisting altogether in good disposition of imbattailing, and in firme standing, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this circumstance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe and follow on againe, as the lightnesse of their Armes gaue them opportunitie. In like manner in the first booke of the Ciuill warres, in the battell betwene Cæsar and Afranius, it appeareth, that Cæsar his souldiers were bound to keepe their arae, not to leaue their ensignes, nor without a waightie occasion to forsake their stations appointed them: whereas the Afranians fought thinnē, and scattered here and there; and if they were hard laied vnto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous nations.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowen.

WHEN T. Baluentius, who the yeare before had bene Primipile of that legion, a valiant man and of great authoritie, had both his thighes darted through with a Iavelin: and Q. Lucanius, of the same order, valiantly fighting to succour his sonne, was slaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as he busilie encouraged all the Cohortes and Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a sling. Titurius moued with these thinges, as he beheld Ambiorix a farre off encouraging his men, sent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would spare him and his souldiers. Ambiorix answered, that if he were desirous to treat, he might: for he hoped to obtaine so much of the people, to saue the souldiers: but for himselfe he should haue no harme at all; for the assurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, who absolutely denied to go to an armed enemy, and continued resolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded such Tribunes and Centurions that were present, to follow him; and when he came neere to Ambiorix, being commanded to cast awaie his armes, he obeyed, and willed those that were with him, doe the same. In the meane time while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a solemne protestation of purpose, Titurius was by little and little incompassed about and slaine. Then according to their custome, they cried victorie, and taking up a howling, charged the Romans with a fresh assault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly was slaine, with the most part of the souldiers with him. The remnant retired into their campe, amongst whom L. Petrosidius the eagle-bearer, when he sawe himselfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the rampier, and fighting with a great courage.

rage, before the campe was slaine. The rest with much adoe indured the assault untill night, and in the night being in despaire of all succour slewe themselves euerie man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by unknowne waies through the woods to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that euer fel at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that hee was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the ende of his dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he lost not about 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia not so manie: but here fiftene cohortes were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men. The resolution of such as returned to the campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had bene absolute commander, there had bene great hope of better fortune in the successe: but here it happened as it commonly doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie, the direction for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which being a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a consent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the counsell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the leaders: for his timorousnesse flieth alwaies to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, and base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischieuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero; and stirreth up the Aduatici, the Neruij; and so raifeth a great power.



AMBIORIX tooke such spirites vnto him vpon this victorie, that with his horsemen he went immediatly vnto the Aduatici, being the next borderers vpon his kingdome, without intermission of night, commanding his footmen to follow him: The Aduatici being stirred up to commotion, the next daie after he came to the Neruij, exhorting

ting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselves perpetuall libertie, and reuenging them of the Romans for the wrong they had receiued. He tolde them that two Legates were already slain, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprize the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, he offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easilie perswaded the Neruij, and therefore they dispatched speedie messengers to the Centrones, Grudij and other people vnder their dominion, and raised verie great forces, and with them they hastied to the campe where Cicero wintered, before anie inkling of the death of Titurius was brought vnto him.

THE OBSERVATION.

His ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the baseness of a small and ignoble state, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst adventure vpon the Roman legions, being seated in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so manie victories in Gallia: wanted now no meanes to make an ouerture to a vniuersall commotion, propounding libertie and reuenge to the Galles, two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people, if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued sure and easie. Which maie serue to shewe, that he that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnwise Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient meanes for his greatest deffignes.

CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his campe from the surprize
of the Neruij, and prepareth himselfe
against a siege.

It happened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that manie of the souldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the enemies horsemen. These being circumvented, the Eburones, Neruij, and Aduatici, with all their confederates and clientes, began to assault the campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their weapons; and got vpon the rampier, with much adoe they helde out that daie: for the Galles trusted much vpon celeritie, hoping if they sped well in that action, to be victors euer after. Cicero dispatched letters

letters with all speede to Caesar, promising great rewards to him that should carie them: but all the waies were so forelaid, that the messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the campe 120 towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification, & whatsoever wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected. The enemye the next daie with a farre greater power assaulted the campe, and filled vp the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the daie before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their worke at anie part of the night, nor gaue anie rest either to the sick or the wounded. Whatsoever was needfull for the next daies assault, was provided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and manie murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories, Pinacles and Parapets were set vp of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe being sickly, and of a weak constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time; so that the souldiers of their owne accord compelled him, by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

THE OBSERVATION.

His Q. Cicero is said to bee the brother of Marcus Cicero the famous Orator, & to him were the letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quinto fratri*. In this action his carriage deserued as great reputation, in the true censure of honor, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Rosfris*. And if it had beene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had achieued by armes: wherein particularly may be commended the diligence and industrie, which was vsed in raising so manie towers, in so small a time; for prouiding the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so manie stakes hardened at the ende with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practised arme, they were verie effectuall and of great

terror.



CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero
which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus,
but are reiected.

WHEN the Princes and chiefe commanders of the Neruij, which had anie entrance of speech and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speake with him: which being granted, they propounded the same things they had used to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia was in Armes; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Cæsar and the rest were besieged in their wintering camps; Sabinus and his men were cut in pieces; notwithstanding they carried this minde to Cicero, that they refused nothing but their wintering among them, they might depart in safetie whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this answer: that it was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take anie article or condition from an armed enimie; but if they would laie their armes aside, let them use his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiat it with Cæsar; there was great hope in regard of his iustice and equitie, that they should not returne unsatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

THe first attempt, which Ambiorix made vpon the campe of Sabinus and Cotta, was but short; but here what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the assailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by assault: for the first assault of a place, especially when it cometh by waile of surpris, is of greater hope to the assailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then such as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for after the first brunt, the heate of the enemy is much abated, as well through the nature of a hot desire, which is most violent in the beginning, and afterward groweth colde and remisse, as also with the harnes and perill which they meete with in the incounter; and on the contrarie side, the defendants hauing withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experience of their strength stand firme against anie charge whatsoever.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and a
rampier, and worke meanes to set fire
on their tents.

THE Neruij disappointed of this hope, carried a ditch and a rampier round about the campe; the rampier was 11 foot high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by being conuersant among them certaine yeares before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no yron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driuen to cut up turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carrie it away with their mantles and gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hooks and strong penthouses, or sauegardes of boords and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth daie of the siege being a very windie daie, they cast hoat bullets of claie out of slinges, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romaines, which after the manner of the Galles, were thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly set on fire, which by the violence of the winde was carried ouer all the campe; the enimie pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were already gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS one example may serue to shew the excellencie of the Romaine discipline, and the wisdom of the first founders of that Arte: for they perceiuing that the fortune of warres consisted chieflie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of contradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant perseueration and a courage inuincible. For the great attempting spirit of an ambitious commader, that seeketh to ouertop the trophies of honour, with the memorie of his exploits, will quickly perish by his owne direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the meanes which

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lead

lead him to his designments. For where the waight is greater then the strength, the engine will sooner breake, then lift it vp: Let a discreet leader therefore lo leuell his thoughts, that his resolution may not exceede the abilitie of his particular means; but first let him be well assured what his souldiers can doe, before he resolute what he will doe: or otherwise, let him so inable them by discipline and instructions, according to the example of the old Romans; that their worth maie answere the height of his desires and follow his aspiring minde, with a resolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and so making their ability the ground of his designes, he shall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this consideration hath, within these late yeares, repaide our commanders in many partes of Christendome with losse and dishonour; when as they measured the humour of their poore needie and vndisciplined souldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughtes, and so laide such proiects of difficultie, as were verie vsutable in the particularitie of occurrences to that, which their souldiers were fit to execute.

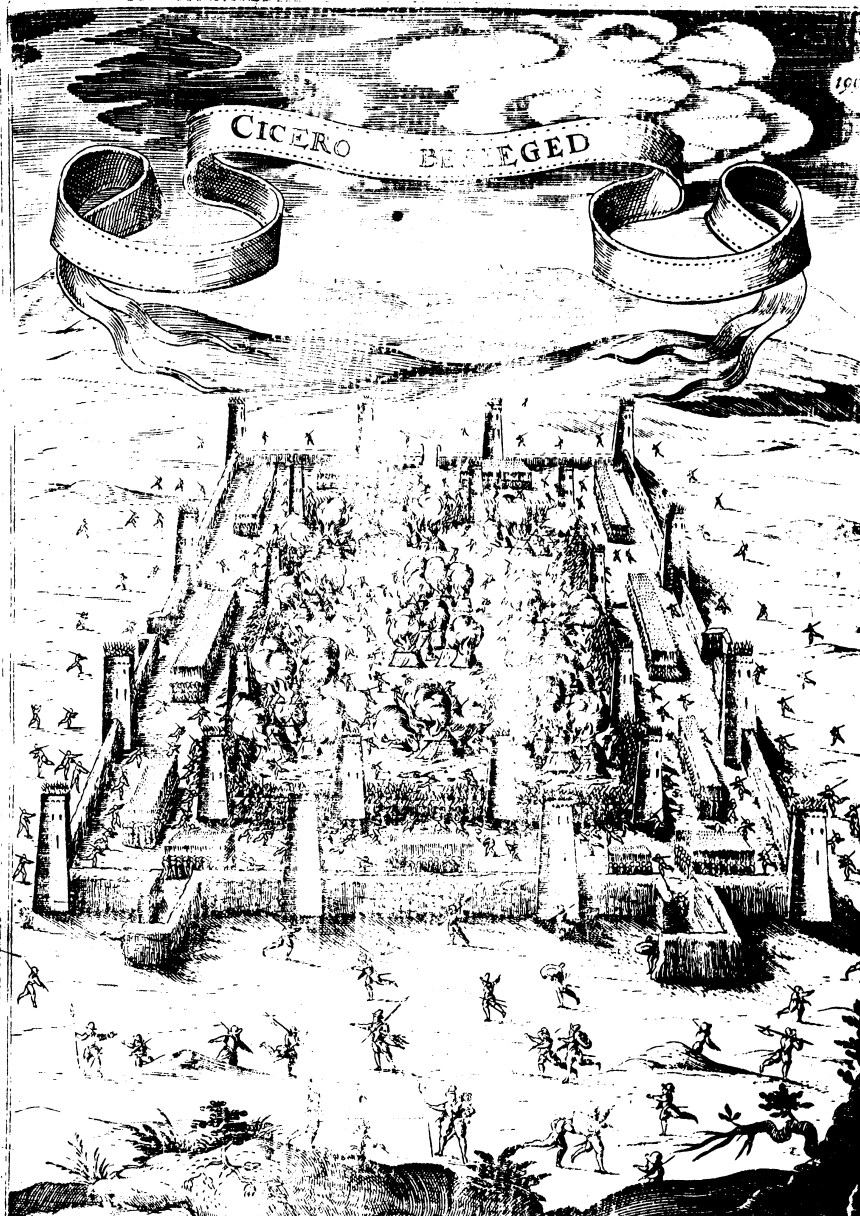
CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, Pulpio,
and Varenus, with their fortunes in
the incounter.



HERE were in that legion two valiant men, Titus Pulpio and L. Varenus Centurions, comming on a pace to the dignitie of the first orders: these two were at continuall debate which of them should be preferred one before another, & every yeare contended for place of preferment, with much strife and emulation. Pulpio at a time, that the fortification was very sharply assaulted, called to Varenus, and asked him why he now stood doubtfull? or what

other place he did looke for to make triall of his manhood? this is the daie (saith hee) that shall decide our controuersies; and when he had spoken these wordes, he went out of the fortification, and where he saw the enimie thickest, he fiercely set vpon them: then could not Varenus hold himselfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reasonable distance. Pulpio cast his pile at the enimie, and strooke one of the multitude through that came running out against him; he being slaine, all cast their weapons at him, giving no respite or time of retrait: Pulpio had his target strooke through, and the dart stucke fast in his girdle: this chance turned aside his scabberd and hindered his right hand from pulling out his sword, in which disadvantage the enemy pressed hard vpon him; Varenus came and rescued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking Pulpio to be slaine with the darte, turned to Varenus, who speedely betooke him to his sword, and came to handy-strokes, and hauing slaine one he put the rest somewhat backe. But as he followed ouerhastely vpon them, he fell downe: him did Pulpio rescue, being



being circumvented and in danger, and so both of them hauing slaine manie of the enemye, retired to their campe in safety, to their great honour. Thus fortune caried as well the contention, as the incounter of them both, that being enemies, they neuerthelesse gaue helpe to saue each others life, in such sort, that it was not to bee iudged which of them deserued greatest honor.

OBSERVATIONS.



Æsar inserteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongst the deeds of armes contained in these commentaries: wherein we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrel, which was their continual strife for place of preferment, which they sought after by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approouing their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a paterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with vertue. For these *Simultates*, which desire of honor had cast between them, brought forth emulation which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for the difference betweene these two qualities is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary vtter ruine, dishonour or ill atchieuement: but emulation contendeth only by well deseruing, to gaine the aduantage of an other mans fame, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinity of their affections, and the sympathie of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may still continue to shew the greatnes of his worth by the opposition of inferior actions, which are as a lesser scantling of desert to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vnknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her helpe in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked dispositiōs of our times: for we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth presently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, and resteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophes deservedly erected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke in to the difference of these and those ages, whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effectes of vertue, to their glory and our ignominy, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring forth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse and negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but wordes of praise, our whole practice being consecrated to actions of reproch. The iniuries, murders, scandalous carriages of one towards an other, which in these daies are so readily offered

red, and so impatientlie digested, will admit no satisfaction but priuate combate, which in the first monarchies was granted only against strangers, and foraine enemies, as the only objects of armes and wrath, and capable of that iustice, which the priuate sworde shoulde execute: for they well perceiued that these single battels were, as sparkles of ciuill discorde, and intestine warres; although not so apparant in the generall viewe of their state, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good gouernment. And if there were a true recorde of such, as haue beene either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they woulde amount to a number capable of that fearefull stile, which is attributed to ciuill warres.

Neither is there any lawe howe rigorous or harde soeuer, that can giue reliefe to this disorder, but the restraint will drawe on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good gouernment. Rotaris king of the Lumbardes forbade his subiectes this manner of combate; but shortlie after, hee was constrained to recall the edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although hee protested the thing to bee both inhumane, and barbarous. The like edict was published in France by Philip the Faire, but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the instante request of his subiectes, in regarde of the murders and assassins committed in that kingdome. The onelie remedie, that I finde to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphé in Piemont, inuented to preuent this euill: for perceiuing howe ordinarie quarrels and bloudshed were in his campe, hee assigned a place between two bridges for the performance of the *Duellum*, with this charge; that hee that had the worst shoulde alwaies bee slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water; the daunger ioyned with dishonour (which by this decree attended such as vndertooke priuate combate) made the soldiours wiser in their cariage, and put an end to their sedition and ciuill discordes. But that which is yet worst of all, is that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euery trifle seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a priuate combate; a crosse looke calleth an others mans honour in question; but the word lye is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoeuer. Whereat we may well wonder howe it happeneth, that wee feele our selues so much exasperated at the reproch of that vice, which we so ordinarilie commit; for in the custome of these times to cast vpon vs the lie, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to stand chiefly in the defence of that corruption vnto which wee are most subiect: I speake not this to qualifie the foulness of this vice; for I holde a lie to bee a monster in nature, one that contemneth God and feareth man, as an ancient father saith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition in disdaining to acknowledge that fault, which wee so commonlie commit. But I would faine learne when honor first came to be measured with words, for from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matters; and the liberty of inuectiues, which

great

great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further prooffe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this
*Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and
putteth the Enemy to a great
laughter.*



As the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldiours were laid vp with wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that were able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of whom, some were taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Nernij, called Vertico, of honest parentage; who in the beginning of the siege had fledde to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæsar; which he tooke, & hauing tied them vp in his Dart, travelled as a Gall amongst the Gallies, without any suspicion, & so came to Cæsar: Of whom he vnderstood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion was beset.

Cæsar, hauing receiued those Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer, in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie fine miles off; commanding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come vnto him. Crassus set out and came along with the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatij, through which he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood with the conueniencie of the State, hee should bring the legion to the territories of the Nernij: for, the rest of the Armie that were further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or thereabouts, from the neereſt wintering Campes. And being aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming; hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Gouernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the whole Armie, the hostages of the Provinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together with all the Corne which hee had got for the provision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion.

Cæ.

Labie.

Cambray.

Labiens, understanding of the death of Fabrius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the whole forces of the Treuiri were marching towards him; he doubted, that if his setting forward out of his winter station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to vndergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made insolent: and therefore informed Cæsar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp; relating what had happened amongst the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horse and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Campe.

Cæsar, allowing of these reasons, howseuer his hope of three legions was fallen vnto two; yet his whole trust was in celeritie, as the onely meanes of all their safeties: and so by great iourneys, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he understood by the Captiues, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perswaded a certaine horseman of the Gallies, by great rewards offered vnto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which hee sent writ in Greeke Character, lest his purposes should be discovered, if the Letter had been intercepted: aduising, that if he could not come to his presence, hee should tie it to the string of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee aduertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance vpon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceiued: the third day, a souldiour finding it,ooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; vho read it publicly in the assembly of the souldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the same time, the smoake of their fires began a farre off to be discovered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Gallies, being aduertised thereof by their Discoverers, left the siege and made towards Cæsar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thousand men or thereabouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie, sought out the same Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæsar: aduising him to be vvarie and diligent in his passage; signifying by those Letters, that the Enemy had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Letters, being brought vnto Cæsar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he remoued his Campe; and hauing marched about foure miles, he discovered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a Riuer. It was a matter of exceeding danger to giue battell to so great a number, in a place of disadvantage: yet forasmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbear to make such haste: and thereupon sate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Campe. Which being of it selfe very little, as not hauing scarce seauen thousand men, & those without any cariages: yet he lessened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the small streets thereof: to the end he might the better defend it, if happily the enemy might be drawne to ingage himselfe seriously in any attempt vpon the same. In the meane time, hauing sent out Discoverers into all parts, he informed him-

selfe

selfe which way he might most conveniently passe over the valley.

The same day, after small encounters of the Cavalrie at the vwater, either partie contained themselves within their fortifications: the Gallies, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæsar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then vpon discovery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the Riuer with lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Cavalrie of the enemy came neere vnto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horsemen. Cæsar, of set purpose, commaunded the horsemen to fall back, and to betake themselves into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe vpon the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselves tumultuously, and with a fained show of great feare. With which inducements, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought ouer all his forces, and imbattailed them in an vnequall and disadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast vpon weapons from all parts into our works: sending Herralds round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer vnto them before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there was no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that when as the Ports were shut vp for a shewe, with a single rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made vp in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill vp the ditches.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, sallied out at all the Ports at once; & sending out the Cavalrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: insomuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes: But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woods and bogs, that lay in their passage (being unwilling to hazard himselfe vpon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety; and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemy: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had been caried. He commended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deserved extraordinarily in that seruice; informed himselfe by the Captiues, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publicly to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and incouragement; shewing, that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to be borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the assistance of the immortal Gods, and by their owne vertue, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themselves were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

OBSERVATION.

THe passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinarie power doth alwaies beget an opinion forcing to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of any other end, then that which suiteth with securitie and victorious successe; which beeing crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth consequently draw all, the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæsars suddaine falyng out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was slaine, and the Countrey quieted.

IN the meane time, the report of Cæsars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: in so much, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrow was giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout at the Campe gate before midnight; whereby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The same vber of beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Caesar remaunded Fabius, with the legion, into their winter stations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrine. And for as much as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolved to abide with the Armie all the winter: for, vpon the newes of the ouerthrow of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; sent Messengers and Embassadors into all parts, to make ouertures for future resolutions, and to vnderstand in what place the war might best be set on foot; holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that winter, which brought not some new care or doubt concerning Caesar, least he should be aduertised of these meetings and conspiracies, amongst these occurrences.

He had intelligence from L. Roscius the Legat, that great sortes of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but vnderstanding of Cæsars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

meant to stie away. But Caesar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terrifying some, as seeming to vnderstand their complotments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Cauarinus, who Caesar had set to be king ouer them (whose brother Moritasgus, at Cæsars coming into Gallia, and whose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): which he perceiuing, fledde away, and was persecuted to the very borders, and so drinen as well out of his private house, as of his kingdom. And hauing sent Embassadors to Caesar, to satisfie him herein; whereas hee commaunded the whole Senate to come vnto him, they refused to obey his warrant: so much it preuailed amongst barbarous people, that there were some found that durst auouch the vndertaking of a warre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Edui, and the state of Rheimes, whom Caesar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other for their late seruices in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. In so much, as I knowe not vuell, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieved, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that Winter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germanes could be perswaded to passe the Rheine. For, hauing twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Aruistus, & in the passage of the Teuchtheri, they would tempt Fortune no further.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope; did notwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him banisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadors came flocking vnto him from all quarters; and sought his fauour both in publique and private. When he vnderstood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were insigated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Nervij and Aduataci, made prouision of war against the Romaines, and that hee should not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Countell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; beeing such, as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Countell, he tooke order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Caesar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Franckefort.

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: wvohether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waste their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himselfe, or the legion; but rather studied not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter handsomly, and to purpose. And therefore, being advertised by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he sent Messengers to call the confining citties, and commaunded horsemen to be sent vnto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid up and downe almost euery day, wvith all his caualry vnder his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: & his horsemen, for the most part, would cast their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy belieue that hee was foreafraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, hauing taken in the caualry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly sent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) wvithin his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approached neere the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horsemen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; wvithout any word giuen in aunswere by them. And a little before the euening, as they dispersed themselves and departed; vpon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he saw would necessarily happen) that euery one should make after Induciomarus: and that no man should so much as wound any other Enemy, before they saw him slaine; Being very unwilling, to giue him time to escape, while the souldiours were ingaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to the that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was surprised in the foord of a Riuer, & slaine; & his head vvas brought backe into the campe: the horsemen returning, slew as many of the rest as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cæsar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

OBSERVATION.



S the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; so the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is said of the Spaniard; that In some cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.

I
THE SIXT BOOKE OF
CÆSARS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

THIS Sommers Commentarie setteth forth the malice of an enemy, that refuseth open encounter: but keeping himselfe in the fastnesse of his holds, forceth the aduerse partie, either to leaue him vntouched, or to seeke him out vpon disadvantage: together with such casualties annexed to the matter, as the power of fortune doth commonly intermingle with such occurrences: as also the maners and fashions of life, then in vse amongst the Germanes and Gaules.

CHAP. I.

*Cæsar fearing a greater commotion in Gallia,
mustereth more forces.*

CÆSAR for many reasons expecting greater troubles in Gallia, appointed M. Silanus, C. Antistius Reginus, and T. Sextius Legates in his armie, to make a new choise, and muster vp more souldiers; and withall he intreated Cneius Pompeius Proconsull, forasmuch as he continued at the city about publique businesse, that he would recall to their ensignes, and send vnto him such souldiers as were before discharged of the Consuls oath: for he thought it very materiall for the future time, to the opinion of the Gaules, when they should see Italy so mightie, that if they had receiued any losse by the casualties of warre, they could not onely in a short time make a supply thereof, but augment their armie with greater forces. Which when Pompey had granted, both for the good of the common wealth and Cæsar's friendship, the choice being speedily by his ministers performed: before the winter was ended, three legions were inrolled and brought vnto him, whereby the number of cohorts were doubled which were lost with Q. Titurius: and withall he made experience both by the speed and by the forces, what the wealth and discipline of the people of Rome could do.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Notwithstanding any former purpose, I will begin this Commentarie with the manner of the choise which the Romaines vsed when they mustered souldiers for an intended warre: and will lay it first downe, as the basis and groundfill of all militarie architecture, and caried by them with such a ceremonious and graue respect, as might best expresse the seriousnessse of the action, and make the souldiers vnderstand what consequence the sequell imported. *Polybius*, who onely remaineth of them that haue written of the auncient fashion of the Romaine warre, amongst other parts of their discipline, hath left vnto posteritie a compendious relation of their musters and inolements, with the helpe of other histories may be thus vnderstood.

Vpon the choise of their Consuls in the beginning of euery yeare, their custome was to inrole foure Legions, two for either Consull. At which inrolement, they first chose foureteene Tribunes, out of the bodie of their Gentlemen, whom they called Equites: these foureteene were such as had serued five yeares in the warres, whereby they became eligible of that dignitie. And againe, they chose ten other Tribunes out of the communalitie, being such as had seene ten yeares seruice: grounding this custome vpon another law; which commaunded the Equites to serue ten, and the Pedites or Commons twentie whole yeares before they could be freed and discharged from the warres: and therefore according to the proportion of their stipendary time, as the Equites were admitted Tribunes at five yeares, so were the legionarie footmen at ten, as at halfe their complete time of seruing in the warres. The generall respect which the Romaines had in the choise of euery particular man, from the highest to the lowest, was included in the circumstances of their age, and of their wealth: the age which they deemed fit to endure the labors of war, was from seuentene to fixe and fortie, for so saith *Tubero*. Concerning the first limit of militarie abilitie, that *seruius* did inrole souldiers from the age of seuentene yeares, adiudging such to be fit for the seruice of the common-weale. And *Senforinius* expresseth the second with an etymologie of the name, where he saith, that men were called *Iuvenes* vnto the age of 46 yeares, *Quod rempublicam in re militari possint inuare*. In this abilitie of yeares, we are to vnderstand, that the law required euery man to perfect the complete number of twentie yeares stipend: if there were occasion of so many warres in that space of nine and twentie yeares, which is comprehended betweene seuentene and fortie six. The wealth which is the second circumstance that made men capable of military dignity, was necessarily required to amouit to the value of *Drachmas quadringentas*, as *Polybius* saith, which by the latin phrase was termed, *Quaterna millia aris*: such as were not worth so much, were neglected in this choise, and reserved for sea-seruice: neither was it lawfull for any man to attaine to any office or magistracie within the citie, vntill he had merited ten yeares stipend. Vpon a resolution to make an inrolement, which was almost euery yeare,

the

The Consuls did proclaime a day when all men of militarie age were to present themselves: vpon which day the Romaine youth being assembled in the citie, and then in the Capitoll: the foureteene Tribunes elected out of the bodie of the Equites, diuided themselves according as they were chosen by the people into foure parts; forasmuch as in former time the whole forces of their Empire consisted of foure legions, or regiments, wherof I haue discoursed at large in the former booke. And the foure Tribunes first chosen were allotted to the first Legion, the 3 next to the second legion, the foure other to the third, and the three last to the fourth. In like maner the ten Tribunes which were taken out of the common bodie of the people, diuided themselves into foure parts: and the two first chosen were inrolled in the first legion, the three next in the second legion, the two following in the third legion, and the three last in the fourth. By which ingenious and discreet allotment it came to passe, that the communalitie were intermingled in the gouernement of their armies with the gentlemen, in such an excellent mixture, that the Equites were either superiour or equal to the Plebei; notwithstanding that euery legion had an equall number of Tribunes. The election being thus farre caried, the Tribunes of euery legion sate them downe by themselves: the people being deuided first into their Tribes, and then into their classes and centuries, casting lots which Tribe should be taken; and out of that Tribe whereon the lot fell, they drew foure men as equall as they could both in age and habitude, who being brought forth, the Tribunes of the first legion made the first choise of one of those foure; then the Tribunes of the second legion had their choise, they of the third legion tooke the next, and the fourth had the last man. And againe, out of the same Tribe were other foure chosen, and then the Tribunes of the second legion began first to make their choise, and so consequently the first legion had the last man. Againe foure other being chosen, the Tribunes of the third legion had the first election, and in that course the second legion had the last man. And by this alternate and successiue election it came to passe, that euery legion was equally compounded both in quality and in number. The inrolement proceeding in this maner vntill their numbers were full: the Tribunes of euery legion assembled their severall troopes together, and tooke one out of euery regiment, and gaue an oath vnto him that he should execute and obey according to his power, whatsoever was commanded him by his Generall: the rest being particularly called, were sworn to keepe the same oath which their foreman had taken: and thus we see, both who were the electors, who were eligible, and the maner of their choise. Wherein we may obserue what means they vsed to ingage euery particular man, with an interest in the generall cause: for they thought it not sufficient to force men out by publike authoritie, and to bind them simply to that seruice by the mandates of their Empire, considering the labours and difficulties of warre, which oftentimes are able to dull the edge of the greatest spirit, and to cause omissions of duty in the most honest and obedient minds; but they tied them likewise with such particular respects, as did both concerne the possessions of their fortune, and the religion of their soule. For it is obserued concerning mans actions, that vlesse the minde do faith-

b 2

fully affect the execution, it may be caried with such a perfunctorie service, as shall betray the true intent to no effect, and deceiue the end of that which was promised by designement: and therefore they refused to inrole any man, that had not a conuenient proportion of wealth, to maintaine a stedfast and well resolu'd courage, and to settle the motions of a staggering mind, when they bethought themselves, that the publike duties wherein they were engaged, were the defensiu'e powers of their Empire, and the meanes whereby the publike weale continued happie: and so by consequence their priuate fortunes were assured from violence, and preserved only by an effectuall obseruance of their militarie discipline. I graunt that it is not altogether wealth that doth grace and formalize the actions of men: for in some cases penurie and want makes men more valorous, according to the answer which a souldier once made to *Lucullus*:

Ibit eo quò viù, qui Ronam perdidit, inquit.

Notwithstanding forasmuch as the publike cause, is either misprised or well affected, according as it doth concerne euery man in particular, as who will doubt of the vttermost diligence of those Mariners, that haue their vessell fraught with their owne goods? or contrariwise, who will blame a mercenarie Pilot, for making peace with death, with the losse of other mens merchandise? For *Patria est ubicunque, bene est*, as one truely saith. And the estimation we haue of this life, is entertained only by the benefites we hold by our life. And therefore it much importeth a State, to haue such Agents to negotiate the publike busineses, as are engaged in the same by the interest of their owne particular. Neither was it sufficient in that gouernement to chuse men of abilitie both in their bodie and in their substance, but they found it necessarie to bind their conscience with a religious consecration, and to sweare a faithfull obedience to their Generall, which with the reuerence of the place being the Capitoll, and other ceremonies of maiestie attending the inrolement, doth manifestly shew, how much the Romaines imputed to this part of their discipline, being the foundation of the sequele of that action

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Secondly, I obserue the benefite which an opulent and able State may make of any losse or misfortune received by an enemy: which consisteth chiefly in the reinforcing, or if it may be, in the redoubling of such troupes as the casualties of warre hath consumed: for it much abateth the spirit of a people, and turneth the pride of a victorie into discouragement and faintnesse of heart, when they see their best and most fortunate in deuours attchieue nothing, but a reiteration of their labours, and are driuen to begin againe that worke, which with much difficultie and hazard they had once ouercome. For it is the end that maketh any labour to be vnderaken, being otherwise nothing but a paine of the bodie and a vexation of the spirit. And therefore when it shall be found either

either circular, or of many confrontments, before it can answer the designements of our mind, we chuse rather to forgo that contentment, which the accomplishment of our desires would afford vs, then to buy it with such a measure of trouble, as exceedeth that, which the proportion of our meanes seemeth able to effect. In regard whercof, the auncient sages of the world, made a taske of this qualitie to be one of *Hercules* labours, by faining the serpent Hydra to be of this nature, that when one head was smitten off, two other heads grew out presently from the same stumpe: and so his labour multiplied his travell, and his valour increased the difficultie of his worke. It was *Cæsars* custome in other cases, to haue such a beginning of strength at his first entrance into a war, as by continuance might be augmented, and rather increase then decay, vpon the resistance of an enemy. So he began the warre in Gallia with sixe legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with tenne: he beganne the ciuill warre but with one legion: he ariued at Brundisium with sixe: he followed *Pompey* into Greece, with fiftene thousand foote, and fise thousand horse, and ended that warre with two and twenty thousand foote, and a thousand horse. He began the warre at Alexandria with 3200. foote, and ended it with sixe legions. He began the warre in Affricke with sixe, and ended it with eight legions. And thus he imitated naturall motion, being stronger in the end then in the beginning, and made his armie as a plant like to grow great, and sprout out into many branches, rather then to die or decay for want of strength, or fresh reinforcing.

CHAP. II.

The Treuiri sollicite the Germanes and some of the States of Gallia. *Cæsar* carieth 4 legions into the territories of the Neruii.



INDVCIOMARVS being slaine, as is related in the former booke, the Treuiri gaue the gouernment vnto his kinsfolke: they intermitted no time to sollicite their borderers with the Germanes, and to promise them money for the wars. When they could not preuaile with their neighbours, they tried those that were further off, and hauing found some that hearkened to their designs, they confirmed their league with a mutuall oath, giuing pledges for assurance of money, and with all they drew *Ambiorix* into their societie and confederation. Which things being knowne, *Cæsar* perceiuing the preparations which in euery part were made for warre: the Neruii, ^b Aduatici, and the Menapii, with all the Germanes on the other side of the Rheine to be in armes; the Senones not to come being summoned, but to be in counsell with the Carnutes and their bordering States, the Germanes to be solicited with often Embassages from the Treuiri, he held it best to thinke of warre so-

Cæsar.
* Part of the Diocet of Cullen.

a Tourney.
b Beaumont.
c Gelders.

* Chartres.

ner then heretofore he was accustomed: and therefore before the winter was ended, with foure legions that lay next together, he entred suddenly vpon the confines of the Neruii, and hauing taken a great number of men and cattell, before they could either make head or flie away, he distributed the bootie to the souldiers, wasted the countrie, caused the people to come in, and to giue pledges vnto him: that businesse being speedily ended, he brought the legions backe againe into their wintering camps.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HIS exemplarie course of proceeding in punishing some one for the offences of many, hath euer bene held the best meane to repress rebellious and factious motions, as well amongst particular subjects which do conspire against the common Pollicie of a State, as also of such inferiour Cities and States, as shall entertaine a confederacie preiudiciall to the soueraigntie of an Empire: for in all such combinations the vndertakers are euer more confident in the assistance and mutuall encouragement of each others assent and forwardnesse, then in the strength of their owne particular meanes. For the mind propounding a course contrarie to a vertuous direction, is alwaies suspicious and mistrustfull of the issue: for as honest motions and conceptions of the heart are attended with assurance, so doth diffidencie wait vpon indirect and perfidious designements. And thence it happeneth, that when the inward thoughts can afford no meanes of emboldening, they commonly relie vpon each others example, and do make the action to appeare honest vnto themselves, forasmuch as so many associates do approue it. For the preuention whereof in the continent of Gallia, Cæsar first layed a heauie hand vpon the Neruii, being well assured, that as rebellious motions are strengthened and drawne on by the mutuall example of conspiring members, so they may be weakened and extinguished by the exemplarie ruine and subuersion of some one or more of the said members, and is as forcible to dissuade as the other to encourage: futing right with the tenour of Iustice, which ought to be caried in such fort against offenders, that by the punishment of some few, the feare may touch all. According as the Poet describeth the nature and effect of thunder:

*Ipsæ Pater media nimborum in nocte coruscæ
Fulmina molitur, dextra, quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugere feræ; & mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis statuit pavor, ille flagrantis
Aut atro, aut Rhodopeæ, aut alia Ceraunia
Deijcit.*

The whole earth trembled, but one hill onely smoaked for it.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SECONDLY, I obserue the respect which Cæsar had to the extraordinarie labour of his souldiers: for whereas they were drawne out of their wintering camps before winter was ended, and were caried vnseasonably vpon a seruice, he rewarded them with the bootie and spoile of the enemy, contrarie to the ordinarie course of the Romaine warfare, which reserved either all or the most part thereof for the publike Treasure, and left the souldier to his stipendarie entertainment. Which is a point very obseruable in the cariage of a warre: wherein are required as well eminent and extraordinarie attempts, as common and vsuall duties, and in the iudgement of a wise Commander are thought worthie their answerable rewards. At the siege of *Gergonia*, as it followeth in the seuenth Commentarie, *L. Fabius* a Centurion told his companions, that the bootie and pillage which he had got at the taking of *Auaricum*, would not suffer any man to get vp vpon the wall before himselfe. And so for the most part it falleth out, that honorable attempts being honorably rewarded, do as seed sowne in good ground, multiplie the increase of like vertuous actions. And this was one principall meane which he vsed to giue courage and valour to his souldiers, as when he went to get *Spaine* from *Pompey* and that faction, he borrowed money of the Tribunes and Centurions, and gaue it in largesse to the souldiers, whereby he gained (as he saith) two aduantages, *quod pignore animos Centurionum deuinxit, & largitione redemit militum voluntates.*

Upon extraordinarie seruice, the souldier extraordinarily rewarded.

Lib. 1. civilis bell.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar summoneth a generall Councell, and carieth his armie against the Senones.

A GENERALL Councell or meeting of all the States of Gallia being summoned, according to his first resolution in the beginning of the Spring, whereas all the rest sauing the Senones, Carnutes, and Treuiri made their appearance: he conceived of it as the beginning of warre and defection, and thereupon setting all other things aside, he transferred the Councell to the citie of Paris in the confines of the Senones, which in the time of their fathers had vntied their state vnto them, but were held cleare of this confederacie. This thing being published from the Tribunall, the same day, he caried the Legions against the Senones, and by great iourneys came into their countrie, his coming being knowne, Acco the chiefe author of that rebellion,

Cæsar.

commanded the multitude to go into the cities and townes of defence: but as they endeououred, before it could be accomplished newes was brought that the Romaines were already come, whereby they necessarily left off their purpose, and sent Ambassadors to Cæsar to intreat for fauour, they vsed the mediation of the Hedui, whose state had of old time bene in faith and league with the Romaines. Cæsar at the sute of the Hedui did willingly afford them pardon and accepted their excuse, forasmuch as he iudged the sommer time fitter to be spent in the warre which was coming on him, rather then in matter of question and iudgement: and hauing commanded an hundred pledges, he deliuered them to be kept by the Hedui. The Carnutes likewise sent messengers and pledges, and by the intreatie of the men of Rhemes, whose clients they were, received the same answers. Cæsar ended the-councell, and commanded horsemen to be sent him from all the States of Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT shall not seeme impertinent to the Reader, that I take occasion here to say somewhat touching the vse and benefit of this Parliament or Councell generall, wherein all the states of Gallia, or at the least such as did acknowledge the Romaine soueraigntie, presented their fealtie, and were mutuall witneses of ech others allegiance. Concerning which we are to vnderstand, that as all naturall bodies haue a transitorie being, depending vpon motion & function of parts, so specially States and Common-weales: as sympathising with naturall causes haue no certain continuance in one and the same being, but are subiect to the alteration of time and fortune, and do passe the ages of a naturall life, from infancie growing to better strength vntill it come to the best perfection which yeares can afford it, and then decaying again by like degrees, euen to the period and death of that pollicie. For remedy whereof, and for the preuention of any weakning disease, which might infect either the whole powers of the bodie, or so possesse any part thereof, as it might thereby proue either daungerous or vnprofitable: amongst other helpes, these counells and meetings haue bene thought necessary, wherein euery particular State and citie had some of their societie present, as wel to open their grieuances if any were, and to seeke ease and releefe by way of treaty and dispute, as also to receiue such directions and mandates, as the wisdom of the Prince should thinke meete for their gouernement. For as this common council or generall assembly, may well be termed the pulse of a politticke bodie, whereby the true state and temperature thereof is discerned; so is it also as a treatie or parle, and a renewing of the conditions of peace betweene the head and the members; where soueraigntie and obedience being mutuall propounded, do concur in the stablishing of true and perfect gouernement. And this is that which the politicians of latter time do in their writings call the reducing of a common-weale to the first beginning: for the noisome and superfluous humours being by this meanes purged and abated, the bodie of the publike weale is refined into such true and naturall clements, and settled in that disposition

disposition of health, as may giue great hope of long continuance. Besides this vse and benefit of these assemblies, there were many necessary busineses concluded, & many things agreed vnto seruing to the maintenance of war against parties and factions, as namely the letties and supplies of horse and foot, granted by this Councell as a subsidy; and in the Romaine army receiued stipend and pay by the name of Auxiliary or associate forces, whereof we reade in many places of these Commentaries, and particularly in this booke: but the Romaines vled specially the seruice of their horsemen, as the flower of their strength, and farre exceeding their foot companies in execution of armes and vse of war, wherein the Gaulles haue euer chalenged a preheminece before other their neighbour-nations, and haue continued the same reputation euen vnto this time: whether it be in regard of the nimble and quicke motions of their spirits, which are better suted with the swift and speedie execution of horse, then with any readines which their own strength can afford them, or what other cause it hath I know not: but this I am sure of, that as the world taketh notice of their hot phantasies, so would the French be reckoned the best horsemen of any other nation. The last saying which I obserue concerning this councell, is the time wherein it was summoned, which was the beginning of the Spring rather then any other part of the yeare, whereof there is this reason; that if any State neglected the summons, and refused to make their appearance according to custome, the sommer time coming on, gaue good meanes to the Romaine legion to punish the insolencie of such a contempt; as it happened in this place to the Senones, Carnutes and Treuiri, whose absence from this meeting was a sufficient argument to Cæsar of their rebellion, and deferred the reward of open reuolt.

The French
are better
horsemen
then footmen.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing which I will briefly obserue in this Chapter, is the pardon which Cæsar willingly gaue the Senones at the mediation of the Hedui, not so much for the respect he bare vnto the Hedui, although they had of long time performed good seruice to the Romaine Empire, and were found more faithfull then all the States of Gallia (howbeit I doubt not but that he was glad of that occasion to gratifie the Hedui,) but as a maister in that facultie, well knowing what best suted with the publicke profite in all times and seasons, he would not mispend the sommer in questions and dispute concerning former errors which might better be remembered vpon other occasions, but rather in prosecuting war against other speciall reuolters, as a matter more behouefull to the aduancement of the Empire, and best fitting the time of sommer. For in following a businesse, there is nothing more auailable to a fortunate issue, then to be able to distinguish of the validity of the parties, & to discerne which hath most interest in the bulke of the matter, that so we may not be mistaken in our designs, but follow that course as shall most aduantage our purpose. And here a Generall is to take speciall care, that no humerous respect do hinder that resolution which

Not to mis-
spend the time
in vnecessary
services.

true iudgement approueth : for oftentimes it falleth out, that either particular profit, delighting pleasures, desire of reuenge, or some other vnseasonable affection, doth so intangle them in their proceedings, as they neuer attaine to the maine drift of the action: and this is called stumbling by the way.

CHAP. IIII.

*Cæsar intendeth the warre of the
Treuiri.*

THIS part of Gallia being quieted, he bent his whole mind to make warre against the Treuiri and Ambiorix, commanding Canarinus with the cavalrie of the Senones to go along with him, least any tumult should happen in his absence, either through his discontentment or the malice of the State: these things being thus determined, forasmuch as he well knew that Ambiorix would not come to blowes in open fight, he endeoured by what meanes he could to vnderstand his other purposes. The Menapij were neighbour-borders vpon the confines of the Eburones, inclosed about with a defence of bogs and woods, onely they of all the states of Gallia had neuer sent to Cæsar touching any contract of peace: of them Ambiorix was receiued and had familiar entertainment. And further he vnderstood, that by the meanes of the Treuiri the Germanes were brought to a contract of friendship with him also. These helps he thought were fit to be taken from Ambiorix before he set vpon him with open warre, lest despairing of his safety, he should either hide himselfe amongst the Menapij, or be compelled to fly ouer the Rheine to the Germanes. In this resolution he sent the baggage of the whole armie with a conuoy of two Legions to Labienus, who was then in the territories of the Treuiri, and he himselfe with fine expedite and unburthened Legions made towards the Menapij. They hauing made no head, but trusting to the strength of the place, fled into the woods and bogs, and caried all they had with them. Cæsar diuiding his forces to C. Fabius legat and M. Crassus the treasurer, hauing made speedy prouision of bridges, did set vpon the in three parts, and burnt houses and villages, and tooke great numbers of men and cattell, whereby the Menapij were constrained to send to Cæsar for peace: he hauing taken pledges of them, assured them that he would esteeme them as enemies if they did either receiue Ambiorix into their country, or any messengers from him. The matter being thus compounded, he left among them Comes of Arras with certaine horse, as a garrison to that place, and he himselfe made towards the Treuiri.

THE

OBSERVATIONS.

ENCE we may obserue, that as it falleth out in other things for the most part, so especially in matter of warre there is such a medley and interlacing of materiall circumstances, with the bodie of the action, that commonly one businesse begets another. Cæsars chiefe designe at this time was the warre against Ambiorix & the Treuiri: but considering the contract and league between the and the Menapij, he would not prosecute the warre of the Treuiri, vntill he had takē away that assistance, & left the in the nakednes of their own strength. Wherein we may first obserue what opinion Cæsar held of allies and associates, or any other that gaue helpe or assistance to an enemy: for besides this particular, we may reade in the fourth Commentarie, that the chiefe cause that moued him to take the voyage into Brittain, was, for that the Brittaines had vnderhand giuen succour and assistance to the Gaules, a matter not to be neglected in his iudgement, whether it were in regard of any friendship or good respect which they bare vnto the Gaules, or otherwise to keepe the Romaines occupied there, that they in the meane time might liue quietly at home, which I neede not here dispute: but the matter proueth it selfe plainly by Cæsars owne confession, that the continuall supplies sent from Brittain, were a sufficient cause to moue him to that warre. And as it followeth in this Commentarie, concerning the selfe same matter, the onely cause that drew him to passe the Rheine the second time into Germanie, was the succours which the Germanes had formerly sent to the Treuiri; according to reason in cases of other natures, that he that will extinguish a lampe, must not suffer an addition of oyle, nor admit the influence of lesser streames, when he goeth about to drie vp the greater riuer. But that which was the occasion of this businesse, and might haue challenged the first place in this discourse, was: for that Cæsar was most assured that Ambiorix would not be brought to a triall of battell, and therefore he laboured to vnderstand his other proiects. From whence a Commaunder may receiue direction, what course to hold in a refusall of open encounter: for as the art and sleight of warre is to subdue an enemy, so are there more waies and meanes to effect that purpose, then by waging battell; as I haue discoursed at large in the third Commentarie: whereunto I may adde thus much, which is generally obserued in the cariage of great and eminent Commaunders, that such as failed in matter of negotiation, and wanted dexteritie in managing the course of their businesse, (notwithstanding any fortune or singularity in striking a battell,) did neuer attaine to firme and permanent honour. If any man be desirous to descend into particulars, let him looke into the liues of king Pirrhus, Demetrius, Anniball, and Caius Marius, whose latter ends, or shutting vp of their liues, were not answerable to their excellencie in deedes of armes, for want of that iudiciall disposition of their businesse, which Cæsar might boast of, of whom it may be truly said, that (notwithstanding the many battells which he fought, yet he did *plura consilio, quam vi gerere*.

Cæsars opinion of allies & associates.

Chap. 10.

CHAP. V.

Labienus ouerthroweth the Treuiri
by a guile.

WHILE Cæsar was about these things, the Treuiri having raised great forces both of horse and foote, had a purpose to assault Labienus, wintering in their confines with one legion. And as they were within two dayes iourney of him, they had intelligence of two legions more which Cæsar had sent unto him; whereupon they encamped themselves some fiftene miles distant frō him, and resolved there to attend the Germanes forces: Labienus being aduertised of their resolution, hoping through their rashnesse to find some good opportunitie of encounter, he left five cohorts for the safetie of the cariages, and with five and twenty other cohorts, besides great forces of horse he marched towards the enemy and encamped himselfe within a mile of them. Betweene Labienus and the enemy there ranne a river, the passage whereof by reason of the broken bankes was very hard and difficult: this river he did not purpose to passe himselfe, and doubted the enemy would not be dranne to do it. In the meetings and counells of warre he gaue out, that forasmuch as the Germanes were said to be at hand, he would neither hazard himselfe nor the fortunes of the army, but he would rather remoue his campe the next day very early in the morning. This was quickly caried to the enemy, as amongst many of the Gaules that were with him, some of them did naturally fauour the proceedings of their owne nation. Labienus hauing in the night time called vnto him the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Centurions of the first Orders, acquainted them with his purpose, and to the end he might giue greater suspicion of feare to the enemy, he caused the campe to be dislodged with more noise and tumult then the Romaine discipline had vsually obserued; and thereby made the retreat not unlike a flight or escape: which before day light (the two camps being so neare one to the other) was by the discoverers brought to the enemy. The last troups of the Romaines were scarce gone out of the campe, but the Gaules encouraging one another not to lose so hopefull a prey, thinking it long (specially the Romaines being thus affrighted, to expect the Germane forces, and that it stood not with their dignitie, being so able, and so many in number, not to adventure vpon a handfull of men, flying from them, and troubled besides with baggage and burden, and therefore they doubted not to passe the river, and to giue them battell in a place of disadvantage. Labienus suspecting that which now had happened, to the end he might draw them all ouer the river, he made as though he would go on forward: at length sending the cariages a litle before, and placing them vpon a hill: Ye haue now (said he) fellow souldiers that oportunitie which ye desired, the enemy in a cumber some and vnequall place, onely affoord me your Leader at this time that valour, which oftentimes heretofore you haue shewed to your Generall, imagine him

to be present, and to see this seruice with his owne eyes: and withall he commaunded the Ensignes to be caried towards the enemy, and the armie to be imbattelled, and leauing a few troups of horse with the cariages, he disposed the rest in the wings of the armie. The Romaines taking up a crie and a shout, did speedily cast their pikes at the enemy, who when they saw the Romaines readie to assault them whom they had thought had fled from them for feare, they were so discouraged, that euen in the first close they betooke themselves to flight towards the next woods. Labienus pursuing them with his horsemen, killed many of them and tooke more prisoners, and within a few dayes tooke in the whole state of the Treuiri: for the Germanes which came to their succour vnderstanding of their ouerthrow, returned home againe; and with them went also the kinsmen of Induciomarus the authors of that defection. The soueraignie and gouernement was giuen to Cingetorix, who from the beginning had euer bene true and loyall to the Romaines.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HAVE already handled this practise of a pretended feare, which the Historie doth so often recommend to our consideration, and haue shewed the inconuenience of ouer light credulitie, leading such easie weeners to a disappointment of their hopes, and consequently to the hazard of their fortune. I will now proceed to that which is further implied in this relation, and respecteth the chiefeft dutie of a chiefe commander: and that is, what specially is required of a Generall, in the cariage and direction of a battell. Concerning which point, as there is nothing more materiall to the effecting of any businesse, then oportunitie of time, conueniencie of place, and an orderly disposition of the meanes according to time and place. So in question of encounter or waging battell, the dutie of a Leader may be included in these three circumstances, concerning the qualitie of the place, as the chiefeft and first respected in the choice of a iudiciall director, the whole scope of the Romaine discipline from the time of their first Kings, euen to the last of their Emperours, did alwayes aime at the aduantage of place, as a necessarie helpe for the obtaining of victorie. Which I haue already noted in the Heluetian action: yet for as much as the wisdome and experience of those times did deeme it a circumstance of such importance, giue me leaue once againe to inforce the vse thereof by these examples. *Habitis milites* (saith Labienus in this place) *quam petistis facultatem, hostem iniquo atque impedito loco teneatis, prastate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam sepe numero Imperatori prestistis*. Whereby he cleareth himselfe of all imputation of ill direction, as hauing perfourmed the vttermoost dutie of a Commander, and giuen such helpe by the aduantage of the place as are requisite to an easie victorie, leauing the rest to the execution of the souldiers. Cæsar at the losse he receiued at *Dyrachium* cleared himselfe to his souldiers in this sort: *Quod esset acceptum detrimenti cuius, potius quam sue culpa debere tribui, locum securum ad dimicandum dedidit, &c.* And as it followeth in the seuenth Commentarie, being imbattelled vpon

Com. 3. cap. 8.

The dutie of a
Generall in
euerie battell.

Lib. 1. cap. 6.

the side of a hill right ouer against the armie of the *Gauls*, which stood likewise in a readinesse to entertaine the *Romaine* valour, would not suffer his men to hazard themselues in the passage of a bogge of fiftie foote in breadth lying betweene both the armies, but rather perswaded his souldiers, disdaining the confrontation of the enemy, to indure their contumelie, rather then to buy a victorie with the danger of so many worthie men, and patiently to attend some further opportunitie. Which passage of *Cæsar* euen in the said tearmes, as it is there related, was vrged to good purpose by Sir *Frauncis Vere* in the year 1600 at a consultation before the battell of *Newport*. For the armie of the Netherlands being posselt of the Downes, which are small swelling hils rising vneuenly along the sea shore vpon the coast of *Flaunders*, and the enemy making a stand vpon the sands at the foote of those hils, and so cutting off the passage to *Ossend*, it was disputed by the Commaunders, whether they should leaue the Downes, and go charge the enemy where he stood imbatelled vpon the sands, or attend him in the fastnesse of the Downes whereof they were posselt. The whole Councell of warre were earnestly bent to forsake the Downes, and to hazard the fight on equall tearmes, as impatient that their passage and retreat to *Ossend* should be cut off. But Sir *Frauncis Vere* well knowing how much it imported the businesse of that day to hold a place of such gaine and aduantage, perswaded Count *Maurice* by many reasons, and specially by this of *Cæsar* which I last alleadged, not to forgo the helpe of the Downes, but to expect the enemy in that place, and so make vse of that benefite vpon the first encounter, rather then to aduenture the successe of the battell in worse tearmes, in hope of clearing the passage: and shewing also many probable coniectures, that the enemy would not continue long in that gaze. Wherein as his opinion then prevailed, so all that were present were eye-witnesses both of the truth of his coniecture, and the soundnesse of his iudgement. For the enemy within a while after comming on to charge the troupes of the States, was receiued with such counterbuffe from the hils, and were violently beaten backe in such rude manner, as our men had the execution of them for the space of a quarter of a mile or more, which was no small aduantage to the fortune of that day. Touching the oportunitie of time, which *Pindarus* calleth the Mother of worthie exploits, and oftentimes dependeth vpon the circumstance of place, a Generall ought carefully to aduise that he neither precipitate nor foresew the occasion, which is well expressed in this particular seruice of *Labienuus*. For where his purpose was to draw the enemy ouer a riuer that had steepe and vneasey banks, and thereby of a hard and difficult passage, he would not shew his resolution, vntill he had drawne them all ouer the riuer: for he was well assured, that the *Romaine* legions would so charge the enemy vpon their first encounter, with the vnresistable waight of their piles, that in their giuing backe they could not escape the daunger of the riuer. And therefore to make the victorie more absolute and complete, he suffered them all to come ouer the water, that all might be endaugered in their passage backe againe. And this is the benefite which oportunitie bringeth, which is the rather to be attended with all carefullnesse, forasmuch as *Non sapē, ac diu, eadem occasio est*.

Concerning

Concerning the last circumstance of the apt and fit disposition of the forces according to time and place, which is necessarily required in the dutie of a General: it is referred to this end only, that they may be ranged in such manner, that as one man is assistant to another in their severall files and ranks, so one troope may be in subsidys to another, to the end that no part may stand naked, or fall in the singleness of it owne strength, but that one may second another from the first to the last. *C. Sempronius* a Romaine Consull hauing fought vnadvisedly, and receiued an ouerthrow, *Iulius* the Tribune of the people, caused *Tempanus* a horseman that was present at the battell to be called, and as *Linie* reporteth it, *Coram eis, sexte Tempani, inquit, arbitreris ne C. Sempronium Consulem, aut in tempore pugnam iniisse, aut firmasse subsidys aciem?* for *Linie* saith, he hath fought incautē in consiliū, non subsidys firmata acie non equite apud locato. And of these three circumstances, consisteth the dutie and office of a Generall, touching the direction of a battell: wherein whosoever faileth, doth hazard the prerogative of his commaund ouer that armie which he leadeth, according to that of *Cæsar* in the first of his Commentaries, *Se scire quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto, aduenitur esse conuictum*: which *Cæsar* himselfe needed not to feare, if we may beleue *Plutarke*, who writeth that he was indowed by nature with an excellent promptitude and aptnesse, to take oportunitie in any businesse.

In the life of *Cæsar*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



May not omit to insist a litle vpon this noise or shout, which the souldiers tooke vp in the instant of the charge, and is related in this place as a materiall point in their cariage at this seruice. A matter auncient and vsuall in the Romaine armies, as well in the time of their first Kings, as their first Consuls. *Fusi primo impetu & clamore hostes*, saith *Linie* concerning *Romulus*. And not long after, *Consul* *nec promouit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus*. *Cæsar* in the censure which he gaue concerning *Pompey* his direction for the battell at *Pharsalia*, doeth expresse a double vse of this clamour or shouting: first the terror of the enemy, and secondly the encouragement or assurance of themselves: *Est quedam animi incitatio* (saith he) *atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, qua studio pugne incenditur, hanc non reprimere sed augere imperatores debent: neque frustra antiquitus institutum est ut signa undique concinerent, clamorem vniuersi tollerent, quibus rebus & hostes terreri & suos incitari existimauerunt*. Two contrarie effects, proceeding from a cause, which to common sense carieth no shew of any such efficacy: *Fox est prater ea nihil*, as one said of the Nightingale in another sense. But such as do seriously looke into the reasons thereof, shall find the saying true which is ascribed to the elder and wiser *Cato*: *Verba plus quam gladium, & voces quam manum hostes territare & in fugam vertere*. The care as I haue already noted wil sooner betray the foule to the distresse of feare, then any other of the fiue senses: which *Iosephus* well vnderstood, although peraduenture he applied


The vse and benefite of a shout took vp in a charge or assault.
Lib. 1.
Lib. 2.
Lib. 3. *Cinil*.

Lib. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 18

not so fit a remedie, when he commaunded his men to stop their eares at the acclamations of the *Romaine* legions, lest they might be daunted and amazed thereat. The reason may be, for that our discourse (diligently attending vpon a matter of that consequence which calleth the liues of both parties in question, and valewing euery circumstance at the vtmost) doth alwayes presuppose a cause answerable to such an effect of ioy and assurance: for these shouts and acclamations are properly the consequents of ioy, & are so auailable that they deceiue both parties; for such as take vp the shout by way of anticipation, do seeme to conclude of that which is yet in questiō; and the enemy thereupon apprehendeth danger when there is none at all, whereby it hapneth, *Hofies terri, & suos incitari*, as *Cæsar* noteth. Besides these examples, I might allage the authority of holy writ, but that it might seeme both vsfauorie and vnseasonable to make a commixture of such diuersities: I will therefore content my selfe with a practise of our time at the battell of *Newport*, where after diuers retreits and pursuits, either side chasing the other, as it were by turne and mutuall appointment, and as it often falleth out in such confrontments: at last commandement was giuen to the *English* to make head again, and after some pause to charge the enemy with a shout, which being accordingly performed, a man might haue seen the enemy startle before they came to the stroke: and being charged home were so routed, that they made no head againe that day. For the preuention of such a disaduantage, there can be no better president, then that which *Plutarke* noteth, touching the battell betweene the *Romaines* and the *Ambrons*, a part of that deluge of people which came downe into Italy with the *Cimbri* and *Tewtons*; for these *Ambrons* coming out to giue battell, to the end they might strike feare into the *Romaines*, they made an often repetition of their owne name with a lowd sounding voice, *Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons*. The *Italians* on the other side that first came downe to fight, were the *Ligurians*, inhabiting the coast of *Genoa*, who hearing this noise, and plainly vnderstanding them, made answer with the like crie, sounding out their owne name, *Liguri, Liguri, Liguri*. Whereupon the Captaines of both sides made their souldiers crie out altogether, contending for enuie one against another who should crie it loudest; and so both sides were encouraged, and neither of them disaduantaged, *Clamore utramque sublatō*.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 HIS *Labiennus* was a great souldier, and well acquainted with *Cæsars* maner in leading an armie, and made many good fights while he continued vnder his commaund: but after he be-tooke himselfe to *Pompeys* part, and ioyned with a faction against his first maister, he neuer atchieued any thing but losse and dishonour.

Dux fortis in armis
Cæsaris Labiennus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

And

And vpon that occasion he is often mentioned as a memoriall of his disloyalitie, to proue that good successe in matter of warre doth follow the Generall rather then any inferiour Captaine: for it is obserued of diuers, whose fortune hath bene great vnder the conduction of some commaunders, and as vn lucky vnder other leaders: like plants or trees that thriue well in some grounds, and beare store of fruite; but being transplanted, do either die or become barren. And doubtlesse, there may be obserued the like sympathy or contrariety in the particular courses of mans life, wherein they are caried vpon the streame of their fortunes, according to the course of their first imbarcking. And therefore such as happen in a way that leadeth to successefull ends, shall much wrong themselves either to turne backe againe, or to seeke by-paths, whose ends are both vnknowne and vncertaine: and herein the French saying may serue to some purpose: *Si vous estes bien tenez vous là.*

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar carieth his armie ouer the Rheine into Germanie.



CÆSAR being come from the *Menapij* to the *Treuri*, did resolve to passe the *Rheine* for two causes: the one was, for that the *Germanes* had sent succours and supplies to the *Treuri*; the other that *Ambiorix* might haue no reception or entertainment among them. Vpon this resolution, a litle aboue that place where he caried his armie ouer before, he commaunded a bridge to be made after the knowne and appointed fashon, which by the great industrie of the souldiers was ended in a few dayes: and leauing a sufficient strength at the bridge, lest anie sudden motion should rise amongst the *Treuri*, he caried ouer the rest of his forces both horse and foote. The *Vbij* which before time had giuen hostages and were taken into obedience, sent Ambassadors vnto him to cleare themselves from imputation of disloyaltie, and that the *Treuri* had receiued no supplies from their state: they pray and desire him to spare them, lest the generall distast of the *Germanes* should cause him to punish the innocent for the guilty: and if he would aske more hostages, they would willingly giue them. *Cæsar* vpon examination of the matter, found that the supplies were sent by the *Swevi*: and thereupon he accepted the satisfaction of the *Vbij*, and inquired the way and the passages to the *Swevi*. Some few dayes after he vnderstood by the *Vbij*, that the *Swevi* had brought all their forces to one place, and had commaunded such nations as were vnder their dominion that they should send them forces of horse and foote. Vpon this intelligence he made prouision of corne, and chose a fit place to incamp in: he commaunded the *Vbij* to take their cattell and all their other goods from abroade out of the fields into their townes, hoping that the barbarous and unskilfull men might through want of victuall be drawne to fight vpon hard conditions: he gaue order also that they should euery day

Cæsar.

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THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



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which by the great industrie of the souldiers was ended in a few dayes: and leauing a
sufficient strength at the bridge, lest anie sudden motion should rise amongst the Tre-
uiri, he caried ouer the rest of his forces both horse and foote. The Vbij which before
time had giuen hostages and were taken into obedience, sent Ambassadors vnto him
to cleare themselves from imputation of disloyalie, and that the Treuiri had received
no supplies from their state: they pray and desire him to spare them, lest the generall di-
dall of the Germanes should cause him to punish the innocent for the guilty: and if
he would aske more hostages, they would willingly giue them. Cæsar vpon examinatio
of the matter, found that the supplies were sent by the Swevi: and thereupon he accep-
ted the satisfaction of the Vbij, and inquired the way and the passages to the Swevi.
Some few dayes after he vnderstood by the Vbij, that the Swevi had brought al their
forces to one place, and had commaunded such nations as were vnder their dominion
that they should send them forces of horse and foote. Vpon this intelligence he made
prouision of corne, and chose a fit place to incamp in: he commaunded the Vbij to take
their cattell and all their other goods from abroad out of the fields into their townes,
hoping that the barbarous and vnskilfull men might through want of victuall be
drawne to fight vpon hard conditions: he gaue order also that they should euery day

Cæsar.

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send out discoverers to the Swevi to understand what they did. The Vbijs did as they were commaunded, and after a few dayes brought word that all the Swevi hauing receiued certaine newes of the approach of the Romaine armie, had retired themselves and all their forces to their utmost confines, where there was a wood of an infinite greatnesse called Bacenis, and serued as a natieue wall or defence to keepe the Chirufci from the incursions of the Swevi, and the Swevi from the iniurie and spoile of the Chirufci.

OBSERVATIONS.

IWILL hold my former purpose, not to deliuer any thing concerning bridges, whereof there are so many treatises already extant: neither will I go about to describe the substantiall building or ingenious workmanship of this bridge here mentioned, which might wel beseeeme *Cæsar* & his armie: for as he only could, or at the least did, put in practise the making thereof, so will I leaue the description to himselfe, as best suting with his eloquence. But forasmuch as *Brancatio* an Italian writer, taketh occasion from hence to runne into ignorance and error, giue me leaue to set a marke vpon this place, lest others not knowing the auncient course, should run their barke vpon the same shallowes. Amongst other aduertisements (being but fourteene in all, which he hath giue vpon *Cæsar*'s Commentaries) he noteth and commendeth the vse of bridges made of boates, which are commonly caried in an armie royall to that purpose before this or any other inuention of former times, specially in regard of the easinesse and expedition which may be vsed both in making such a bridge, and taking it vp againe: for the boates being prepared readie, as vsually they are in campe royals, such a bridge may be made in a day, which *Cæsar* could not do in tempe, but with great wonderment and admiration. And therein I hold well with *Brancatio*, that for the speedie transportation of an armie ouer a riuer, there is no readier meanes then a bridge of boates, presupposing the boates to be fitt in a readinesse. But that which he concludeth, is, that mens wits in these times are much sharper and readier, then those of former ages, forasmuch as they haue found out an easie and expedite course, which former times could neuer reach vnto. Wherein I will not go about to derogate any thing from the condition of the time in which we liue and breath, but do desire to find them better accomplished, then any other foregoing ages, howsoeuer I may suspect a greater weakenesse of wit in these dayes, wherein the temperature of the body is worse conditioned then it was in the time of our forefathers, as may appeare by many arguments, and serueth not so fitly to the working powers of the mind, as it did before this multiplicitie of mixture, when the state of mens bodies were compounded of those perfect elements which were in our first parents. But for this reason which *Brancatio* alledgeth, the Reader may be pleased to vnderstand, that the vse of boate bridges was both knowne and in practise, as well before the *Romaine* Empire, as in the time of their gouernment.

Hera-

Herodotus relating the passage of *Zerxes* armie into *Greece*, describeth this bridge of boates, (which *Brancatio* would attribute to the inuention of our times) in the selfe same manner, or rather more artificially then hath bene accustomed in these later ages: for finding that no timber worke would serue the turne, to make a sufficient bridge ouer the streights of *Hellepont*, being seuen furlongs in breadth, he caused Biremes and Triremes to be placed in equall distance one from another, and fastened with anchors before and behind, and to be ioyned together with planks and boords, and then couered with sand and granell, raising a hedge or blind on each side therof, to the end the horse and cattell might not be affraid at the working of the billow, and so made a bridge for the passage of his armie. And in the time of the *Romaine* Empire, *Tacitus* describeth the like bridge to be made ouer the riuer *Po*, by *Valens* and *Cecina* with as great skill as can be shewed at these times: for saith he, they placed boates a crosse the riuer, in equall distance one from another, and ioyned them together with strong planks, and fastened them with anchors: but in such sort, as *Anchorum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut auersent e flumine inoffensus ordo nauium attolleretur*. Whereby it appeareth how much *Brancatio* was deceiued in ascribing that to these latter times, which was the inuention of former ages, and may serue as a caueat to our out-languist humorists, that can indure no reading but that which foundeth with a straunge idiome: not to trust too much vpon their authors, lest whilst they stifle their memorie with straunge words, in the meane time they starue their vnderstanding.

Polimnia
Herodoti.

Hist. 3.

CHAP. VII.

The Factions in Gallia in Cæsar's time.

INVT here it shall not be amisse to deliuer somewhat touching the manner and fashion of life both of the *Gaules*, and of the *Germanes*, and wherein those two nations do differ. In *Gallia* not onely in euery citie, village, & precinct, but almost in euery particular house, there are parties and factions, the heads whereof are such as they thinke to be of greatest authoritie, according to whose opinion and commaund the maine course of their actions is directed. And this seemeth a custome instituted of old time, to the end that none of the common people how meane soeuer, might at any time want meanes to make their partie good against a greater man: for if they should suffer their parties and followers to be either oppressed or circumuented, they should neuer beare any rule or authoritie amongst them. And this is the course throughout all *Gallia*, for all their States are decuded into two factions. When *Cæsar* came into *Gallia*, the *Hedui* were chiefe ring-leaders of the one partie, and the *Sequani* of the other: these finding themselves to be the weaker side, (forasmuch as the principallitie and chiefeft

Cæsar.

power was aunciently seated in the Hedui, hauing many and great adherents and clients drew the Germaines and Ariouistius by many great promises on their party: and after many great victories at the Nobilitie of the Hedui being slaine, they went so far beyond them in power and authoritie, that they drew the greatest part of clients from the Hedui to themselves, and took the children of their Princes for pledges, and caused them to take a publike oath not to vnder take any thing against the Sequani: besides a great part of their countrey which they tooke from them by force, and so they obtained the principallitie of Gallia. And thereupon Diuitiacus went vnto Rome to seeke ayde of the Senate, but returned without effecting any thing. Cæsar comming into Gallia brought an alteration of these things: for the pledges were restored backe againe to the Hedui, and their old followers and clients did likewise returne to their protection: besides other new followers which by Cæsar's meanes did cleaue vnto them. Whereby their noblenesse and dignity was so amplified and enlarged, that the Sequani lost their authority, whom the men of Rhemes succeeded. And forasmuch as the world took notice that they were no lesse fauoured of Cæsar then the Hedui, such as by reason of former enmities could not endure to ioyne with the Hedui, put themselves into the clientle of the men of Rhemes, & found respectiue protection from that State, which caused a new and sodaine raised authority of the men of Rhemes: so that at that time the Hedui went far beyond all the other States of Gallia in power and authority, and next vnto them were the men of Rhemes.

OBSERVATIONS.



and ACTIONS are generally the rent of a State, and a disioyning of those parts which common vnitie hath knit together for the preservation of good gouernement: but the *Gauls* maintained sides and parties throughout the whole bodie of their continent, and found it necessary for the vpholding of their pollicie at home: and as it fell out in the course of these warres, rather a helpe then otherwise in their generall defence against a forraigne enemy. The reason of the former benefite was grounded vpon two causes, as *Cæsar* noteth; the one proceeding from the oppression vsed by the rich and mightie men towards the poorer and meaner people; and the other from the impatiencie of those of inferiour condition, refusing to acknowledge any authoritie or preheminiencie at all, rather then to endure the wrongs and contumelies of the mighty. And therefore to preuent the licentious might of the great ones, and to giue countenance and respect to the lower sort, these factions and sides were deuised: wherein the foote had alwayes a head sensible of the wrongs which were done vnto it. Things of greater condition are alwayes iniurious to lesser natures, and cannot endure any competencie; not so much as in comparifon, or by way of relation. In things without life, the prerogatiue of the mountaines doth swallow vp the lesser rising of the downes, and the swelling of the downes, the vneuennesse of

the mole-hills: the Stars are dimmed at the rising of the Moone, and the Moone loseth both her light and her beautie in the prelence of the Sunne. So amongst brute beasts and fishes, the greater do alwayes deuour the lesse, and take them as their due by the appointment of nature: and men more iniurious in this point, then either mountaines or brute beasts, inasmuch as they do alwayes oueralew themselves beyond their owne greatnesse, haue in all ages verified the old prouerbe, *Homo homini lupus*. And on the other side, as nature maketh nothing in vaine, but hath giuen a being to the least of her creatures: so do they endeavour not to be adnulled, but to keepe themselves in being and continuance, *Habet & musca splenem*, saith the Poet: and the Pismires and Bees haue their common weales, though not equall to a Monarke. And therefore that the mightie and great men of *Gallia*, might not deuoure the lowest of the people, but that euery man might stand in his owne condition, and by the helpe of a Rowland liue by an Oliuer. And againe, that the poorer sort might giue as a tribute for their protection, that respect and obedience to their superiours, as belongeth to such high callings, these factions and bandies were ordained: whereby the Nobles were restrained from oppressing the poore, and the poore compelled to obey the Nobilitie, which is the best end that may be made of any faction.

Concerning the aduantage which the *Gauls* receiued by these factions against forraigne enemies, it was rather in regard of the multiplictie of States and Common-weales which were in the continent of *Gallia* then otherwise; for it manifestly appeareth, that their factions and contentions for soueraigne authoritie, caused one partie to bring in *Ariouistius* and the *Germaines*; and the other partie, the *Romaines* to make good their bandy. But forasmuch as *Gallia* had many diuisions, and contained many seuerall States, relying chiefly vpon their owne strength, and esteeming the subuersion of their neighbour citie, as a calamitie befalling their neighbour, from which the rest stood as yet free, it was not so easily conquered as if it had bene all but one kingdome. The battell which *Cæsar* had with the *Neruij*, which was fought so hard, that of threecore thousand men there were left but fise hundred; nor of fixe hundred Senators, but three; nor againe, the selling of three and fiftie thousand *Gauls* for bond-slaves at one time, did not so much aduantage the conquest of *Gallia*, as the battell of *Edward* the taird, or that of *Henrie* the fift, our two English *Cæsars*: in the former whereof were slaine at *Creslie* thirtie thousand of the *French*, and in the latter at *Agincourt* but ten thousand. The reason was, for that the former losses though farre greater concerned but particular States, whereas these latter ouerthrowes extended to the members and branches of the whole kingdome.

Lib. 2.

Lib. 3.

CHAP. VIII.

Two sortes of men in Gallia, Druides and Equites.

THroughout all Gallia there are but two sorts of men that are of any reckoning or account; for the common people are in the nature of seruants, and of no worth of themselves, nor admitted to any Parliament: being kept vnder either by debts or by great tributes, or by the oppression of the mightie: do put themselves in the service of the Nobilitie, and are subiect to the authority which the master hath ouer his bondslane: of these two sorts, the one are Druides, and the other Equites or gentlemen. The Druides which are alwayes present at their holy duties, do giue order for their publike and priuate sacrifices, and expound their Religion. To the Druides great numbers of the youth do resort for learnings sake, and haue them in great honour and reputation; for they do determine almost of all controuersies both publicke and priuate: for if any offence be committed, as murder or manslaughter, or any controuersie arise touching their lands or inheritance, they sentence it; rewarding the vertuous, and punishing the wicked. If any priuat mā or State do not obey their decree, they interdict him from holy duty, which is the greatest punishment that is amongst them: such as are thus interdicted, are reputed in the number of impious and wicked men, euery man leanes their companie, and doth auoyd to meete them, or speake with them, lest they should receiue any hurt by their contagion: neither haue they law or iustice when they require it, nor any respect or honour that doth belong vnto them. Ouer all the Druides there is one Primat that hath authoritie of the rest: at his decesse if any one do excell the rest in dignitie he succeedeth: if many equals are found they go to election, and sometimes they contend about the primacy with force and armes. They meet at a certaine time of the yeare in the confines of the Carnutes, which is the middle part of all Gallia, and there they sit in a sacred place: thither they resort frō all parts that haue controuersies, & do obey their orders & iudgements. The art & learning of the Druides was first found out in Britany, and from thence is thought to be brought into Gallia: and at this time such as will attaine to the perfect knowledge of that discipline, do for the most part trauell thither to learne it. The Druides are exempt from warfare and payments, and haue an immunitie from all other duties: whereby it falleth out, that many do betake themselves to that profession of their owne free will, and diuers others are sent to that schoole by their parents and friends: they are said to learne many verses, and that some do study therein twenty yeares. Neither is it lawfull for them to comit any thing to writing, beside that in other publicke and priuat busineses they onely vse the Greeke tongue: & that as I take it for two causes, first for that their learning may not become common and vulgar; secondly, that schollers might not trust so much to their writings as to their memorie, as it happeneth for the most part to such as rely vpon the trust of bookes and papers, & in the meane time omit the benefit of good remembrance.

They

They indeuour chiefly to teach men that their soules do not die, but that they do fleese from one bodie to another, and this they thinke to be very important to stirre men up to vertue neglecting the feare of death: they dispute further, and giue many traditions to the youth, touching the starres and their motion, the magnitude of the earth and the world, and the might and power of the Gods.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE qualitie and condition of the *Druides* is in this place very particularly described by *Cæsar*, and may be reduced to these heads. First, their office extending both to things diuine and things temporall, whereby they executed the place both of Priests and of Iudges. And for that purpose there was one knowne place appointed where they sate in iudgement: and as I vnderstand it, there was but one Terme in the yeare, which both began and ended their suites in law. The second thing is their authoritie, hauing power to reward vertue, and to punish vice. Thirdly, their Priuiledges and immunities, being free from contribution, from warfare and all other burthens of the state. Fourthly, their doctrine and learning which was partly Theologicall, concerning the might and power of the gods, the immortalitie of the Soule: and partly philosophicall, touching the starres and their motion, the earth and the magnitude thereof: and lastly, their manner of learning, which was altogether Pythagoricall, refusing the help of letters and bookes, and committing their doctrine to the tradition of their elders: but that which is specially to be obserued, is, that this learning was not onely found out here in *Brittanie*, but such as would perfectly attaine to the knowledge thereof, came into *England* to studie the same, contrarie to the experience which heretofore hath bene obserued of the Northerne and Southerne parts of the world: for as the South giueth a temper to the bodie fit for the science and contemplation of Arts, whereby the mind being enlarged and purified in her faculties, doth diue into the secret depth of all learning, and censure the hidden mysteries thereof: so the Northerne climats do bind in the powers of the soule, and restraints all her vertues to the vse of the bodie, whereby they are said to haue *animam in digitis*, not affording her that delight and contentment which is vsually receiued by speculation. And thence it hapneth that all speculative arts and sciences, and what else focuer concerneth the inward contemplation of the mind, was found out and perfected by such as border vpon the South, and from them it was brought by litle and litle into the Northerne regions. And such as would be maisters in the Arts they professed, went alwayes southward for the attaining therof: but here the South was beholding to the North, as well for their principles of Diuinitie, as for their Philosophie, and morall learning, being as pure, as that which any heathen people euer dranke of. Which proueth an auncient singularitie in the inhabitants of this Iland, touching the studie of Arts & matter of learning, and may with like euidence be proued from age to age euen to this time. In witness whereof I

*Druides.**England.**By reason of the curious and artificiall workers.*

appeale to the two Vniuersities of this land, as a demonstration of the loue which our nation hath euer borne to learning, being two such Magazines of arts and sciences, so beautified with curious buildings, and supplied with indowments for the liberall maintenance of the Muses, enriched with Libraries of learned Workes, adorned with pleasant places for the refreshing of wearied spirits, gardens, groues, walkes, riuers, and arborets, as the like such *Athens* are not to be found in any part of the world.

CHAP. IX.

The second sort of men in Gallia, called the Equites in Cæsar time.



HE other sort of people are Equites or Gentlemen, these while there is occasion, or when any warre happeneth (as before Cæsar his coming was vsuall every yeare, that either they did offer iniuries, or resist iniuries) are alwaies parties therein, and as every man excelleth other in birth or wealth, so is he attended with clients and followers, and this they take to be the onely note of Nobilitie and greatnesse. The whole nation of the Gaules are much addicted to religious, and for that cause such as are either grievously diseased or conuersant continually in the daungers of warre, do either sacrifice men for an oblation, or vow the oblation of themselves, using in such sacrifices the ministerie of the Druides, forasmuch as they are perswaded that immortall Deitie cannot be pleased, but by giving the life of one man for the life of another. And to that purpose they haue publike sacrifices appointed, others haue Images of monstrous magnitude, whose limmes and parts being made of osiers, are filled with liuing men, and being set on fire the men are burned to death: the execution of such as are taken in theft or robberie or any other crime, they thinke to be best pleasing to the gods, but wanting such they spare not the innocent. They worship chiefly the god Mercurie, and haue many of his images amongst them, him they adore as the inuentor of all arts, the conductor and guide in all voyages and iourneys, & they thinke him to haue great power in all merchandize and gaine of moneys. Next vnto him they preferre Apollo, Mars, Ioue and Minerua, and of these they carie the same opinion as other nations do: Apollo to be powerfull in healing diseases, Minerua in finding out artificiall workes, Ioue ruling the celestiall Empire, and Mars for warre. When they are to encounter with an enemie, they vow all the spoile vnto him, and such beafts as are taken they sacrifice, other things they lay up in some one place: and many such heapes of things so taken, are to be seene in the holy places: of diuerse of their cities. Neither doth it often happen that any man neglecting his religion in that point, dare either keepe backe any thing so taken, or take away ought laid up in their Repositories. The Gaules do all boast themselves in the stocke from whence they are descended, vnderstanding by the Druides, that they come of the god Dis. And therefore

therefore they end the space of all their times by the number of nights rather then by the number of dayes, obseruing the dayes of their natiuitie, the beginnings of their moneths, and their yeares, in such sort, as the day doth alwayes follow the night. And herein they differ from other nations, that they suffer not their children to come openly vnto them, but when they are growne fit for warre: thinking it shameful and dishonest, that a sonne in his childhood should in publike places stand in the sight of his father. To the portions which they haue with their wines, they adde as much more of their owne goods: and the vse of this money thus added together, is kept apart, and the longer liuer hath both the principall and the interest for all the former time. The men haue power of life and death, both ouer their wines and their children: and when a man of great place and parentage shal happen to decease, his kinsfolks assemble themselves together to enquire of his death: if there be any occasion of suspicion, they put his wife to torture after the maner of a seruant, and if it be found, she dies tormented with fire and all other tortures as may be imagined. Their funerals (according to the rest of their life) are magnificall and sumptuous, burying with the dead corpes all that he tooke delight in while he liued, not sparing liuing creatures: and not long out of memorie, the custome was to burie with the bodie such clients and seruants as were favoured by him in his life time. Such States as are careful in the gouernment of their common weales, do prohibite by a speciall law, that no man shall communicate a rumour or report touching the State to any man sauing a Magistrate, forasmuch as it had bene often found, that rash and vnskilful men were so terrified with false reports, and moved to such desperate attempts, that they entred into resolutions touching the maine points of State. The Magistrates do keepe secret such things as they thinke fit, and that which they thinke expedient they publish: but it is not lawfull to speake of matter of State, but in assemblies of State.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



ONCERNING the beginning of dayes and times, which Cæsar noteth in this place to be obserued by the Gaules after Sun setting: whereby it happened that in the naturall day of foure and twentie houres, the night alwaies preceded the day time, contrarie to the vse of Italy, where the day began at Sun rising, and the night followed the artificiall day as the second part of the day natural: we are to vnderstand, that as all time, and the distinction of the parts thereof, dependeth vpon the two motions of the Sunne: the one as it moueth in it own orbe from West to East, begetting the reuolution of yeares, and the seasons of Sommer and Winter, the Spring and the Autumne, with the measure of moneths as it passeth through the signes of the Zodiacke: and the other, as it is carried from East to West by the first mouing spheare, making the distinction of nights and dayes, houres and minutes: so the beginnings of these times and seasons are diuersly taken amongst diuerse people and nations of the earth. The Iewes had the same computatio touching the beginning of the day as the Gaules had, but vpon other grounds and reasons then could be alleaged for this cu-

The beginning of the day diuersly obserued.

home in *Gallia*: for they began their day in the euening at Sunne setting, as appeareth by many places of the Scripture: and *Moses* in the repetition of the first seuen dayes worke, vpon the accomplishment of a day, saith, The euening and the morning were one day, giuing the euening precedencie before the morning, as though the day had begun in the euening. The *Bohemians* in like manner do obserue the beginning of their day in the euening, and do herein follow the vse of the *Jewes*. Other nations do begin at Sunne rising, and take the computation of their day naturall from the first appearing of the Sunne in the East. The *Greekes* begin and end their day at midnight, obseruing the certaintie of that time, and the correspondence betwene the equall and planetarie houres in the meridian Circle: whereas otherwise by reason of the inequality of the dayes and the nights, out of a right sphere there is alwaies some difference betwene the said houres: and this vse also is obserued by vs in *England*.

This god *Ditis* whom he nameth for the father of that nation, is the same whome the heathen called *Pluto*, the god of hell and darkenesse, and for that cause they put darkenesse before light, touching the beginning of their naturall day.

But forasmuch as this circumstance giueth occasion to speake of dayes and times, giue me leaue to insert the reformation of the yeare, which *Cæsar* so happily established, that succeeding times haue had no cause to alter the same.

And although it neither concerneth the art of warre, nor happened within the compasse of these seuen sommers: yet forasmuch as it was done by *Cæsar*, & deserueth as often memorie as any other of his noble acts, it shall not seeme impertinent to the reader to take this much by the way concerning that matter. There is no nation of any ciuill gouernement, but obserueth a course or reuolution differenced with times and seasons, in such manner, as may be auersurable to the motion of the Sunne, in the circuit which it maketh through the signes and degrees of the Zodiacke. But forasmuch as the gouernment of a ciuill yeare doth not well admit any other composition of parts, to make it absolute and complete then by naturall dayes; and on the other side the Sunne requireth odde houres and minutes to finish his race, and returne againe to the goale from whence it came, there hath alwaies bene found a difference betwene the ciuill and the Solar yeare. Before *Cæsars* time, the *Romaines* vsing the auncient computation of the yeare, had not onely such vncertainty and alteration in moneths and times, that the sacrifices & yearly feasts, came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the Sun or Solar yeare, no other nation agreed with them in account; and of the *Romaines* themselves onely the Priests vnderstood it: and therefore when they pleased (no man being able to controule them) they would vpon the sodaine thrust in a moneth about the ordinary number, which as *Plutarch* noteth, was in old time time called *Mercedonius*, or *Mensis intercalaris*. To remedie this inconuenience, *Cæsar* calling together the best and most expert Astronomers of that time, made a Kalender more exactly calculated then any other that was before: and yet such a one as by long continuance of time

hath

hath bred a difference, for the matter standeth thus.

It is found by certaine obseruation of Mathematicians of all ages, that the Sunne being caried from the West to the East by the motion of his owne Sphere, finisheth his yearly course in the space of 365. dayes, five houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some odde seconds: whereupon it was then concluded that their ciuill yeare must necessarily containe three hundred threescore and five dayes, which maketh two and fiftie weekes and one day: and forasmuch as those five odde houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some seconds, did in foure yeares space amount vnto a naturall day (wanting two and fortie minutes, and fixe and fiftie seconds, which was thought nothing in comparison) they deuised euery fourth yeare to adde a day more then ordinarie, to answer that time which is vsually added to February: whereby it happeneth that in euery fourth yeare February hath nine and twentie dayes; and so they made an order to reforme their yeare without any sensible error for a long time. But since that time, being one thousand fixe hundred yeares and more, those two and fortie minutes, and six and fiftie seconds, which as I said do want of the naturall day of foure and twentie houres which is incerted in euery fourth yeare, haue bred a manifest and an apparant error: for whereas the ciuill yeare is by that meanes made greater then the solar yeares, the Sunne ending his taske before we can end our times, it happeneth that such feasts as haue relation to seasonable times, do as it were foreflow the oportunitie, and fall out further in the yeare, as though they had a motion towards the sommers solstice. And as these go forward, so doth the Equinoctiall returne backwards towards the beginning of the moneth. For *Cæsar* by the helpe of the Astronomers obserued the Equinoctium the five and twentieth of March. *Ptolomy* in his time obserued the Equinoctium the two and twentieth of March. And it was obserued the one and twentieth of March in the yeare from the incarnation 322. what time was holden the first generall Councell at *Nice* a citie of *Ponthus*, in respect whereof the Pascall tables and other rules were established for the celebration of Easter. But since that time there are passed 1281. yeares, and the Equinoctium cometh before the one and twentieth of March ten dayes.

As this error is reformed among other nations, and reduced to that state as it was at the *Nicene* Councell: so there might many reasons be alleaged to proue the reformation conuenient of a greater number of dayes then ten. For if the Kalender were so ordered, that euery moneth might begin when the Sun entred into that Signe which is for the moneth, and end when the Sunne goeth out of that signe, it would auoide much confusion, and be very easie to all sorts of people as haue occasion to obserue the same: which doubleffe was the purport of the first institution of moneths, and was obserued (as it seemeth) by the old *Romaines*, who began the yeare at the winter solstice, as *Ouid* noteth:

Bruma noui prima est, veterisq; nouissima solis,

Principium capiunt Phœbus & annus idem.

And therefore they called that moneth Ianuarie of *Ianus* that had two faces, and saw both the old and the new yeare: such therefore as would go about to reforme the yeare to this course, must not cut off ten dayes onely, but one and

twentie; and for one yeare make December to continue but tenne dayes, and then Ianuarie to begin, and so successiue to the rest of the moneths. But it may be said, that although we helpe our selues, and put off the inconuenience which is fallen vpon vs, yet in tract of time the like error will fall againe vpon succeeding ages, and put their yearely Feasts besides the dayes appointed for them. For remedie whereof it may be answered: That whereas this error hath happened by adding euery fourth yeare a naturall day, which in true calculation wanted two and fortie minutes and sixe and fiftie seconds of foure and twentie houres, and in euery 136. yeares hath accrued within one minute to a day more then needed: the onely way is euery 136. yeares, to omit the addition of that day, and to make that yeare to containe but 365. dayes, which by the order of *Cæsars* Kalender, is a leape yeare, and hath one day more, which hath brought this error. And so there would not happen the error of a day in the space of 111086. yeares, if the world should continue so long.

But lest we should seeme more curious in reforming the course of our ciuill yeare, then the manners of our ciuill life, I will proceede to that which followeth.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing which I obserue in their manner of life, is the respect they had to matter of State, and the care which they took that no man should dispute of the Commonweale, but in assemblies appointed for the seruice of the Commonweale. Whereby they gained two speciall points for the maintenance of good gouernement. The first, that no man might speake of points of state, but the gouernours of State: for such I vnderstand to be admitted to their Councils and Parliaments. Secondly, that such matters of consequence as touched the so nearely, might not be handled, but at such places and at such times as might best aduantage the State. Concerning the former, we are to note, that Gouernment is defined, to be an establishing of order best fitting the maintenance of a people, in a peaceable and happie life. Order requireth degrees and distinctions inuesting feuerall parts in feuerall functions and duties: to these duties there belongeth a due obseruancie according to the motion and place, which euery part holdeth in the generall order. Of these degrees and distinctions, Soueraigntie and Obedience are two maine relatues, the one inuested in the Prince or Magistrate, the other in the people and subiect, incommunicable in regard of their tearmes and subiects, and yet concurring in the maine drift of gouernment, intending the benefite of a happie life. And therefore the *Gauls* did carefully provide, that no man should exceed the limits of his owne rancke, but that such as fate at the helme might shape the course: & for the rest whole lot it was to be directed, they would haue them take notice of their mandates by obedience, and not by dispute.

Touching the second point, we are to consider the danger which may hap-

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pen to a State, by common and ordinarie discourse of the Principles of that Gouernment, or of such circumstances as are incident to the same, (with out respect of time or place, or any other due regard) which the wisdome of a well ordered policie, doth hold requisite thereunto: for whatsoever is deliuered by speech, without such helpefull attendance, is both vnseasonable and vnprofitable, and the Commonweale is alwaies a sufferer, when it falleth into such rash considerations: for our most serious cogitations assisted with the best circumstances, can but speake to purpose. And as the execution falleth short of the purport intended by discourse, so is our speech and discourse lame and wanting to our inward concept. And therefore as religious actions stand in neede of *hoc age*, so may politicke consultations vse the helpe of the same remembrance.

CHAP. X.

The maner and life of the Germanes.

THE Germanes do much differ from the *Gauls* in their course of life, for they haue neither Priests nor sacrifices: they worship no Gods but such as are subiect to sense, and from whom they dayly receiue profits and helpe, as the Sunne, the fire, and the Moon, for the rest they haue not so much as heard of: their life is onely spent in hunting, or in vse and practise of war: they inure themselves to labor and hardnesse euen to their childhood; and such as continue bearded are most commended amongst them: for this some thinke to be very auailable to their stature, others to their strength and sinewes: they hold it a most dishonest part for one to touch a woman before he be twentie yeares of age, neither can any such matter be hid or dissembled; forasmuch as they bathe themselves together in riuers, and vse skinnes and other small coverings on the reins of their backs, the rest of their bodie being all naked. They vse no tillage, the greatest part of their foode is milke, or cheese, or fesh: neither hath any man any certaine quantitie of land to his owne vse; but their Magistrates and Princes do euery yeare allot a certaine portion of land to kindreds and tribes that inhabite together, and in such places as they think fit, whereof they giue many reasons, lest they should be led away by continuall custome from the practise of war to the vse of husbandrie, or lest they should endeuour to get themselves great possessions, and so the weaker should be thrust out and dispossessed of their linings by the mightie, or lest they should build too delicately for the auoyding of cold or heate, or lest they should waxe couetous and thirst after money, which is the beginning of all factions and dissensions; and lastly that they might keepe the Commons in good contentment, considering the parity betwene their reuenues and the possessions of the great ones. It is the greatest honor to their States to haue their confines lie wast and desolate far and neare about them: for that they take to be an argument of valour, when their borderers are driuen to forsake their country,

Cæsar.

and dare not abide neare them; and wishall they thinke themselves by that meanes much safer from any sodaine incursion. When a State waketh war, either by way of attempt or defence, they chuse Magistrates to commaund that war, hauing power of life and death; but in time of peace they haue no common Magistrate, but the chiefe men in the country and the villages, do interpret the law and determine of controuersies. The first committed out of the confines of their State is not infamous or dishonest, but commended as an exercise of the youth and a keeping them from sloth: when any one of their Princes and chiefe men shall in an assembly or counsell publish himselfe for a leader vpon some exploit, and desire to know who will follow him vpon the same, they that haue a good opinion of the man and the matter, and do promise him their helpe and assistance, are commended by the multitude: the rest that refuse to accompany him are held in the number of traitors, and neuer haue any credit afterwards. They hold it not lawfull to hurt a stranger that shall come vnto them vpon any occasion, but do protect him from iniuries; to such euery mans house is open & his table common. The time was when the Gauls excelled the Germanes in prowesse and valor, and made war vpon them of their own accord, and by reason of the multitude of their people and want of ground for habitatio, they sent many colonies ouer the Rheine into Germany: And therefore those fertile places of Germany, which are neer vnto the wood Hercinia which Erathostenes & other Grecians tooke notice of by the name of Orcinia, were possessed by the Volgae and Teutofages, who dwelt there at this time, and keepe their ancient opinion of iustice and warlike praise. Now the Germanes stil continue in the same powertie, want, and patience, as in former time, do vse the same diet and apparell for their bodies; but the neighborhood and knowledge of other nations hath made the Gauls line in a more plentifull manner, and by litle & litle haue bin weakened & overthrow in diuers battels, so that now they stand not in coparison with the Germanes. The breadth of the wood Hercinia is 9 dayes iourney ouer, for they haue no other differences of space but by meanes of dayes iourneys: it beginneth at the confines of the Heluetij, Nuncij, and runs along the riuer Danubius to the territories of the Daci, thence it declineth to the left side from the said riuer, and by reason of the large extension thereof, it bordereth the confines of many other countries. Neither is there any Germane that can say, that either he durst adventure or did go, or had heard of the beginning of the same, although he had trauelled therein threescore dayes iourney. In this wood are many sorts of wild beasts, which are not to be seene in any other place: amongst the rest there is an Ox like vnto a Hart, that in the midst of his forehead betwene his eies carieth a horne longer then vsuall, diuided at the end into many large branches; the female is in all respects like vnto the male, and beareth a horne of the same magnitude and fashion. There is likewise another sort of beasts called Alces, not vnlike vnto a Goate, but somewhat bigger and without hornes, their legs are without ioynts, that when they take their rest they neither sit nor lie vpon the ground, and if they chance to fall they cannot rise againe. When they take their rest in the night, they leane against trees: the hunters hauing found out their footstps and their haunts, do either vndermine the roote of such trees, or so cut them asunder that a small matter will ouertrow them, so that when they come according vnto their use to rest themselves against those trees, they ouertrow them with their waight, and fall with themselves and so are taken. The third kind of beast are those which are called Vrsi, some-
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what lesser then an Elephant, and in colour, kind and shape, not vnlike vnto a Bull, they are both strong and swift, and spare neither man nor beast that commeth in their sight: these they catch with greater labour and diligence in pits and ditches, and so kill them. The youth do inure and exercise themselves in this kind of hunting, and such as kill many of these beasts, and shew most hornes, are highly commended: but to make them tame or any their litle ones, was neuer yet seene. The largenesse of their hornes, as also the fashion and kind thereof, doth much differ from the hornes of the Oxen, and are much sought after for cups to be vsed in their greatest banquets, being first bound about the brim and trimmed with siluer.

OBSERVATIONS.



CÆSAR in this Chapter describeth the course of life which the Germanes in his time held throughout the whole pollicie of their gouernement, the scope whereof was to make them warlike: to which he saith, that in times past the Gauls were as valiant and as warlike people as the Germanes: but the neighbourhood and knowledge of other nations, had taught them a more plentifull manner of life, which by litle and litle had weakened their strength, and made them far inferiour to the Germanes. Which bringeth to our consideration that which is often attributed to a ciuill life, that such as tast of the sweetnesse of ease, and are qualified with the complements of ciuilitie, haue alwayes an indisposition to warlike practises. The reason is grounded vpon vse and custome; for discontinuance doth alwayes cause a strangenesse and alienation, benumbing the aptest parts with vnreadie and painefull gestures: and is so powerfull, that it doth not onely steale away naturall affection, and make parents forget to loue their children; but like a tyrant it is able to force vs to those things which naturally we are vnfit for, as though the decrees of nature were subiect to the controulement of custome. Much more then, the things got by vse and practise, are as easily forgot by discontinuance, as they were obtained by studious exercise. On the other side, there is nothing so horrible or dreadful, but vse maketh easie. The first time the Fox saw the Lion, he frownded for feare; the next time he trembled, but the third time he was so farr from feare, that he was ready to put a trick of craft vpon him: whereby it appeareth, that the Germanes had no further interest in deedes of armes about the Gauls, then what the vse of war had gained them: for as vsage continueth the property of a tenure, so non-vusage implieth a forfeiture. Cato was wont to say, that the Romaines would loose their Empire, when they suffered the Greeke tongue to be taught amongst them: for by that meanes they would easily be drawne from the studie and practise of warre, to the bewitching delight of speculatiue thoughts. And Marcellus was blamed for being the first that corrupted Rome with the delicate and curious workes of Greece: for before that he brought from the sacking of Syracuse the wel wrought tables of pictures and imagery, Rome neuer knew any such delicacie, but stood full fraught with armor & weapons of barbarous people, of the

Whether a ciuill life do weaken a warlike disposition.

bloudy spoyles and monuments of victories and triumphs; which were rather fearefull shewes to inure their eyes to the horror of warre, then pleasant sights to allure their minds to affections of peace. Whereby it appeareth, that such as suffer themselves to be guided by the easie raigne of ciuill gouernement, or take a disposition to that course of life, can hardly indure the yoke of war, or vndergo the tediousnesse of martiall labours.

CHAP. XI.

Basilus his surprise vpon
Ambiorix.

CÆSAR finding by the discoverers which the Vbij sent out, that the Sweui had all betaken themselves to the woods, and doubting want of corne, forasmuch as the Germanes of all other nations do least care for tillage, he determined to go no further. But that his returne might not altogether free the barbarous people from feare, nor hinder the helpes and succors which they were wont to send into Gallia, hauing brought backe his armie, he cut off so much of the furthest part of the bridge next unto the Vbij, as came in measure to two hundred foote, and in the end of that which remained, he built a towre of foure stories, making other workes for the strengthening of that place, wherein he left a garrison of twelue cohorts vnder the command of young C. Volcatius Tullus: he himselfe as corne waxed ripe, went forward to the warre of Ambiorix by the way of the wood of Ardenna, which is the greatest in all Gallia, and extendeth it selfe from the bankes of Rheine and the confines of the Treuiri, to the seat of the Neruij, carrying a breadth of siue hundred miles. He sent L. M. Basilus before with all the horse, to see if he could effect any thing either by preuention and speedie arriuall, or by oportunitie, commanding him not to suffer any fires to be made in his campe, lest his coming might be discovered. Basilus followeth his directions, and coming vpon them contrarie to their expectation, tooke many of the enemy abroad in the fields, and by their conduction made towards Ambiorix, where he remained in a place with a few horsemen. As fortune is very powerfull in all things, so she challengeth a speciall interest in matter of warre: for as it happened by great lucke, that he should light vpon him vnawares and vnprouided, and that his coming should sooner be seene then heard of: so was it great hap, that all the armes which he had about him, should be surpris'd, his horses and his charrets taken, and that he himselfe should escape death. But this happened by reason of the wood that was about his house, according to the manner of the Gaules, who for auoyding of heate, do commonly build neare vnto woods and riuers: his followers and friends sustaining a while the charge of the horsemen in a narrow place, while he himselfe escaped in the meane time on horsebacke, and in flying was protected and sheltered by the woods, whereby Fortune seemed very powerfull both in drawing on a danger, and in auoyding it.

OBSER.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



FHE prerogatiue which Fortune hath alwayes challenged in the accidents of warre, and the speciall interest, which she hath in that course of life more then in other mens actions, hath made the best foldiers oftentimes to sing a song of complaint, the burden thereof yet remaineth, and serueth as a reason of all such misaduentures, *Fortune de la guerre*. Such as haue obserued the course of things, and haue found one and the same man continuing the same meanes, this day happie, and the next day vnfortunate: and againe, two other men, the one aduised and respectiue, and the other violent and rash, and yet both attaine the like good fortune by two contrarie courses, or otherwise as oftentimes it falleth out, the more heedlesse, the more happie, haue bene perswaded that all things are so gouerned by fortune, that the wisdom of man can neither alter nor amend them: and therefore to spend much time or tedious labour, either in carefull circumspection, or heedfull preuention of that which is vnchangeable, they hold as vaine as the washing of an *Ethiopian* to make him white. Of this opinion *Sylla* seemed to be, professing himselfe better borne to fortune then to the wares, and acknowledging his happiest victories to haue proceeded from his most heedlesse and vnaduised resolutions. And the great *Alexander* so caried himselfe, as though he had bene of the same opinion, of whome *Curcius* saith: *Quoties illum fortuna, à morte reuocauit? quoties temerè in pericula vectū perpetua felicitate protexit?* And *Plutarch* saith, that he had power of time and place.

Others are not willing to ascribe so much to Fortune, as to make themselves the tennis ball to her racket: and yet they are content to allow her halfe of euery thing they go about, reseruing the other moitie to their owne directions. And so like partners in an aduenture, they labour to improue their share for their best aduantage.

Some other there are that will allow Fortune no part at all in their actions, but do confront her with a goddesse of greater power, and make Industrie the meanes to adnull her deitie. Of this opinion was *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, who hauing atchieued many notable victories, would not allow of the concept of the painter, that had made a table wherein Fortune was taking in those cities, (which he had won) with a net, whilst he himselfe slept: but protested against her in that behalfe, and would not giue her any part in that businesse.

And thus the heathen world varied as much in their opinions touching Fortune, as Fortune her selfe did in her euents to themward: which were so diuers and changeable, as were able to ensnare the deepest wits, and confound the wisdom of the greatest iudgements: whereby the word Fortune vsurped a deitie, and got an opinion of extraordinary power in the regiment of humane actions. But our Christian times haue a readier lesson, wherein is taught a foueraigne Prouidence, guiding and directing the thoughts of mens hearts, with the faculties and powers of the Soule, together with their externall actions, to

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*Fortune.**Plutarche in the life of Sylla.**In the life of Alexander.**Plutarche in the life of Sylla.*

such ends as shall seeme best to that omnipotent wisdom, to whom all our abilities serue as instruments and meanes to effect his purposes, notwithstanding our particular intendments, or what the heart of man may otherwise determine. And therefore such as will make their wayes prosperous vnto themselves, and receiue that contentment which their hope expecteth, or their labours would deserue, must vse those helpes which the rules of Christianitie do reach in that behalfe, and may better be learned from a Diuine, then from him that writeth Treatises of warre.

THE SEECOND OBSERVATION.



VINTVS Curtius speaking of Alexander saith: *Nullam viritem Regis istius magis quam celeritatem laudauerim*: whereof this might be a ground, that he followed *Darius* with such speed after the second battell he gaue him, that in cleuen dayes he marched with his armie sixe hundred miles, which was a chafe well fitting *Alexander* the Great, and might rest vnexampled: notwithstanding *Suetonius* giueth this generall report of *Cæsar*, that in matter militarie, *aut aequant præstantissimorum gloriam aut excessit*: and for this particular he saith, *quod persæpe nuntius de se præuenit*. And to speake truly, he seemeth to challenge to himselfe expedition and speede as his peculiar commendation, grounding himselfe vpon the danger which lingering and foreslowing of time, doth vsually bring to well aduised resolutions: according to that of *Lucan* the Poet,

Nocuit semper differre paratis.

For by this speedie execution of well digested directions, he gained two maine aduantages: first the preuention of such helpes and meanes as the enemye wold otherwise haue had, to make the warre dangerous and the euent doubtfull. And secondly, the confusion and feare, which doth consequently follow such maine disappointments, being the most dangerous accidents that can happen to any party, and the chiefe points to be endeouored to be cast vpon an enemye by him that would make an easie conquest.

For prooffe whereof amongst many other examples, I will onely alledge his expedition to *Rome*, when he first came against *Pompey*, according to *Plutarks* relation. In the meane time (saith he) newes came to *Rome*, that *Cæsar* had won *Ariminum*, a great citie in *Italie*, and that he came directly to *Rome* with a great power, which was not true: for he came but with 3000. horse and 5000. foot, and would nottarie for the rest of his armie, being on the other side of the *Alpes* in *Gallia*, but made hast rather to surpris his enemies vpon the sudden, being afraid and in gaile, not looking for him so soone, then to giue them time to be provided, and so to fight with them in the best of their strength, which fell out accordingly: for this sudden and vnexpected approach of his, put all *Italy* and *Rome* it selfe into such a tumult and confusion, that no man knew what way to take for his safetie: for such as were out of *Rome* came flying thither from all parts, and those on the other side that were in *Rome*, went out

as fast, and forsooke the citie. And the amazement was such, that *Pompey* and the Senate fled into *Greece*, whereby it hapned that *Cæsar* in threescore dayes, was Lord of all *Italie* without any bloudshed.

Besides this manner of preuention by sudden surprize, we may see the like expedition in the very cariage and forme of his warres: for if the enemye had taken the field, he laboured by all meanes to bring him to fight: or otherwise if he refused to take the field, he then endeouored with the like speede to besiege him or blocke him vp in some hold, to the end he might bring the matter to a speedy vpsshot, as he did with *Vercingetorix* at *Alesia*. But that which is most memorable touching this point, at the first taking in of *Spaine* in the garboile of the ciuill warres, he defeated two armies, ouerthrew two Generals, and tooke in two Prouinces in the space of fortie dayes. Neither did he make vse of expedition onely in his cariage of a war, but also in the action and execution of battell: for he neuer forsooke an enemye ouerthrowne and discomfited, vntill he had taken their campe, and defeated them of their chiefe helpes, which *Pompey* felt to his vtter ouerthrow: for the same day he routed him at *Pharsalia*, he took his campe, and inclosed a hill with a ditch and a rampier, where 25000. *Romains*, were fled for their safetie, and brought them to yeeld themselves vnto him: and so making vse (as he saith) of the benefite of fortune, and the terror and amazement of the enemye, he performed three notable seruices in one day.

And this he vsed with such dexteritie and depth of wisdom, that commonly the first victorie ended the warre, as by this at *Pharsalia* he made himselfe Commaunder of the East, and by that at *Tapso* he made himselfe Lord of *Africke*, and by the battell at *Monda* he got all *Spaine*.

To conclude this point, I may not forget the like speed and expedition in his workes: in fifteene dayes he cast a ditch and a rampier of fifteene foote in height, betweene the lake at *Geneua* and *S. Claudes* hill, containing nineteene miles. He made his bridge ouer the *Rheine* in ten daies. At the siege of *Marfeilles* he made twelue gallies, and furnished them out to sea within thirtie daies after the timber was cut downe. And the rest of his workes with the like expedition.

CHAP. XII.

Catiuulus poisoneth himselfe: Cæsar deuidenth his armie into three parts.



NOW whether *Ambiorix* did not make head & asseble his forces of purpose, for that he determined not to fight, or whether he were hindered by the shortnesse of the time, and the sudden comming of the horsemen, thinking the rest of the armie had followed after, it remaineth doubtfull: but certaine it is, that he sent pricke messengers about the countrie, commaunding euery man to shift for himselfe, of whome some fled into the Forrest *Arduenna*, others into fennes and bogges, and such as

*Peni,
Vidi,
Vici.*

*Lib. 2. bell.
ciuili.*

*Lib. 1. bell.
ciuili.*

Cæsar.

were neare the Ocean, did hide themselves in such Islands as the tides do commonly make: and many forsooke their country, and committed themselves to their fortunes, to meere straungers and unknowne people. Catiuulcus the king of the one halfe of the Eburones, who was a partie with Ambiorix in this matter, being now growne old and unable to vndergo the labours either of warre or of flying, detesting Ambiorix with all manner of execrations, as the author of that matter, dranke the iuice of Yew (whereof there is great store in Gallia and Germanie) and so died. The Segni and Conderusi of the nation and number of the Germaines that dwell betwene the Eburones and the Treuiri, sent messengers to Cæsar to intreat him not to take them in the number of the enemy. And that he would not adiudge all the Germaines dwelling on this side of the Rheine, to haue one and the same cause: for their part, they neuer so much as thought of warre, nor gaue any aide to Ambiorix. Cæsar hauing examined the matter by the torture of the capines, commanded them, that if any of the Eburones should stie vnto them to bring them vnto him, and in so doing he would spare their country: then deuiding his forces into three parts, he left the baggage of the whole armie at Vatuca a castle in the middest of the Eburones, where Titurius and Armuculeius were lodged. The winter before he made choice of this place, thereafter for that the fortifications made the yeare before continued perfect and good, to the end he might ease the souldier of some labour, and there left the fourteenth legion for a guard to the cariages, being one of the three which he had last enrolled in Italy, making Q. Tullius Cicero their Commander, and with him he left two thousand horse.

The armie being deuided, he commanded Titus Labienus to carrie three Legions towards that part of the sea coast which bordereth vpon Henapii, and sent Trebonius with the like number of Legions to wast and harrie that country which confineth the Aduatici: he himselfe with the other three determined to go to the river Scaldis, which runneth into the Mase, and to the furthest parts of the wood Ardenna: for that he vnderstood that Ambiorix with a few horsemen was fled to those parts. At his departure he assured them that he would returne after the seuenth dayes absence: for at that day he knew that corne was to be giuen to that legion which he had there left in garrison. He counselled Labienus and Trebonius to returne likewise by that day if they conveniently could, to the end that after communication of their discoueries and intelligence of the proiects of the enemy, they might thinke vpon a new beginning of warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

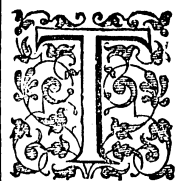
THIS sudden surpris vpon Ambiorix and the Treuiri, preuented (as I haue already noted) their making head together, and put the enemy to such shifts for their safetie, as occasion or opportunity would afford them in particular. And albeit the Treuiri were by this means disperfed, yet they were not ouerthrowne, nor vtterly vanquished, but continued still in the nature and qualitie of an enemy, although

though they were by this occasion defeated of their chiefeft meanes. And therefore the better to profecute them in their particular flights, and to keepe the disioyned, he diuided his armie into 3 parts, and made three seuerall inroads vpon their country, hoping thereby to meet with some new occasion, which might giue an ouerture of a more absolute conquest: for diuersitie of motions do breed diuersitie of occasions, whereof some may happily be such as being well managed may bring a man to the end of his desires. But herein let vs not forget to obserue the maner he vsed in this seruice; for first he left a Rêdez vous where all the cariages of the armie were bestowed, with a competent garrison for the safe keeping thereof, to the end the souldiers might be assured of a retreat, what difficulty soeuer might befall them in that action, according to that of Sertorius, that a good captain should rather looke behind him then before him: and appointed withall a certaine day when all the troopes should meete there againe: *Vt rursus (as he sayth) communicato consilio, exploratisq; hostium rationibus, aliud initium belli capere possint.*

Plutarke in
the life of
Sertorius.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar sendeth messengers to the bordering
States, to come out and sacke
the Eburones.



HERE was (as I haue already declared) no certaine band or troope of the enemy, no garrison or towne to stand out in armes, but the multitude was disperfed into all parts, and euery man lay hid either in some secret and unknowne valley, or in some rough and wooddie place, or in some bog, or in such other places as gaue them hope of shelter or safetie: which places were well knowne to the States of that country, and the matter required great diligence and circumspection, not so much in regard of the generall safetie of the armie (for there could no danger happen vnto them, the enemy being all terrified and fled) but in preserving euery particular souldier, which notwithstanding did in part concerne the safetie of the whole armie: for hope of booty did draw many farre off out of their ranks, and the woods through vncertaine and unknowne passages would not suffer the souldiers to go in troopes. If he would haue the businesse take an end, and the very race of those wicked people rooted out, the armie must be diuided, and many small bands must be made for that purpose: but to keepe the Maniples at their ensignes, according to the custome and vse of the Romaine armie, the place it selfe was a sufficient guard for the barbarous people, who did not want courage in particular, both to lie in waite for them, and circument them as they were seuered from their companies: as in extremities of that nature what diligence could attaine vnto was provided, but in such maner, that somewhat was omitted in

Cæsar.

the offense part, rather then it should be done with any detriment or losse to the souldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the next bordering States, calling them out to sacke the Eburones in hope of bootie and pillage, to the end the Gauls should rather hazard their liues in the wood then the legionarie souldiers, as also that there might be many spoylers and destroyers, to the end that both the name and race of that State might be taken away. These things were acted in all parts and quarters of the Eburones, and the seventh day drew neare which he had appointed for his returne to the cariages.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is a commoditie which a Generall hath, when the enimie doth not refuse open encounter, for so he may be sure that the weight of the businesse will rest vpon militarie vertue and prowes of armes, as ready way makes to a speedy victory: but when it shal happen that the country doth afford couert & protection to him that is more malicious then valorous; and through the fastnesse of the place refuseth to shew himselfe vnlesse it be vpon aduantage, the warre doubtlesse is like to prooue tedious, and the victory lesse honorable. In such cases there is no other way, then so to harry and wast a countrey, that the enemy may be famished out of his holds, and brought to subiection by scarcity and necessity: which is a meanes so powerfull, as well to supplant the greatest strength, as to meete with subterfuge and delay, that of it selfe it subdueth all opposition, and needeth no other help for archicuing of victory, as may appear by the sequel of this summers action. And herein let vs further obserue the particular care which Cæsar had of his soldiers, adiudging the whole army to be interested in euery priuat mans safetie; a matter strange in these times, and of small consequence in the iudgement of our commanders, to who particular fortunes are esteemed non-entities, and men in seuerall of no valew: forasmuch as conquests are made with multitudes, concerning which point, I grant it to be as true, as it is often spoken in places besieged; that the losse of one man is not the losse of a towne; nor the defeating of twentie, the ouerthrow of a thousand: and yet it cannot be denied but the lesser is payd for the lawrell wreath, the more precious is the victorie: and it sitteth then at a hard rate, when it maketh the buyer bankrupt, or inforceth him to confesse, that such another victorie would ouerthrow him. And therefore he that will buy much honour with litle blood, must endeavour by diligent and carefull labour to provide for the particular safetie of his souldiers. Wherein albeit he cannot valew an vnity at an equal rate with a number; yet he must consider, that without a vnity there can be no multitude: and not so only, but the life and strength of a multitude consisteth in vnities; for otherwise, neither had Nero needed to haue wished the people of Rome to haue had but one head, that he might haue cut it off at a stroke; nor Sertorius deuide had caried any grace, making a lustie fellow faile in plucking off the thinnest taile of an old leane

jade;

jade; and a litle wearish man leaue the stumpe bare of a great tayld horse, and that in a short time, by plucking haire by haire.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sicambri sent out two thousand horse against the Eburones, and by fortune they fall vpon

Cicero at Vatuca.

WHERE you shall perceiue the power that fortune hath, and what chaunces happen in the cariage of a war. There was (as I haue already said) the enimie being scattered and terrified, no troop or band which might giue the least cause of feare: the report came to the Germanes on the other side of the Rheine, that the Eburones were to be sacked, and that all men had libertie to make spoyle of them. The Sicambri dwelling next to the Rheine, set out two thousand horse, and sent them ouer the river some thirtie miles below that place where Cæsar had left the halfe bridge with a garrison: these horse made directly towards the confines of the Eburones, tooke many prisoners and much cattell, neither bog nor wood hindered their passage, being bred and borne in warre and theft. They inquire of the prisoners in what part Cæsar was, and found him to be gone farre off, and that all the armie was departed from thence: and one of the prisoners speaking to them, said, Why do yee seeke after so poore and so slender a bootie, when otherwise you may make your selues most fortunate? in 3 houres space you may go to Vatuca, where the Romaine armie hath left all their fortunes; the garrison in that place is no greater then can hardly furnish the walles about, neither dare any man go out of the trenches. The Germanes in this hope did hide the pillage which they had alreadie taken, and went directly to Vatuca, taking him for their guide that gaue them first notice thereof.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT were as great a madnesse to beleue that a man were able to giue directions to meete with all chaunces, as to thinke no fore-sight can preuent any casualtie: for as the soule of man is endued with a power of discourse, whereby it concludeth either according to the certaintie of reason, or the learning of experience, bringing these directions as faultie and inconuenient, and approouing others as safe and to be followed: so we are to vnderstand, that this power of discourse is limited to a certaine measure or proportion of strength, and inscribed in a

circle of lesser capacite, then the compasse of possibilitie, or the large extension of what may happen; for otherwise the course of destinie were subiect to our controlement, and our knowledge were equall to vniuersall entitie, whereas the infinitie of accidents do farre exceede the reach of our shallow senses, and our greatest apprehension, is a small and vnperfect experience. And therefore as such as through the occasion of publicke employment, are driuen to forsake the shore of minute and particular courses, and to flote in the Ocean of casualties and aduentures, may doubtlesse receiue strong directions, both from the loadstone of reason, and tramontane of experience to shape an easie and successfull course: so notwithstanding they shall find themselves subiect to the contrarietie of winds and extremitie of tempests, besides many other lets and impediments beyond the compasse of their direction, to interrupt their course and diuert them from their hauen, which made the *Carthaginian* that was more happie in conquering then in keeping to crie out: *Nusquam minus quam in bello euentus rerum respondent*, as it happened in this accident.

CHAP. XV.

The Sicambri come to Vatuca, and offer to take the campe.



CICERO hauing all the dayes before obserued Cæsars direction with great diligence, and kept the souldiers within the camp, not suffering so much as a boy to go out of the trenches: the seuenth day distrusting of Cæsars returne according to his promise, for that he understood he was gone further into the countrey and heard nothing of his returne: and withall being moued with the speeches of the souldiers, who termed their patient abiding within their trenches, a siege, forasmuch as no man was suffered to go out of them, and expecting no such chauce within the compasse of three miles, which was the furthest, he purposed to send them for corne, especially considering that nine legions were abroad, besides great forces of horse, the enemy being already disperfed and almost extinguished; he sent five cohorts to gather corne in the next fields which were separated from the garrison onely with a little bill lying betwene the camp and the corne. There were many left in the camp of the other legions that were sicke, of whom such as were recovered to the number of three hundred, were sent with them all vnder one ensigne: besides a great companie of souldiers boyes, and great store of castell which they had in the campe. In the meane time came these *Germane Ruters*, and with the same gallop as they came thither, they sought to enter in at the *Decumane gate*; neither were they discovered by reason of a wood which kept them out of sight untill they were almost at the trenches, in so much as such trades men and merchants as kept their booths and shops vnder the rampier, had no time

time to be receiued into the campe, and the cohort that kept watch did hardly sustaine the first assault. The enemy was quickly spread about the workes, to see if they could find entrance in any other part: our men did hardly keepe the gates: the rest was defended by the fortification and the place it selfe: the whole campe was in a great feare, and one inquired of another the reason of the tumult, neither could they tell which way to carie their ensignes, or how any man should dispose of himselfe: one gaue out, that the campe was taken, and another that the armie and General was overthrowne, and that the Barbarous people came thither as conquerours: many tooke occasion from the place to imagine new and superstitious Religions, recalling to mind the fatall calamitie of *Cotta* and *Titurius* that died in that place. Through this feare and confusion that had posselt the whole campe, the *Germanes* were confirmed in their opinion which they had receiued from the prisoner, that there was no garrison at all in the workes. They endeouored to breake in, and incouraged one another not to suffer so great a fortune to escape them. *Publius Sextius Baculus* that had bene *Primipilus* vnder *Cæsar* (of whom mention hath bene made in the former battels) was there left sicke, and had taken no sustenance of five dayes before: he hearing the danger they were in, went unarmed out of his cabbin, and seeing the enemy ready to force the gates, and the matter to be in great hazard, taking armes from one that stood next him, he went and stood in the port; the Centurions of the cohort that kept watch followed him, and they for a while ingaged the enemy. *Sextius* hauing receiued many great wounds fainted at length, and was hardly saued by those that stood next him. Vpon this respect the rest did so far assure themselves, that they durst stand vpon the workes, and make a shew of defence.

OBSERVATIONS.



IN the former obseruation I disputed the interest which the whole armie hath in one particular man, which out of *Cæsars* opinion I concluded to be such as was not to be neglected: but if we suppose a partie extraordinarie, and tie him to such singular worth as was in *Sextius*, I then doubt by this example, whether I may not equall him to the multitude, or put him alone in the ballance to counterpoise the rest of his fellows. For doubtlesse if his valour had not exceeded any height of courage, elswhere then to be found within those wals, the whole garrison had bene vtterly slaughtered, and the place had bene made fatall to the *Romaines* by two disastrous calamities. In consideration whereof, I will referre my selfe to the iudgement of the wise, how much it importeth a great Commaunder, not onely in honour as a rewarder of vertue, but in wisdom and good discretion, to make much of so gallant a spirit, and to giue that respect vnto him, as may both witness his valiant cariage, and the thankfull acceptation thereof on the behalfe of the Commonweale, wherein we need not doubt of *Cæsars* requitall to this *Sextius*, hauing by diuerse honorable relations in these warres, touching his valiantnesse and prowesse in armes, made

him partaker of his owne glorie, and recommended him to posteritie, for an example of true valour.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sicambri continue their purpose in taking the campe.

IN the meane time the souldiers, hauing made an end of camping and gathering corne, heard the crie: the horsemen hasted before, and found in what daunger the matter stood: there was in that place no fortifications to receiue the affrighted souldiers: such as were lately inrolled and had no experience in matter of warre set their faces towards the Tribunes of the souldiers, and to the Centurions, and expected directions from them.

There was none so assured or valiant, but were troubled thereat. The barbarous people hauing spied the ensignes a farre off, left off their assault, and first they thought it had bene the legions that had returned: afterward contemning the smallnesse of their number, they set vpon them on all sides: the souldiers boyes tooke themselves vnto the next hill, and being quickly put from thence, they cast themselves headlong amongst the Maniples and ensignes, and so put the souldiers in a worse feare then they were before. Some were of opinion to put themselves into the forme of battell which resembleth a wedge, and so (forasmuch as the campe was at hand) to breake speedily through the enemy. In which course if any part should be circumvented and cut a peeces, yet they hoped the rest might saue themselves: others thought it better to make good the hill, and all of them to attend one and the same fortune. This aduise the old souldiers did not like of, who (as I said before) went out with the others that were sent a haruesting all vnder one ensigne by themselves: and therefore encouraging one another, Caius Trebonius a Romaine horseman being their captain, and commanding them at that time, brake through the thickest of the enemy, and came all safe into the campe. The boyes and horsemen following hard after them were likewise saued by the valour of the souldiers: but those that tooke the hill, hauing neuer had any vse of seruice, had neither the courage to continue in that resolution which they had before chosen, nor to imitate that force and speed which they had seene to haue helped their fellows: but in dauncing to be receiued into the campe, fell into places of disadvantage: wherein diuers of their Centurions, who had lately bene taken from the lowest companies of other legions, and for their valours sake preferred to the highest and chiefest companies of this legion, least they should lose the honour which they had before gotten, fighting valiantly died in the place. Part of the souldiers by the provelse of these men that had remoued the enemy, beyond all hope, got safe into the campe, the rest were defeated and slaine by the Germanes.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HIS circumstance doth afford vs two obseruable points: the one, how much an old experienced souldier, that hath the vse and knowledge of seruice, exceedeth the nouice of such as are newly enrolled. The second, which dependeth vpon the former, that valour and militarie vertue, is a consequent of vse and practise, rather then any inherent gift of nature. *Camillus* being sent with an armie against the *Tuscanes*, the Romaine souldier was much affrighted at the greatnesse of the host which the enemy had put on foote, which *Camillus* perceiuing, he used no other motiues of perswasion to strengthen their weakened minds, and to assure them of a happie day, but this: *Quod quisque didici aut consuevit, faciat*, as well knowing where to rouze their valour, and in what part their greatest strength rested. For as men cannot preuaile in that wherein they are vnexperienced, but will be wanting in the supplies of their owne particular, and miscarie euen vnder the directions of another *Anniball*: so a known and beaten tracke is quickly taken, and the difficulties of a businesse are made easie by acquaintance. Vse maketh maistries, saith our English Prouerbe, and practise and art do farre exceed nature. Which continuall exercise and vse of armes amongst the *Romaines*, attained to such perfection, as made *militum sine rectore stabile virtutē*, as *Linie* witnesseth. And as *Antiochus* confessed to *Scipio*: *Quod si vincuntur, non minuantur animis tamen*. *Cæsar* in all his battels, had a speciall respect to the inexperience of the new inrolled bands, placing them either behind the armie for a guard to their cariages, as he did in the *Heluetian* action, or leauing them as a defence to the campe, or shewing them aloofe off, signifying thereby, as *Linie* saith of the *Sicilians*: *Quod magis nomen quam vires ad presidium adferbant*. Whereby it consequently followeth, that militarie vertue proceedeth not so much from nature, or any originall habite, as it doth from exercise and practise of armes. I graunt there is a disposition in nature, and a particular inclination to this or that art: according to that of the Poet,

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.

But this disposition must be perfected by vse, and falleth short of valour or militarie vertue, which consisteth of two parts. The first, in knowledge of the discipline of warre, and the rules of seruice: wherby they may vnderstand the course of things, and be able to iudge of particular resolutions. The second, is the faithfull indeuour in executing such proiects, as the rules of warre do propound for their safetie: both which parts are gotten onely by vse. For as the knowledge of militarie discipline, is best learned by practise, so the often repetition thereof, begetteth assurance in action, which is nothing else but that which we call Valour. In which two parts, these new enrolled bands had small vnderstanding, for they were as ignorant what course to take in that extremitie, as they were vnassured in their worser resolutions.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THIS *Cuneus*, or troupe of souldiers disposed into a Triangle, was the best and safest way to breake through an enemy, for an Angle hath a renting and deuinding propertie, and is so sharpe in the meeting of the two side lines, that the point thereof resembleth indiuisibilitie, and therefore is apt and proper to deuide a sunder, and to make a separation of any quantitie. Which forme Nature hath also obserued in the fashion of such creatures that haue a piercing and deuinding motion, as in fishes, that haue all heads for the most part sharpe, and thence Angles are enlarged into the grossenesse of their bodie. And birds likewise, the better to deuide the ayre, haue sharpe billes & litle heads, with a body annexed of a larger proportion. The manner of the *Romaines* was (as I haue already shewed) to strengthen the piercing Angle with thicke compacted targets, and then enlarging the sides as occasion serued, either to the quantitie of an acute, or a right, or an obtuse Angle: they gaue the charge in such sort, *ut quacunq[ue] parte percutere impetu suo, sustineri nequeant*, as *Linie* saith.

CHAP. XVII.

The Sicambri giue ouer their purpose and depart.

THE *Germanes* being out of hope of taking the campe, forasmuch as they saw our men to stand vpon the workes, they returned ouer the *Rheine* with the bootie which they had in the woods. And such was the feare of the *Romaine* souldier, euen after the enemy was gone, that *Caius Valens* being sent that night to the campe with the horsemen, they would not beleue that *Cæsar* and the armie were returned in safetie: feare had so possessed their minds, that they did not let to say, that all the legions were overthrowne and the horse had escaped by flight, and desired there to be receiued: for they could not be perswaded the armie being safe, that the *Germanes* would haue attempted to surpris their campe: of which feare they were deliuered by *Cæsars* arriual. He being returned not ignorant of the euents of warre, complained of one thing onely, that the cohorts that kept the watch were sent from their Stations, forasmuch as no place ought to be giuen to the least casualtie. And there he saw how much fortune was able to do by the sudden comming of the enemy, and how much more in that he was put off from the rampier and the gates which he had so nearely taken: but of all the rest, this seemed the straungeth, that the *Germanes* comming ouer the *Rheine*, to depopulate and spoile *Ambiorix* and his countrey, had like to haue taken the *Romaine*

maine campe, which would haue bene as acceptable to *Ambiorix* as any thing that could happen.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old saying, auouched by *Plutarke*: *Fortuna id unum hominibus non aufert quod bene fuerit consultum*, which *Tiberius* the *Romaine* Emperour well vnderstood: of whom *Suetonius* reporteth, *Quod minimum fortune, casibusque permittebas*: and is the same which *Cæsar* counselleth in this place, *Ne minimo quidem casus locum relinqui debuisset*. It were a hard condition to expose a naked partie to the malice of an enemy, or to disadvantage him with the losse of his sight: an armie without a guard at any time is meely naked, and more subiect to slaughter, then those that neuer tooke armes: and the rather where the watch is wanting, for there sudden chaunces can hardly be preuented: and if they happen to auoid any such vnexpected casualtie, they haue greater cause to thanke fortune for her fauour, then to be angrie with her for her malice: for preuention at such times is out of the way, and they are wholly at her mercy; as *Cæsar* hath rightly deliuered touching this accident. And therefore, whether an armie march forward or continue in a place, sleepe or wake, play or worke, go in hazard, or rest secure, let not so great a bodie be at any time without a competent strength, to answer the spite of such misaduentures.

Nothing ought to be left to the hazard of fortune.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar returneth to spoile the enemy: punisheth *Acco*.

CÆSAR returning againe to trouble and vex the enemy, hauing called a great number of people from the bordering cities, he sent them out into all parts; all the villages and houses which were any where to be scene, were burned to the ground, pillage and bootie was taken in euery place, the corne was not onely consumed by so great a multitude of men and cattell, but beaten downe also by the vnseasonablenesse of the yeare and continuall raine: insomuch that albeit diuers did hide themselves for the present; yet the armie being withdrawne, they must necessarily perill through want and scarcitie. And oftentimes they happened of the place (the horsemen being deuied into many quarters, where they did not onely see *Ambiorix*, but kept him for the most part in sight: and in hoping still to take him, some that thought to demerit *Cæsars* highest fauour, tooke such infinite paines, as were almost beyond the power of nature. And euer there seemed but a litle betwene them and the thing they most desired, but he conveyed himselfe away through dens and woods,

Cæsar.

and dales, and in the night time sought other countreys and quarters, with no greater a guard of horse then foure, to whom only he durst commit the safetie of his life. The countrey being in this manner haried and depopulated, Cæsar with the losse of two cohorts brought backe his armie to Durocortum in the state of the men of Rhemes, where a Parliament being summoned, he determined to call in question the conspiracie of the Senones and Carnutes, and especially Acco the principall author of that Councell, who being condemned was put to death more maiorum. Some other fearing the like iudgement, saued themselfes by flight: these he interdicted fire and water, and leauing two legions to winter in the confines of the Treuiri, and two other amongst the Lingones, and the other sixe at Augendicum in the borders of the Senones, hauing made prouision of corne for the armie, he went into Italy, ad conuentus agendos.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE conclusion of this Sommers worke, was shut vp with the sacke and depopulation of the *Eburones*, as the extremitie of hostile furie, when the enemy lyeth in the fastnesse of the countrey, and refuseth to make open warre. That being done, Cæsar proceeded in a course of ciuill iudgement with such principal offenders as were of the conspiracie: and namely, with *Acco*, whom he punished in such manner as the old *Romaines* were accustomed to do with such offenders as had forfeited their loyaltie to their countrie, a kind of death which *Nero* knew not, although he had bene Emperour of *Rome* thirtene yeares, and put to death many thousand people. The partie condemned was to haue his necke locked in a forke, and to be whipped naked to death: and he that was put to death after that maner, was punished more maiorum. Such others as feared to vndergo the iudgement, and fled before they came to trial, were banished out of the countrey, and made vncapable of the benefit of fire and water in that Empire. And thus endeth the sixt Commentarie.



THE

THE SEVENTH AND LAST COMMENTARIE, VVRITTEN BY CÆSAR OF THE WARRE HE MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

THIS last Commentarie containeth the specialities of the warre which Cæsar made against all the States of Gallia vnited into one confederacie, for the expelling of the *Romaine* gouernement out of that continent, whom Cæsar ouerthrew in the end, *Horribili vigilantia, & proditiis operibus*.

CHAP. I.

The Gaules enter into new deliberations of reuolt.

GALLIA being in quiet, Cæsar according to his determination went into Italy to keep Courts and Sessions: there he vnderstood that *P. Clodius* was slaine, and of a decree which the Senate had made, touching the assembly of all the youth of Italy, and thereupon he purposed to inrole new bands throughout the whole Prouince. These newes were quickly caried ouer the Alpes into Gallia, and the Gaules themselves added such rumors to it, as the matter seemed well to beare; that Cæsar was now detained by the troubles at Rome, and in such dissentions could not returne to his army. Being stirred up by this occasion, such as before were inwardly grieved, that they were subiect to the Empire of the people of Rome, did now more freely and boldly enter into the consideration of warre. The Princes and chiefe men of Gallia hauing appointed counsels and meetings in remote and wooddie places, complained of the death of *Acco*, and shewed it to be a fortune which might concerne themselves: they pity the common misery of Gallia, and do propound all maner of promises and rewards to such as will begin the warre, and with the danger of their liues redeeme the liberty of their countrey: wherein they are to be very carefull not to forslow any time, to the end that Cæsar may be stopped from comming to his armie before their secret conferences be discovered: which might easily be done, forasmuch as neither the Legions

Cæsar.

durst go out of their wintering camps in the absence of their Generall, nor the Generall come to the Legions without a conuoy. To conclude, they held it better to die in fight, then to loose their ancient honour in matter of warre, and the libertie left them by their predecessors.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS Chapter discouereth such sparkles of reuolt, rising from the discontentment of the conquered *Gaules*; as were like to breake out into an vniuersall burning; and within a while proued such a fire, as the like hath not bin seene in the continent of *Gallia*: for this sommers worke verified the saying of the *Samnites*, *Quod pax fruentibus grauior quam liberis bellum esset*, and was caried on either part with such a resolution, as in respect of this seruice, neither the *Gaules* did before that time ingage themselves seriously in their countries cause, nor did the *Romaines* know the difficultie of their taske. But as *Epaminondas* called the fields of *Beotia*, *Mars* his scaffold where he kept his games; or as *Zenophon* nameth the city of *Ephesus* the *Armors shop*: so might *Gallia* for this yeare be called the Theater of war. The chiefeft encouragement of the *Gaules* at this time, was the trouble and dissention at *Rome* about the death of *Clodius*, and the accusation of *Milo* for killing *Clodius*.

This *Clodius* (as *Plutarke* reporteth) was a yong man of a noble house, but wild and insolent, and much condemned for profaning a secret sacrifice, which the Ladies of *Rome* did celebrate in *Cæsars* house, by comming amongst them disguised in the habite of a young singing wench, which he did for the loue of *Pompeia*, *Cæsars* wife: whereof being openly accused, was quitted by secret meanes which he made to the Iudges: and afterwards obtained the Tribuneship of the people, and caused *Cicero* to be banished, and did many outrages and insolencies in his Tribuneship: which caused *Milo* to kill him, for which he was also accused. And the Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, being a bold spirited man and of good quality, would moue some vproare or sedition in the citie, they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed, as well in this cause as for other offences, that the city might be quiet and the commonwealth suffer no detriment: whereupon *Pompey* posselt the market place, where the cause was to be heard with bands of fouldiers and troopes of armed men. And these were the troubles in *Rome* vpon the death of *Clodius*, which the *Gaules* did take as an occasion of reuolt, hoping thereby that *Cæsar* (being in *Gallia Cisalpina*, which prouince was allotted to his gouernement, as well as that *Gallia Northward the Alpes*) would haue bene detained from his armie.

The

CHAP. II.

The men of Chartres take vpon them the beginning of a reuolt, vnder the cōnduction of Cotuatus and Conetodunus.

THES E things being thus disputed, the men of Chartres did make themselves the chiefe of that warre, refusing no daunger for the common safetie of their country: and forasmuch as at that present they could not giue caution by hostage, lest the matter should be discovered, they desire to haue their covenants strengthened by oath, and by mutual collation of their military ensignes, which was the most religious ceremony they could use to bind the rest not to forsake them, hauing made an entrance and beginning to that warre. The men of Chartres being commended by the rest, and the oashes of all them that were present being taken, and a time appointed to begin, they brake vp the assembly. When the day came, they of Chartres vnder the conduction of Cotuatus and Conetodunus, two desperat fellows, vpon a watchword giuen, ranne speedily to * *Genabum*; and such *Romaine* citizens as were there vpon businesse, namely * *C. Fusius Cotta* a knight of *Rome*, whom *Cæsar* had left ouersee of the prouision of corne, they slue, and tooke their goods. The report thereof was quickly spread ouer all the States of *Gallia*: for when any such great or extraordinary matter happeneth, they signifie it through the country by an out-cry and shout, which is taken by others, and deliuered to the next, and so goeth from hand to hand, as it happened at this time: for that which was done at *Genabum* at Sunne rising, was before the first watch of the night was ended, heard in the confines of the *Aruerni*, which is aboue a hundred and threescore miles distant.

Cæsar.

* Orleans.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS manner of out-cry here mentioned to be vsuall in *Gallia*, was the same which remaineth in vse at this present in *Wales*, although not so frequent as in former times. For the custome is there, as often as any robbrie happeneth to be committed, or any man to be slaine, or what other outrage or riot is done, the next at hand do go to some eminent place where they may be best heard, and there they make an outcrie or howling, which they call a *Hooboub*, signifying the fact to the next inhabitants, who take it as passionatly, and deliuer it further, and so from hand to hand it quickly spreadeth ouer all the country. It is a very readie way to put the country in armes, and was first deuised (as it seemeth) for the stay and apprehension of robbers and outlawes, who kept in

The Welch Hoboub.

h

strong holds, and liued vpon the spoile of the bordering inhabitants, but otherwise it sauoureth of Barbarisme, rather then of any ciuill gouernment.

CHAP. III.

Vercingetorix stirreth vp the Aruerni to the like commotion and reuolt.

Like manner Vercingetorix the sonne of Celtillus of the nation of the Aruerni, a young man of great power and authority, whose father was the Commander of all Gallia, and because he sought a kingdome, was slaine by those of his owne State, calling together his followers and clients, did easily incense them to rebellion; his purpose being knowne, euery man tooke armes, and so he was driuen out of the towne of Gergonia by Gabonitio his vnkle and other Princes, who thought it not safe to make triall of that fortune. And yet he desisted not, but enrolled needie and desperate people, and with such troupes, whomsoeuer he met withall of the State, he did easily draw them to his partie: perswading them to take armes for the defence of common libertie: and hauing at length got great forces together, he expelled his aduersaries out of the towne: by whom he was himselfe before thrust out. He was called of his men by the title of King, and sent Embassages into all parts, aduising them to continue constant and faithfull. The Senones, the Parisij, the Pictones, the Carduci, the Turones, the Aulerci, the Lemouices, the Andes, and all the rest that border vpon the Ocean were quickly made on his partie: and by all their consents the chiefe command was conferred vpon him. Which authoritie being offered him, he commanded hostages, to be brought in vnto him from all those states, and a certaine number of souldiers to be sent him with all speed: he rated euery citie what proportion of armes they should haue readie, and specially he laboured to raise great store of horse: to extraordinary diligence he added extraordinary seueritie, compelling such as stood doubtful by hard and seuerer punishment: for such as had committed a great offence, he put to death by fire and torture: lesser faulcs he punished with the losse of their nose or their eies, and so sent them home, that by their example others might be terrified. By these practises & seuerity, hauing speedily raised a great army, he sent Lucetius Carducus, a man of great spirit and boldnes, with part of the forces towards the Rutheni, & he himselfe made towards the Bituriges. Vpon his coming the Bituriges sent to the Hedui, in whose protection they were to require aide against Vercingetorix. The Hedui by the aduice of the Legats which Cæsar had left with the army, sent forces of horse and foote to the aid of the Bituriges, who coming to the river Loyer, which diuideth the Bituriges from the Hedui, after a few dayes stay, not daring to passe over the riuer, returned home againe, bringing word to our Legats that they durst not commit themselves to the Bituriges, and so returned: for if they had

had passed over the riuer, the Bituriges had inclosed them in on the one side, and the Aruerni on the other. But whether they did returne vpon that occasion, or through perfidious trecherie, it remaineth doubtfull. The Bituriges vpon departure, did presently ioyne themselves with the Aruernij.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is obserued by such as are acquainted with matter of Gouernment, that there ought to be alwaies a proportion of qualitie betweene him that commaundeth, and them that obey: for if a man of *Sardanapalus* condition should take vpon him the charge of *Marius* armie, it were like to take no better effect, then if *Manlius* had the leading of lasciuious *Cinades*. And as we may obserue in economiell pollicie, a dissolute maister may as soone command haire to grow on the palme of his hand, as to make a vertuous seruant: but the respect of dutie betweene such relatiues doth likewise inferre the like respect of qualitie: so in all sorts and conditions of command, there must be sympathizing means to vnite the diuersitie of the parts, in the happie end of perfect Gouernement. In this new Empire which befell *Vercingetorix*, we may obserue a double proportion betweene him and his people. The first, of strength and abilitie: and the other of qualitie and resemblance of affection: vpon the assurance of which proportion he grounded the austeritie of his command. For it appeareth that his first beginning was by perswasion and intreatie, and would indure no direction, but that which was guided by a loose and easie raine, holding it neither safe nor seemely, but rather a straine of extreame madnesse, first to punish or threaten, and then to want power to make good his iudgements: but being strengthened by authoritie from themselves, and backed with an armie, able to controule their disobedience, he then added punishment as the ensigne of magistracie, and confirmed his power by rigorous commands, which is as necessarie a demonstration of a well settled gouernment, as any circumstance belonging thereunto.

Touching the resemblance and proportion of their qualities, it is manifestly shewed by the sequele of this historie, that euery man desired to redeeme the common libertie of their countrey, in that measure of indeuour as was fitting so great a cause. Amongst whom *Vercingetorix* being their chiefe Commander, *summa diligentia* (as the storie saith) added *summam seueritatem*, as well assured, that the greater part would approue his iustice, and condemne the vncertainie of doubtfull resolutions, desiring no further seruice at their hands, then that wherein himselfe would be the foremost. In imitation of *Valerius Corvinus*: *Facta mea non dicta, vos milites sequi volo, nec disciplinam modo sed exemplum etiam a me petere*. And therefore the partie was like to be well vpheld, forasmuch as both the Prince and the people were so farre engaged in the matter intended, as by the resemblance of an earnest desire might answer the measure of due proportion.

There ought to be a proportion of qualitie betweene a Commander and his souldiers. *Manli Mari-*
ani. Such a mai-
ster, such a
seruant.

Linie.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth into Gallia, and by a
deuice getteth to his armie.

THES E things being told Cæsar in Italie; as soone as he understood that the masters in the citie were by the wisdom of Pompey brought into better state, he tooke his iourney into Gallia, and being come thither he was much troubled how to get to his armie: for if he should send for the Legions into the Province, he understood that they should be certainly fought withall by the way in his absence. If he himselfe should go vnto them, he doubted how he might safely commit his person to any, although they were such as were yet in peace. In the meane time Lucius Cadurcus being sent against the Rutheni, doth easily unite that State to the Aruerni: and proceeding further against the Nitiobriges and the Gabales, he receiued hostages of both of them, and hauing raised a great power he laboured to breake into the Province, and to make towards Narbo. Which being knowne, Cæsar resolued by all meanes to put him by that purpose, and went himselfe to Narbo: at his comming he encouraged such as stood doubtfull or timorous, and placed garrisons amongst the Rutheni, the Volsci, and about Narbo, which were frontier places and neare vnto the enemy, and commaunded part of the forces which were in the Province, together with those supplies which he had brought out of Italy, to go against the Heluij which are adioyning vpon the Aruerni. Things being thus ordered, Lucius being now suppressed and removed, holding it to be dangerous to enter among the garrisons, he himselfe went towards the Heluij. And albeit the hill Gebenna which deuideth the Aruernij from the Heluij, by reason of the hard time of winter and the depth of the snow, did hinder their passage, yet by the industrie of the souldier making way through snow of sixe foote deepe, they came into the confines of the Aruerni, who being suddenly and vnawares suppressed, little mistrusting an inuasion ouer the hill Gebenna, which incloseth them in as a wall, and at that time of the yeare doth not afford a path to a single man alone, he commaunded the horsemen to scatter themselves farre and neare to make the enemy the more afraid. These things being speedily caried to Vercingetorix, all the Aruerni full of feare and amazement flockt about him, beseeching him to haue a care of their State, and not to suffer themselves to be sacked by the enemy, especially now at this time, when as all the warre was transferred vpon them. Vpon their instant intreatie he removed his campe out of the territories of the Bituriges, and marched towards the country of the Aruerni. But Cæsar hauing continued two dayes in those places, forasmuch as he understood both by vse and opinion, what course Vercingetorix was like to take, he left the armie, pretending some supplies of horse, which he went to raise, and appointed young Brutus to commaund those forces, admonishing him to send out the horsemen into all quarters, and that he himselfe would not be absent from the campe about three dayes. These things being thus sealed, none of his followers

followers knowing his determination, by great iourneys he came to Vienna, where taking fresh horse which he had layd there many dayes before, he ceased neither night nor day, vntill he came through the confines of the Hedui to the Lingones, where two legions wintered, to the end if the Hedui should undertake any thing against him he might with speed prevent it: being there, he sent to the rest of the Legions, and brought them all to one place, before the Aruernij could possibly haue notice of it.

OBSERVATIONS.



CÆSAR vpon his first entrance into Gallia, was perplexed how to get to his armie: and the matter stood in such tearmes, as brought either the legions or his owne person into hazard. For (as he saith) if he should send for the legions to come vnto him, they should doubtlesse be fought withall by the way, which he was loath to aduenture, vnlesse himselfe had bene present: or otherwise if he himselfe had gone vnto them, he doubted of the entertainment of the reuolting Gaules, and might haue ouerthrowne his armie, by the losse of his owne person. In this extremitie of choice, he resolued vpon his owne passage to the armie, as lesse dangerous and more honorable, rather then to call the legions out of their wintering campes, where they stood as a checke to bridle the insolencie of the mutinous Gaules, and so to bring them to the hazard of battell in fetching their Generall into the field: whereby he might haue lost the victorie before he had begun the warres. And for his better safetie in this passage, he used this cunning. Hauing assured the Romaine Province by strong and frequent garrisons on the frontiers, and removed Lucius from those parts, gathering together such supplies as he had brought with him out of Italy, with other forces which he found in the Province, he went speedily into the territories of the * Aruerni, making a way ouer the hill * Gebenna, at such a time of the yeare as made it vnpassable for any forces, had they not bene led by Cæsar, only for this purpose, to haue it noised abroad, that whereas Vercingetorix and the Aruerni had principally vndertooke the quarrell against the Romaines, and made the beginning of a new warre, Cæsar would first deal with them, and lay the weight thereof vpon their shoulders by calling their fortunes first in question, to the end he might possesse the world with an opinion of his presence in that country, and draw Vercingetorix back againe to defend his state, whilst he in the meane time did slip to his armie without suspition or feare of perill: for staying there no longer then might serue to giue a sufficient colour to that pretence, and leauing those forces to execute the rest, and to make good the secret of the proiect, he conueyed himselfe to his armie with such speed and celeritie, as doth verifie the saying of Suetonius: quod persapè nuncios de se prauentit.

These blinds and false intendments, are of speciall vse in matter of warre and serue aswell to get aduantages vpon an enemy, as to cleare a difficultie by cleanly euasion: neither is a Commander the lesse valued for fine conuey-

To abuse an enemy by way of stratageme commendable in a Commander.

* Auergne. La montagne de Geneue.

Vita Cæsaris.

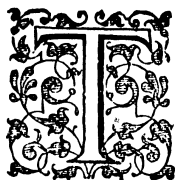
ance in militarie proiects, but deserueth rather greater honour for adding art vnto valour, and supplanting the strength of opposition, with the sleight of wit. *Dolus an virtus quis in heste requirit?* hath alwayes bene held a principall amongst men of warre. And *Lisander* his counsell is the same in effect, that where the Lions skin wil not serue the turne, there take the foxes. *Carbo* spake it to the commendation of *Silla*, that he had to do both with a Lion and a Fox, but he feared more his Foxes pate then his Lions skin. It is reported that *Anniball* excelled all other of his time for abusing the enemy in matter of stratagem, for he neuer made fight but with an addition of assistants, supporting force with art, and the furie of armes with the subtiltie of wit.

Of late time amongst other practises of this nature, the treatie at *Ostend* is most memorabell, entertained onely to gaine time, that while speeche of parley was continued, and pledges deliuered to the Archduke *Albertus*, for the safetie of such as were sent into the towne to capitulate with the Generall, there might be time gained for the sending in of such supplies of men and munition as were wanting, to make good the defence thereof: which were no sooner taken in, but the treatie proued a stratagem of warre.

In these foyles and trickes of wit, which at all times and in all ages haue bene highly esteemed in men of warre, as speciall vertues becomming the condition of a great Commander, if it be demaunded how farre a Generall may proceede in abusing an enemy by deedes or wordes? I cannot speake distinctly to the question, but sure I am, that *Surena* Lieutenant generall of the *Parthian* armie did his maister good seruice in abusing *Crassus* the *Romaine* Generall by faire promises; or as *Plutarch* saith by foule periuirie, till in the end he brought his head to be an actor in a Tragedie: albeit *Surena* neuer deserued well of good report since that time. Howsoeuer men of ciuill societie ought not to draw this into vse from the example of souldiers, forasmuch as it is a part of the profession of cutting of throates, and hath no prescription but in extremities of warre.

CHAP. V.

Vercingetorix besiegeth Gergonia: Cæsar taketh in Vellaunodunum and Genabum.



HIS being knowne, Vercingetorix brought back his army againe into the country of the Bituriges, and thence marched to besiege Gergonia a towne held by the Boij, whom Cæsar had left there after the Heluetian warre, and giuen the iurisdiction of the towne to the Hedui, which brought Cæsar into great perplexitie, whether he should keepe the Legions in one place for that time of winter which remained, and so suffer the

stipendaries of the Hedui to be taken and spoiled, whereby all Gallia might take occasion to reuolt: forasmuch as the Romaines should seeme to afford no protection or countenance to their friends, or otherwise draw his army out of their wintering camps sooner then was vsuall, and thereby become subiect to the difficulties of prouision and cariage of corne. Notwithstanding it seemed better, and so he resolved rather to vndergo all difficulties, then by taking such a corne to loose the good wils of all his followers. And therefore perswading the Hedui diligently to make supply of necessarie prouisions, he sent to the Boij to aduertise them of his comming, to encourage them to continue loyall, and nobly to resist the assaults of the enemy: and leauing two Legions with the cariages of the whole armie at Agendicum, he marched towards the Boij. The next day comming to a Towne of the Senones called Vellaunodunum, he determined to take it in, to the end he might leane no enemy behind him, which might hinder a speedie supply of victuals: and in two dayes he inclosed it about with a ditch and a rampier: the third day some being sent out touching the giuing vp of the towne, he commanded all their armes and their cattell to be brought out, and six hundred pledges to be deliuered. Leauing C. Tribonius a Legate to see it performed, he himselfe made all speed towards Genabum in the territories of the men of Chartres, who as soone as they heard of the taking in of Vellaunodunum, perswading them selues the matter would not rest so, they resolved to put a strong garrison into Genabum. Thither came Cæsar within two dayes, and incamping himselfe before the Towne, the euening drawing on, he put off the assault vnto the next day, commanding the souldiers to prepare in a readinesse such things as should be necessary for that seruice. And forasmuch as the towne of Genabum had a bridge leading ouer the riuer Loier, he feared lest they of the towne would steale away in the night: for preuention whereof, he commanded two Legions to watch all night in armes. The townsmen a litle before midnight went out quietly and began to passe ouer the riuer, which being discovered by the skents, Cæsar with the Legions which he had ready in armes burnt the gates, and entring the Towne tooke it. The greatest number of the enemy being taken, and a very few escaping by reason of the narrownesse of the bridge, and the way which shut in the multitude, the towne being sacked and burned, and giuen for a bootie to the souldiers, he caried his armie ouer the riuer Loier into the territories of the Bituriges.

Ligeris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



It is a knowne and an approued saying, *E malis minimum est eligendum*, but in a presentment of euils to be able to discern the difference and to chuse the least, *Hic labor, hoc opus*. Vercingetorix besieging Gergonia (a stipendarie towne belonging to the Hedui, that of long time had serued the *Romaine* Empire) at such a time of the yeare as would not afford prouision of victuall for the maintenance of an armie, but with great difficultie and inconuenience of cariage and conuoy, Cæsar was much perplexed, whether he should forbear to succour the towne and raise the siege, or vndergo the hazard of long and tedious conuoyes.

Clairmont en Auvergne.

A matter often falling into dispute, although it be in other termes, whether honestie or honourable respect ought to be preferred before priuate ease and particular commoditie? *Cæsar* hath declared himselfe touching this point, preferring the honour of the people of *Rome*, as the maiestie of their Empire, and the reputation which they desired to hold, touching assistance and protection of their friends, before any inconuenience which might happen to their armie. And not without good reasons, which may be drawne alwell from the worthinesse of the cause, as from the daunger of the effect: for duties of vertue and respects of honestie, as the noblest parts of the mind, do not onely challenge the seruice of the inferiour faculties of the soule, but do also commaund the bodie and the casualties thereof, in such sort as is fitting the excellencie of their prerogatiue, for otherwise vertue would find but bare attendance, and might leaue her scepter for want of lawfull authoritie. And therefore *Cæsar* chose rather to adventure the armie vpon the casualties of hard prouision, then to blemish the *Romaine* name with the infamie of disloyaltie. Which was lesse dangerous also in regard of the effect: for where the bond is of valew, there the forfeiture is great: and if that tie had bene broken, and their opinion deceiued touching the expectation of assistance and help, all *Gallia* might haue had iust cause of reuolt, and disclaimed the *Romaine* gouernement for non protection. To conclude then, let no man deceiue himselfe in the present benefit, which priuate respect may bring vpon the refusall of honest regard, for the end will be a witness of the error, and proue honestie to be best policie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is obserued by some writers, that *Cæsar* neuer vndertooke any action, or at the least brought it not to triall, but he first assured himselfe of these foure things: the first was prouision of victu- als, as the very foundation of warlike expeditions, whereof I haue already treated in the first Commentarie: the difficultie whereof, made him so doubtfull to vndertake the releefe of *Gergonia*. And doubtlesse whofeuer goeth about any enterprise of warre, without certaine meanes of victuall and prouision, must either carie an armie of Camelions that may liue by the aire, or intend nothing but to build castels in the aire, or otherwise shall be sure to find his enemy either in his bosome, or as the prouerb is in *Plut.* take to leape on his belly with both his feet.

The second thing was prouision of all necessaries, which might be of vse in that seruice: wherewith he alwayes so abounded, that there might rather want occasion to vse them, then he be wanting to answer occasion. And these were the instruments whereby he made such admirable workes, such bridges, such mounts, such trenches, such huge armades, as appeareth by the sea fight with the maritime cities of *Gallia*: according to which his former custome, forasmuch as the day was farre spent before he came to *Genabum*, he commaunded such

such things to be fitted and had in a readinesse, as might serue for the siege the next day.

The third thing was an armie for the most part of old souldiers, whom the *Romaines* called *Veterani*, whereof he was likewise at this time prouided, for the two legions which were fresh and lately inroled, he left at *Agendicum* with the cariages, taking onely the old souldiers for this seruice, as knowing that in *pugna vsum amplius prodesse quam vires*.

The fourth thing was the triall and experience of the enemies forces, which the former victories assured him to be inferiour to the *Romaines*, being alwayes a rule in the *Romaine* discipline (as I haue already noted) by light and easie skirmishes, to acquaint the souldiers with the maner of the enemies fight: *Ne eos nouum bellum, nouus hostis terreret*, as *Liuy* saith.

Comment. 1.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar taketh in *Nouiudunum*, and beateth
the enemy comming to rescue
the Towne.



VERCINGETORIX vnderstanding of *Cæsars* comming, left the siege and went to meete him. *Cæsar* resolved to take a towne lying in his way in the territories of the *Bituriges*, called *Nouiudunum*: which they of the towne perceiuing, sent out vnto him to beseech him to spare them, and to giue order for their safetie: and so the end he might speed that businesse with as much celeritie as he had accomplished former seruices, he commanded them to bring out their armes, their horse, and to deliuer pledges. Part of the hostages being giuen, while the rest were in deliuering over, diuers Centurions and a few souldiers being admitted into the towne to seeke out their weapons and their horses, the horsemen of the enemy which marched before *Vercingetorix* armie were discovered a farre off: which the townesmen had no sooner perceiued, and thereby conceiued some hope of releefe, but they presently took up a shout and betooke themselves to their armes, shut the gates, and began to make good the walls. The Centurions that were in the towne perceiuing some new resolution of the *Gauls* with their swords drawne, possesst themselves of the gates, and saved both themselves and their men that were in the towne. *Cæsar* commanded the horsemen to be drawne out of the campe, and to begin the charge; and as they began to giue ground, he sent foure hundred *Germane* horsemen to second them, whom he had resolved to keepe with him from the first, who charged the enemy with such furie, that the *Gauls* could no way endure the assault, but were presently put to flight; many of them being slaine, the rest retired backe to the armie. Vpon their overthrow, the townesmen were worse affrighted then they were before, and hauing apprehended such as were thought

Cæsar.

to haue stirred up the people, they brought them to Cæsar and yielded themselves vn- to him: which being ended, Cæsar marched towards the towne of Auaricum, which was the greatest and best fortified of all the townes in the territories of the Bituriges; for that being taken in, he doubted not to bring the whole State of the Bituriges easily into his subiection.

OBSERVATIONS.

FOrasmuch as nothing is more changeable then the minde of man, which (notwithstanding the low degree of basenes where- in it often sitteth) will as occasion giueth way to reuenge, readily amount to the height of tyrannie, and spare no labour to crie quittance with an enemy: it hath bin thought expedient in the wisdom of foregoing ages, to plucke the wings of so mounting a bird, and to depriue an enemy of such meanes, as may giue hope of libertie by mutinie and reuolt.

The practise of the *Romaines* in taking in any towne, was to leaue them force- lesse, that howsoeuer they might stand affected, their nailes should be surely pa- red for scratching, and their power confined to the circuit of their mind: for as it appeareth by this and many other places of *Cæsar*, no rendric of any towne was accepted, vntill they had deliuered all their armes, both offensive and de- fensue, with such engines and instruments of warre, as might any way make for the defence of the same. Neither that onely, but such beasts also, whether horse or Elephant or any other whatsoeuer, as might any way aduantage the vse of those weapons: which as it was a great disinay and weakning to the ene- mie, so was it short of the third condition, commaunding the deliuey of so many hostages or pledges as were thought conuenient, being the prime of their youth, & the flower of their manhood, and were as the marrow to their bones, and the sinewes to that bodie. Whereby it came to passe, that the remnant was much disabled in strength, concerning their number of fighting men; and such as were left had neither armes nor meanes to make resistance.

The Turke obserueth the same course with the Christians, but in a more cruell and barbarous maner; for he commeth duely at a certaine time, not re- garding any former demeanour, and leadeth away the flower of their youth, to be inuested in impietie and infidelitie, and to be made vassalles of heathenish impuritie.

Oftentimes we reade, that a conquered people were not onely interdicted armes, but the matter also and the art whereby such armes were made and wrought; for where the people are great, and mettall and matter plentie, it is a chaunce if artificers be wanting to repaire their losse, and to refurbish their armourie. At the siege of *Carthage* the *Romaines* hauing taken away their armes, they notwithstanding finding store of mettall within the towne, caused workmen to make euery day a hundred targets and three hundred swords, besides

besides arrowes and casting slings, vsing womens haire for want of hemp, and pulling downe their houses for timber to build shipping. Whereby we may perceiue, that a General cannot be too carefull to depriue an enemy of all such helpes as may any way strengthen his hand, or make way to resistance.

CHAP. VII.

Vercingetorix perswadeth the Gaules to a new course of warre.

VERCINGETORIX hauing receiued so many losses one in the necke of another, *Vellaunodunum, *Genabum & *Nouiodunum being taken, he calleth his men to counsell and telleth them that the war must be caried in another course then it hath bin heretofore, for they must endeuor by all means to keepe the *Romaines* from forrage and conuoy of victuall: which would easily be brought to passe, forasmuch as they them- selues did abound in horsemen: & for that the time of the yeare did not yet serue to get forrage in the field, the enemy must necessarily seek it in houses and barnes, whereby the forragers would dayly be cut off by their horsemen. More- ouer, for their safety and defence they were to neglect their priuate commoditie: their houses and their villages were to be burnt vp round about as far as Boia, that the *Romaines* might fetch their forrage thence. For themselves they thought it reason that they should make supply of victuall and prouision, in whose possessions they were, and for whom they fought. By this meanes the *Romaines* would neuer be able to endure that want as would befall them, or at the least be constrained to fetch their pro- visions farre off, with great daunger and perill to themselves, neither did it make any matter whether they killed them or put them besides their cariages, for without necessary supplies they were neuer able to hold war. And to conclude, such towns were likewise to be set on fire, as by the strength of their situation were not safe from daun- ger, lest they should proue receptacles to linger and detract the war, and serue the *Romaines* for booty and supplies of prouision. And albeit these things might seem heavy and bitter, yet they ought to esteem it more grieuous to haue their wives and their chil- dren led away into seruitude, and themselves to be slaine by the sword of the enemy, which doth necessarily fall vpon a conquered people. His opinion was generally appro- ued by the consent of all men, and more then twenty cities of the *Bituriges* were burnt in one day; the like was done in other States, great fires were to be seene in all parts: and although all men tooke it very grieuously, yet they propounded this comfort vnto themselves, that the enemy being by this meanes defeated, they should quickly recover their losses. Touching *Auaricum* they disputed it in common counsel, whether it should be burnt or defended: the *Bituriges* do prostrate themselves at the feete of all the *Gaules*, that they might not be forced to set on fire with their owne hands, the

Cæsar.
*Vile neuſue
en la franch
conte.
*Orleans.
*Noyon.

fairest citie in all Gallia, being both an ornament and a strength to their state; they would easily defend it by the site of the place, being incircled round about with a river and a bogge, and being accessable by one narrow passage. At length leave being granted them to keepe it, Vercingetorix at first dissuading them from it, and afterwards yielding unto it, moved by the intreatie of the Gaules, and the commiseration of the common multitude; and so a fit garrison was chosen to defend the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

I HAVE seene an Imprese with a circle, and a hand with a sharpe stile pointing towards the center with this motto: *Hic labor, hoc opus*, signifying thereby, that albeit the Area thereof were plainly and distinctly bounded, and the Diameter of no great length, yet it was not an easie matter to find the Center, which is the heart and chiefe part of that figure. In like manner there is no businesse or other course so easie or plaine, but the center may be mistaken, and the difficultie commonly resteth in hitting that point, which giueth the circumference an equall and regular motion.

The Gaules were resolu'd to vndertake the defence of their country, and to redeeme their libertie with the hazard of their liues: but it seemeth they were mistaken in the meanes, and ran a course farre short of the center. For Vercingetorix perceiuing the *Romaines* daily to get vpon the *Gaules*, first by taking in one towne, secondly another, and lastly of a third, he aduised them to set on fire all the country houses, villages and townes for a great circuit round about, and so force the *Romaines* to fetch their forrage and prouisions farre off, and vndergo the difficulties of long conuoyes, whereby the *Gaules* might make vse of their multitude of horse, and keepe the *Romaines* without supplies of necessarie prouisions: and so they doubted not but to giue a speedie end to that warre. And this he tooke to be the center of that businesse, and the true vse of their aduantage.

Polybius writeth, that *M. Regulus* hauing diuerse times ouerthrowne the *Carthaginians* in battell, one *Santippus* a *Lacedemonian* clearely perceiuing the cause of their often routs, began openly to say, that the *Carthaginians* were not ouerthrowne by the valour of the *Romaines*, but by their owne ignorance: for they exceeding the *Romaines* in horse and Elephants, had neglected to fight in the champion, where their caualrie might shew it selfe, but in hills and woodie places where the foote troupes were of more force, and so the *Romains* had the aduantage. Whereby the manner of the warre being changed, and by the counsell of the pregnant *Greeke*, brought from the hills into the leuell of the plaine, the *Carthaginians* recouered all their former losses by one absolute victorie. In like manner *Anniball* finding himselfe to exceede the *Romains* in strength of caualrie, did alwaies indeuour to affront them in open and champion countries, and as often as the *Romaines* durst meete him, he put them to the worfe: but *Fabius* perceiuing the disaduantage, kept himselfe alwaies vpon the

the hills, and in couert and vneuen places, and so made the aduantage of the place equall the multitude of the enemies horsemen.

There is no greater scone can touch a man of reputation and place, then to be thought not to vnderstand his owne businesse. For as wisdom is the excellencie of humane nature, so doth want of iudgement deie men to the condition of such as *Aristotle* calleth Seruants by nature: whose wit being too weake to support any waight, do recompence that want with the seruice of their bodie, and are wholly employed in a Porters occupation. Which *Homer* layeth vpon *Diomedes* shoulders, with as fine conueyance as he doth the rest of his inuentions: for *Vlisses* and he going out on a partie to do some exploit vpon the *Troians*, they caried themselves so gallantly, that they fell to share king *Rhesus* charret and horses: *Vlisses* presently seized vpon the horses, being of a delicate *Thracian* breed, and *Diomedes* seemed well contented with the charret: but being to carie it away, *Pallas* aduised him to let it alone, lest he might prope his strength to be greater then his wit, and yet not find so much neither as would carie it away.

But for these directions which *Vercingetorix* gaue vnto the *Gaules*, I referre the reader to the sequele of the Historie, wherein he shall find how they preuailed.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar besiegeth Auaricum, and is distressed for want of corne.

VERCINGETORIX followeth Cæsar by small and easie iourneys, and chose a place to incampe in, fortified about with bogges and woods, fiftene miles distant from Auaricum, there he vnderstood what was done at Auaricum euery houre of the day, and commanded likewise what he would haue done. He obserued all our forraging and haruesting, and did set vpon such as went farre off vpon any such occasion, and incumbered them with great inconueniences: albeit they tooke what course they could to meete with it, as to go out at vncertaine times, and by unknowne and vnusall waies. Cæsar incamping himselfe before that part of the towne which was not shut in with the river nor the bogge, and afforded but a narrow and streights passage, began to make a mount, to drue vines, and to raise two towers: for the nature of the place wold not suffer him to inclose it round about with a ditch and a rampier: and neuer rested to admonish the *Hedui* and the *Boij* to bring in supplies of corne: of whome the one by reason of the small care and paines they tooke, did little helpe him, the other being of no great abilitie, being a small and a weake state, did quickly consume all that they had. The armie was distressed for want of corne, by reason of the povertie of the *Boij*, and the indiligence of the *Hedui*, together with

Seruus à natura. Polis. I.

Illiad. 10.

Cæsar.

the burnings of the houses in the countrey, in such manner as they wanted corne for many dayes together, and sustained their lives with beasts and cattell which they had fetched a great way off: and yet no one voice at all was heard to come from them, unworthie the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and their former victories. And albeit Cæsar did speake vnto the legions generally as they were in the works, that if their wants were heauie and bitter vnto them, he would leaue off the siege. But all of them with one voyce desired him not to do so: for they had so serued many yeares vnder his commaund, as they neuer had receiued any dishonour, neither had they at any time departed and left the businesse vndone: it would be imputed vnto them as an ignominie and disgrace to leaue the siege, they had rather vndergo all difficulties, then not to reuenge the death of the citizens of Rome that by trechery were slaine at Genabum. The same speeches they deliuered to the Centurions and Tribunes, so to bold Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HE worth of a Souldier consisteth in a disposition of mind and bodie, which maketh him apt to suffer and to vndergo the difficulties of warre: for let his resolution otherwise be neuer so great, and his courage inuincible in the day of battell, yet if he faint vnder the burthen of such tediousnesse as vually attendeth vpon warlike designements, he is no way fit for any great enterprise. Pindarus saith, that he vnderstandeth not the warre, that knoweth not that the atchieuing of one peece of seruice, is alwaies accompanied with the sufferance of another difficultie as great as that which was first intended: *Et facere, & pati fortia, Romanum est.* It was the peculiar commendation of the Romaine people, patiently to indure the extremities of warfare: which made the *Volsi* to crie out, That either they must forswear armes, and forget to make warre, and receiue the yoke of thraldome and bondage, *aut ijs quibuscum de imperio certetur, nec virtute, nec patientia, nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum.* Appian forgetteth not to say, that the Romaine Empire was raised to such greatnesse, not by fortune or good lucke, but by meere valour, and patient induring of hardnesse and want. Which is the selfe same which *Crassus* in his sorrow vttered to his soldiers, who neither did nor spake many things well: for as *Plutarke* rightly censureth him out of the Comical Poet, he was

A good man, any way else but in warres.

The Empire of Rome (saith he) came not to that greatnesse which it now possesseth, by good fortune onely, but by patient and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie; neuer yeelding or giuing place to any daunger.

Some Italian writers are of an opinion, that the two chiefest parts of a soldier, Valour and Sufferance, are in these times deuided vnto two nations, the French and the Spaniard: the Spaniard making warre rather by sufferance then by violence of assaults; and the French impatient of delay, and furious in assaults: so that according to his opinion, a Spaniard and a French man, will make

one

one good souldier. Touching the Spaniard, I cannot deny, but that he hath the name of one of the best souldiers in Christendome, and I do gladly allow all that vertue can challenge, for truth will preuaile against all affection: yet I may say thus much on the behalfe of our owne people; that we haue seldome lost honour in confronting any nation. Concerning the sufferance, and patient induring of hardnesse, which is said to be in the Spaniard, being able to liue long with a litle, it may peradventure not vnjustly be attributed to the property of their countrey, and the nature of their climate, which will not beare nor digest such plentie of fooode, as is required in colder countries: and thereupon being borne to so weake a digestion, they are as well satisfied with a roote or a faller, as others with better plentie of fooode: and therein they go beyond other nations. Of the French I say nothing, but leaue them to make good the opinion of the Italian Writer.

Suetonius witnesseth of *Cæsar*, that he himselfe was *laboris ultra fidem patiens*, whereby he might the better moue his armie to indure with patience the difficulties of the siege: and yet so artificially, as he seemed rather willing to leaue it vneffected, then to impose any burthen vpon them, which they themselves should be vnwilling to beare, the rather to draw the legions to ingage themselves therein, by denying to forsake it, then to cast that vpon them, which their vnwillingnesse might easily haue put off.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE may further obserue, the meanes the soldiers vsed to acquaint *Cæsar* with their desires, which was by the Tribunes and Centurions: for as these were mediate officers betwene the General and them, and deliuered the mandates and directions of the Emperour to the souldier: so did the souldiers vse their helpe to make knowne vnto him their requests: as besides this place may appeare in the first Commentarie, where they desired to giue him satisfaction touching the feare they had conceiued of *Arionius* and the *Germanes*, which they likewise did by the Centurions and Tribunes.



CHAP. IX.

Cæsar leaueth the siege, and goeth to take the
emie vpon aduantage, but returneth againe
 without fighting.



VHEN the towers began to approach neare vnto the walles, Cæsar vnderstood by the captiues, that Vercingetorix hauing consumed all his prouision of forage, had remoued his campe neerer to Auaricum, and that he himselfe was gone with the caualrie, and such readie footemen as were accustomed to fight among the horsemen to lye in ambush in that place where he thought our men would come a foraging the next day: which being knowne, setting forward about midnight in silence, in the morning he came to the enemies campe. They hauing speedie aduertisement by their skoutes of Cæsars coming, did hide their cariages in the woods, and imbattelled all their forces in an eminent and open place. Which being told Cæsar, he commanded the baggage to be speedily laid together, and their arms to be made readie. There was a hill of a gentle rising from the bottome to the toppe, incompassed round about with a difficult & troublesome bog of fiftie foot in breadth, vpon this hill the bridge being broken, the Gauls kept themselves trusting to the strength of the place, and were distributed into companies according to their severall states, with this resolution, that if the Romaines did passe ouer the bog, they might easily from the higher ground keepe them vnder, as they stucke in the mire, who little reckoning of so small a distance, would deeme the fight to be vpon equall termes, whereas they themselves well knowing the inequality of the condition, did make but a vaine and idle ostentation. The souldiers disdainig that the enemy could indure their presence so neare at hand, and requiring the signe of battell, Cæsar acquainted them with what detriment and losse of many valiant men, the victorie must at that time be bought, who being so resolute that they refused no danger to purchase him honour, he might well be condemned of great ingratitude and villanie, if their liues were not dearer vnto him, then his owne safetie: and so comforting the souldiers he brought them backe againe the same day into the campe, and gaue order for such things as were requisite for the siege of the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.



THIS Chapter hath diuers special particulars worthy obseruatio. The first is, the oportunitie which Cæsar tooke to visite the army of the Gauls, when Vercingetorix was absent and gone to lie in ambush for the Romaine foragers, which was a caueat to Vercingetorix, not to be too busie with the Romain conuoyes, lest his absence

absence might draw on such an inconuenience, as might make him repent for going a birding.

The second is, the inequality which the aduantage of the place giueth to a partie: which I haue alreadie so often spoken of, as I am almost wearie to repeat it; and the rather, for that I haue produced this passage in the former booke, to signifie the benefite of such an aduantage: yet forasmuch as it is so pregnant to that effect, as may well deserue a double consideration, and was also produced by Cæsar himselfe vpon occasion at *Gergonia*, giue me leaue to note how much it swayeth to counterpoise the want of the aduerser partie. Wherein as it cannot be denied, but that it may giue such help as may make a small number equall a farre greater proportion of men, so in Cæsars iudgement it counteruaileth the absence of the Generall, and maketh the bodie perfect without the head. Neither were they weakened onely with the absence of their Generall: but their caualrie wherein they so much trusted was absent likewise: and yet more then that too, by how much the *Romaine* legions excelled the *Gauls* in valour and prowesse of armes, which being all put together is no small aduantage. For doubtlesse if the matter had stood vpon equall termes touching the place, neither the presence of Vercingetorix, nor the addition of their caualrie to assist them, had hindered the battell, or turned the *Romaines* backe to their campe.

The third thing is the moderation which he shewed, forbearing to fight, the *Gauls* insolently vaunting, and the *Romaine* souldiers fretting and disdainig the enemies pride: whereby he setled such a confidence of his directions in the minds of his men, by shunning the perill of apparant daunger which might fall vpon them in particular, as afterwards they would make no question of his commands, but take them as the onely meanes of their safetie, being neuer better assured then in performing what he commanded. The practise of latter times, hath not so well deserued of that vertue, but hath often shewed it selfe more prodigall of bloud, as though men were made onely to fill vp ditches, and to be the wofull executioners of other mens rashnesse.

The last thing is the making readie of their weapons, *arma expediti insist*. Concerning which point, we must vnderstand that the *Romaines* alwaies carried their targets in cases, and did hang their helmets at their backs, and fitted their piles as might be most conuenient with the rest of their cariages. And therefore whensoever they were to giue battell, they were first to put on their helmets, to vncape their targets, to fit their piles, and to make them readie for the charge: and this was called *Arma expediti*.

The aduantage of the place doth counteruaile the absence of the Generall.

CHAP. X.

Vercingetorix excuseth himselfe to the
Gaules for his absence.

VERCINGETORIX returning backe to the armie was accused of treason; first in that he had remoued his campe neare vnto the Romaines, and further that he had gone away from it, and tooke all the caualry with him: that he had left so great an armie without any one to command it: that vpon his departure the Romaines should come so oportunely and so speedily: for all these things could not fall out by chance without counsell and directions: it seemed he had rather haue the kingdome of Gallia by a graunt from Cæsar, then by their meanes and gift. Being thus charged, he answereth, that he remoued the campe for want of forrage, they themselves desiring it. He came neare vnto the Romaines being led thereunto by the opportunity of the place, which was such as might defend it selfe by it owne strength; the caualry was of no vse in a boggie place, but might do good seruice there where it went. He left no man to command the army of purpose, lest by the perswasion of the multitude he should be forced to fight, which he knew they all desired, as not able long to indure any labour: if the Romaines came by chance, they were to thanke fortune; if by any mans direction, they were beholding vnto him that had brought them where they might from the higher ground both see how small a number they were, and contemne their valour, who not daring to fight did thankfully returne into their campe: he desired to receiue no imperial dignitie by treachery from Cæsar, which he might otherwise haue by lawfull victory, which was now most certaine and sure, both to himselfe and therest of the Gaules. And for that authoritie which he had receiued from them, he was ready to giue it up into their hands againe, if they thought the honour which they gaue him to be greater then help and safetie which they receiued from him. And to the end you may vnderstand these things to be truly deliuered by me (saith he) heare the Romaine souldiers, and therewithal be brought forth seruants which were taken forraging a few daies before, miserably tormented with famine and irons: they being taught before hand what to answer, said they were legionary souldiers, and had stole out of the campe to see if they could meet with any corne or castell in the fields: the whole army suffered the like penury, and mens strength began to faile them, inasmuch that they were not able to vndergo any labour: and therefore their Generall had resolued, that if he preuailed not against the Towne, he would withdraw his army within three daies. These benefits (saith Vercingetorix) you haue of me, whom you accuse of treason, for by my means without shedding of your blood, you see so great a conquering army almost consumed with hunger, and by me it is provided, that when they flee from hence, no State shall receiue them into their territories. The whole multitude applauded his speech, by shaking and striking their hands together, as their manner is in such cases, commending Vercingetorix for a great souldier, whose loyalty as it was

not to be distrusted, so the war could not haue bin caried with better directions. They agreed further to send 10000. choise men out of all their forces into the towne, as not thinking it fit to commit the common safety of Gallia onely to the Bituriges, for they were perswaded that the summe of all the victory consisted in making good that town against the Romaines.

OBSERVATIONS.



Multitude is *Bellua multorum capitum* (as one saith) an vnreasonable beast of many heads, apt to receiue froward and peruerse incitements, and hard to be drawne to better vnderstanding, iea-lous, impatient, trecherous, vnconstant, an instrument for a wicked spirit, and sooner moued to mischief by *Thersites*, then reclaimed to vertue by the authoritie of *Agamemnon*, or the eloquence of *Ulysses*, or the wisdom of *Nestor*, more turbulent then the raging either of the sea or of a deuouring fire. And therefore they may well go together to make a triplie of euils, according to the saying, *Ignis, mare, populus, tria mala*.

Vercingetorix had both his hands full in this seruice, for his care was no lesse to keepe the Gaules from being distasted, then to make his partie good against Cæsar. It is disputed touching the gouernement of a multitude, whether it be fitter to be seuer or obsequious: *Tacitus* saith peremptorily, that *In multitudine regenda, plus pœna quam obsequium valet*. But he vnderstandeth such a multitude as are subiect to their commaunder, either by auncient seruice or the interest of regall authoritie, whereby they are tied to obedience by hereditarie dutie, and cannot refuse that which custome prescribeth. For otherwise where the people stand free frō such bonds, & haue submitted themselues to gouernment for some speciall seruice, there, clemencie or obsequious smoothing preuaileth more then the seueritie of commaund: according to the saying, *Homines duci volunt, non cogi*. Vpon a dissention which happened at Rome betweene the people and the Senate, the people were presently sent into the field vnder the leading of two Senators, *Quintius* and *Appius Claudius*: *Appius* by reason of his crueltie and seueritie, was not obeyed by his souldiers, but forsooke his prouince and returned *non proficiens*: *Quintius* being curteous and benigne, had an obedient armie, and came home a conqueror. In the like termes did Vercingetorix stand with the Gaules, who not long before were all of equal authoritie, and for the defence of the common cause had submitted themselues to order and gouernement: and therefore he caried himselfe accordingly, but with some cunning too, for he made no scruple to abuse the beast, & to present them with a lesson of deceit, taught to seruants and Romaine slaues, as the confession of legionarie souldiers, which is a libertie that hath cuer bin allowed to such as had the managing of an vnruely multitude, who haue made as much vse of the false raine, as the bit, or the spur, or any other helpe belonging to that art.

Horace.

Whether seuerity or clemency do more auaile in gouerning a multitude.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar continueth the siege at Auaricum, and describeth the walles of the Townes in Gallia.

BY the singular valor of our soldiers all the counsels and devises of the Gaules were made void and of none effect: for they are a nation of great dexterity, apt to imitate and make any thing which they see other men do before them, for they turned aside the hookes with ropes, and drew them into the towne with engines: they withdrew the earth from the mount with mines with their great skill, by reason of their iron mines wherein they are much practised: they set up towers upon every part of the wal, and covered them with raw hides: they sallied out of the towne night and day, and either set fire to the mount, or assaulted the soldiers as they were at worke: they did every day make their tovers equal to that height of our towers, which the daily increase of the mount had added to their height. They hundred the open trenches, and kept them from approaching the wals with sharp burned stakes, cast into them with hot pitch and with great stones. All their walles are almost of this fashion, long strait beames are placed upon the ground, with an equall distance of two foote one from another, and bound together on the inside of the wall, and fastened with great store of earth, the distances betweene the beames are filled and fitted with great stones in the front of the wal: these being thus placed and fastened with mortar, another such a course is laid upon that, keeping alwayes the same distance, so as one beame be not laid upon another, but in the second ranke placing them upon the distances filled up with stones, and so forward untill the wall be raised to the due height. This fashion as it is a worke not deformed either in shew or variety, observing alternate courses of beames & stones which keepe their order by even lines, so is it profitable also and very much advantaging the defence of the towne: for as the stone keepe it from burning, so doth the wood from the violence of the ravine, forasmuch as the beames are for the most part fortie foote long, and can neither be broken nor pulled out.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THIS Chapter doth in some part expresse the maner of their siege in auncient time, and the meanes which the defendant had to frustrate the assaults and approches of the enemy. Besides the Ram which the *Romaines* used to shake and overthrow the wall (whereof I have already spoken) they had commonly great hookes of iron to catch hold

hold of a turret, and to pull it over the wall, or to pull downe the parapet, or to disturbe any worke which was to be made upon the wall. These hookes were used by the legionarie souldiers, being covered with vines in the same maner as they handled the Ram: and were auerted and put off by the ingenious practises of the *Gaules*, with ropes cast and insnared about them, and then by force of engines drawne into the towne. In like maner the open trenches, by which the *Romaines* made their approches to the wall, were answered from the towne with stakes or piles, hardened at the end with fire, and then cast into them to hinder such as were at worke, together with seething pitch and great stones. Furthermore as the *Romaines* raised their mount, and brought matter unto it to enlarge it in breadth and height, so did the *Gaules* vndermine it, and drew the earth away, or set it on fire to burne it: for as I have already noted in the description of a mount, it was made awell with wood and timber, as with earth and stones. They strengthened their walles with turrets and towers, and covered them with raw hides to keepe them from burning; and as the *Romaines* mounted in height with their turrets and engines, so the *Gaules* raised their towers answerable unto them, that in the defence of the towne they might fight with equall aduantage. And thus they proceeded both in the offensive and defensive part, as farre as either valour or wit could improve those meanes which were then in use in besieging a towne.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



TWAS the use of all nations, to fortifie their strong townes with such wals as might make best defence against the practise of those times wherein they liued, touching the taking and besieging of townes: so the *Gaules* as it appeareth by *Cæsar* raised their walles of wood and stone, laid in mutual courses one with another, that the wood might make void the violence of the Ram, and the stone keepe it from burning with fire, which in those dayes were the meanes to assault and overthrow a wall. In these times the walles of strong and fortified townes, are onely made and raised of earth, as the best defence against the furie of the artilerie. But forasmuch as the old maner of fortification is here in part deliuered by *Cæsar*, giue me leaue to haue a word or two touching the fortifications of these times.

And first touching the art it selfe, in respect of the matter and the maner, it is a member of architecture, but the end is militarie: for to fortifie is nothing els but to make a building answerable to necessitie and the occurrences of war. Neither is it the end of fortification to make a place inexpugnable, or vnpossible to be taken, for so it were *Ars artium*, but to reduce it to a good and reasonable defence.

Wherefoerer then any such defence is required, the mysterie of fortification is to raise such a fort, and to apply such a figure, answering the qualitie and

The maner of fortification in use in these dayes.

Fortification defined.

site of that place, as may giue greatest strength thereunto: for as all places are not capable in the dispositiō of their best strength of all sorts of figures, so there is a difference of strength betweene this and that figure. And as the place wanteth the aduantage of motion and agilitie for it owne defence, so is it requisite it should be furnished with the best meanes and commodities both to annoy the enemy, and to defend it owne people. And in that respect all circular formes as compounded of parts of one and the same nature, are vnfit for fortification: for where a fort ought so to be disposed, that it may haue as many hands to strike as *Briareus*, and as a *Hydra* neuer to want a head, it is necessary that the figure thereof be of different and vnlike parts, as apt to worke diuers effects. For vnlesse it be able to discouer a far off, to commaund the countrey about as farre as the artillerie will play, to stop the passages, to hinder approaches and assaults, to damnishe the enemy at hand and farre off, sometimes with the artillerie, sometimes with small shot, sometimes with fire-workes, and other times by sallies, it hath not that perfection as is requisite.

Admitting therefore composition of parts, next vnto the circle the triangular fortresse is most vnperfect, first in regard it is a figure of lesse capacite then any other of equall bounds, which is a great inconuenience in a hold, when the souldiers shal be pind vp for want of roome, and through the straightnes of the place, not to be able to auoid confusion. Secondly the bulworkes of all such triangular fortresses, haue alwayes such sharpe cantons as are easily subiect to breaking, which giueth the enemy meanes to approach them without disturbance from the fort.

The quadrangle fortresse hath almost the same imperfection of angles as the triangle hath, but is more spacious within, and of greater capacite.

And therefore Pentagons or Hexagons or any other that hath more angles, is fittest for fortification (vnderstanding the place to be capable of them) as being of a greater content, and hauing their angles more obtuse, and by consequence more solide and strong.

A plaine champiō leuel doth admit all sorts of figures, and may take the best, hauing these aduantages, it easily hindereth an enemy from approaching neere vnto it, or incamping before it, and is not subiect to mines by reason of the water rising in such leuels. But on the other side, a small troope will besiege it, and batterie may be laid to diuers places of it: it is alwayes subiect to mounts of earth, and needeth many bulworkes, ditches, and much cost to keepe it.

A fortresse vpon a hill hath these aduantages, an enemy can hardly lodge neare vnto it, or lay batterie against it, it requirerh more men to besiege it, and is not subiect to mounts. The disadvantages, are that it is not in our choice to make it in the best form of strength, but must giue it such a figure as may best fit the place, being sometimes too large and spacious, and sometime too strait. The enemies artillerie hath greater force against it playing vpward, and the artillerie of the fort playeth not so sure downward.

The hands of all forts are the bulworkes from whence the artillerie playeth, the supplements to the bulworkes are the ravelins, the platformes, the casmates, and the caualeros. The walles are made in scarpe canting inwards, the better to

bear

bear the weight of the earth, with this proportion, that to euery five foote $\frac{1}{2}$ or sixe foote in height, there be one foote allowed in scarpe. The counterscarpe is another wall outward to the first, and flopeth inward in the same maner as the former.

And thus much touching the general view of fortification, which is as much as may wel be comprehended in these short obseruations, reseruing the further consideration thereof to a particular treatise by it selfe.

CHAP. XII.

The siege of Auaricum continued.



THE siege being hindred by so many disturbances, and the souldiers afflicted all the time with cold and continuall raine, yet they overcame all these lets with continuall labour, and in five and twentie dayes they raised a mount of three hundred and thirtie foot in breadth, and fourescore in height. When it came almost to touch the wall, Cæsar himselfe attending the worke as his custome was, and encouraging the souldiers to omit no time from the same: a litle before the third watch of

the night, the mount was scene to smoke, the enemy hauing set it on fire with amine. And at the same instant of time, a shout being taken vp by them that stode vpon the wall, they made a sally out at two gates on both sides the towers: some cast firebrands and drie matter from the wall vnto the mount, powring pitch and other things to nourish the fire; that no man knew whither to run first, or where to giue helpe. Notwithstanding forasmuch as Cæsar had appointed two legions by turne to watch before the campe, and two other to follow the workes, it happened, and that quickly, that some were readie to confront the sallies, and others to draw backe the towers from the front of the mount, and to cut the mount asunder, the whole multitude comming out of the campe to quench the fire. The rest of the night being now spent, the sight continued euery where, and euer the enemy tooke new spirits, and had hope of victorie, the rather because they saw the sheddies or howels belonging to the towers burnt; and that the souldiers could not come neare the said towers to manage them, as was sitting without shelter and covert, and that they euer sent fresh men to take the roones of such as were wearie and ouer laboured: supposing the safetie of all Gallia to consist in that instant of time. There happened my selfe beholding it, an accident worthe memorie, which I thinke not fit to omit. A certaine Gaulle before the gate of the towne, casting with his hands balles of tallow and pitch to increase the fire, right ouer against the tower was shot through the right side with a crof-bow, and fell downe dead: one that stood next him stepped ouer him and began to do the like service: he likewise was slaine with a shot out of a crof-bow: him a third man succeeded, and the third, a fourth: neither was the place forsaken vntill the mount was quenched, the enemy remoued, and the sight ceased.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IF were a matter worthie obseruation to consider, whether there neede not as many men to defend a towne, as to besiege it? Which at the first sight may peradventure seeme friuolous: forasmuch as the defendants are but to make good the place which they hold, and to stand onely vpon their defensiuē guard, hauing the aduantage of the place, the shelter of the wals, the strength of the ditch, and many other like helps for their defence and safetie: whereas the assailant is to striue against all these aduantages, and to oppose himselfe to the daunger of so many difficulties. But if we looke a litle nearer into the matter, and consider the seruice to be performed on either part, we shall find, that to say, as many men are necessarie to defend a towne as to besiege it, is no Paradoxe.

For the better vnderstanding thereof, we are to know, that the defence of a towne touching matter of fight, consisteth chiefly in these foure points. First, in manning and making good all parts of the wall: for if the defendant be not able to strengthen all parts with a competent force, then he hath not men enough to defend the town, forasmuch as all parts are subiect to assault, & what part soeuer is not made good, that lyeth open to an enemy: or otherwise if the assault be onely to be made at a breach, the rest of the wall being strong enough to defend it selfe, there is required a competent strength within the towne to defend that breach. In this point there is litle difference touching a competent number of men betwene the assailant and the defendant: for if he that layeth siege to a towne hath men enough to assault all parts at one instant, the enemy must haue an answerable proportion to defend all, or if he haue no vse of more men then may serue to giue an assault at a breach, the defendant must haue the like proportion for the defence of the breach.

The second point is, in releuuing wearied men, either fighting or working, with fresh supplies to continue that businesse, as oftentimes it falleth out in the siege of a towne. Wherein likewise there is small or no difference touching an equalitie betwene both parties: for if the defendant be not as well able to releue his wearied souldiers with fresh supplies, as the enemy is to continue the assault, the towne may quickly haue a new maister.

The third point, is in defeating and making void such workes as the enemy shall make against the towne, as mounts, mines, approches, and such like inconueniences, which being suffered to go on without opposition and preuention, the towne cannot hold out long. In this point the defendant hath the disaduantage, hauing need of more men to ouerthrow and preuent the workes, then the assailant hath to make them good: for there he that besiegeth the place fighteth with the aduantage, and hath the same helps as the defendant hath in the fastnesse of his hold: which caused this extraordinarie accident which Caesar noteth touching the successefull slaughter of so many Gaules, who labouring

to

to burne the *Romaine* workes with balles of tallow and pitch, were all slaine with the blow of one mans bow.

The last point is in sallies, which is as necessarie for the defence of a towne as any thing else whatsoeuer: for if the defendant be not able to sallie out, the enemy will quickly coope him vp, and tread vpon his belly. And herein the defendant needeth more men then the assailant: for he that is in the field, lyeth in the strength of his trenches, whereas the other cometh out naked vpon him.

And thus much touching this question in particular. Concerning the generall, if it be demanded whether there haue bene more men lost in the defence of *Oastend*, then in besieging it? I answer, that neither side can much vaunt of a small losse.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the second place there are two obseruable points: the one, *Caesars* continuall attendance vpon the workes, being present night and day without any long intermission, which did much aduantage their proceeding at that time, and was as important to a fortunate issue, as any other thing whatsoeuer: for where an enemy is extraordinarie, either in valour or diligence, there must needs be extraordinarie meanes to counteruaile the height of so great a resolution, which *Caesar* ouertopt with monstrous and huge workes, and speeded those workes with his continuall attendance.

The second point is the successefull taske of the *Romaine* armie, being eight legions present at that siege (for the other two were left at *Agendicum* with the cariages of the armie) in such sort, as halfe the armie was alwaies at rest, and the other halfe employed: two legions at worke, and two legions in the watch: and thus they eased each other, and still continued the worke: for otherwise they had not bene able to haue vndergone the burthen, as the saying is: *Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Caesar by an assault taketh Auaricum.

TH E Gaules hauing tried all meanes, and none taking effect, the next day they consulted touching their leaving of the towne, Vercingetorix both commanding and perswading them vnto it, which they hoped they might do in the night time without any great losse vnto themselves, forasmuch as Vercingetorix was not farre off with his campe, and all the way thither was a continuall bogge, which would hinder the

Caesar.

The eye of the
maister see-
deth the horse

Romaines from following after them. And for that purpose they prepared themselves against the next night: which the women perceiuing, did run suddenly out into the streetes and other publike places, and cast themselves at the feete of their husbands; and by all meanes intreated them, not to leaue them and their children to the cruelty of the enemy, whom nature and infirmities of body would not suffer to flee away, but finding them to continue resolute in their purpose, forasmuch as in extreame perill, feare for the most part hath no commiseration, they cried out and signified their flight vnto the Romaines, wherewith the Gaules being feared, they desisted from the course lest the wayes should be forestalled and laid by the Romaine horsemen. The next day Cæsar hauing aduanced forward the tower, and persifted those workes which he had determined to make, there hapned to fall a great rain, which he thought to be a fit occasion for his purpose: and forasmuch as he saw the guard vpon the wall to be somewhat negligently disposed, he commanded his men to work faire and softly, and shewed them what he would haue done, and incouraging the Legions which were bid in a readines vnder the vines, at length to inioy the sweetnesse of victory for their manifold labours: he provided a reward for such as were seene first vpon the walles, and gaue them the signe to begin; the souldiers flying suddenly out of all parts, did quickly possesse themselves of the walles. The enemy being frighted with so sudden an accident, and put from the towers and the walles, imbatelled themselves angle wise in the market place, and in other spacious streets of the citie, with this resolution, that if they were assaulted in any part, they would resist in forme of battell: but when they saw no man to descend on euery ground, but to inclose them round about vpon the wall, fearing lest there would be no way to escape, they cast their armes away and fled all to the furthest part of the towne; part of them, sticking in a throng at the gate, were there slaine by the souldiers, and part being got out of the gate were slaine by the horsemen: neither was there any man that looked after pillage, but being moued to anger with the slaughter of our men at Genabum, and with the trauell and labour of those great workes, they neither spared old men, women nor children. In the end, of all that number which was about fortie thousand, scarce eight hundred (that vpon the first noise forsooke the Towne) came safe to Vercingetorix. These he receiued with great silence, being now farre in the night, lest any sedition should haue growne in the camp, through the pittie and commiseration of the vulgar people, and sent out his familiar friends and chieft men of each State to meet such as had escaped away, and to bring them to their owne people as they lay quartered in the campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



WE may see here the saying verified touching the disposition of the Gaules for matter of valour, which in the beginning seemed so great, that it needed no further straine to counteruail the worth of Cæsars armie, and was expressed with such industrie and resolution, both in spoyleing and disappointing the Romaine workes, as also by ingenious fortifying and making good their owne labors, that a man would

would haue deemed them *virtute pares*. But being a litle spent in the action, like a pot that hath a mouth as bigge as the belly, and powreth out all the liquor at an instant, they fell at length to that basenesse, as shewed lesse spirit then the women did, who chose rather to betray their husbands purposes to the enemy, then to hazard their liues by escaping to Vercingetorix. And this is that which is so often noted by Historiographers: *Quod multa bella impetu valida per raudia & moras euannere*. The first thing that I obserue, is that which Cæsar himselfe noteth: *Quod plerumque in summo periculo, timor misericordiam non recipit*. Which was true on either side: for the Gaules were so set vpon flying to Vercingetorix, that they regarded not the wofull laments of the women and children, whom they were well content to hazard, whilest they themselves might escape in safetie. And on the other side, the women did forget to be pittifull to their husbands, whom they would not suffer to escape, and leaue them in their weakenesse behind as a prey to appease the wrath of the bloudie souldier, which would consequently follow in that escape. Which sheweth, that there is no tye comparable to the bond of nature, specially when it concerneth the preferuation of life. For as in other things, respect and affection may easily worke a communication of good things vnto others, as also a participation of their euils for their reliefe: so herein we are altogether sencelesse, and the loue we owe to our liues is so great, that it admitteth no respect. Agesilauus to his friend was without respect a friend, and yet notwithstanding being driuen one day to remoue vpon the sudden, and to leaue one sicke behind him whom he loued dearly: the sicke man calling him by his name as he was going away, besought him that he would not forsake him: Agesilauus turning backe againe, answered: O how hard it is both to loue and to be wise: according to the saying; *Sapere & amare vix Deo conceditur*.

Feare hath
no pity.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



IT is a principle amongst men of warre, not to put necessitie vpon an enemy, nor make him valiant whether he will or no, (as I haue already noted in the former Commentaries) which the Romaines well obserued in this particular seruice at *Auaricum*: for being possessed of the walles, they did not suddenly assault them in the market place, where they had made head for their defence, but gaue them a breathing time, the better to vnderstand what they did, and respite, to bethinke themselves of a starting hole for the safetie of their liues. Which as it was quickly apprehended by the Gaules, so it made an easie execution to the Romaine souldier.

And as it seemeth it was the more carefully handled in respect of the condition of the enemy being reuolters: for such Provinces as haue rebelled, are harder to be recouered after their reuolt, then they were at first to be subdued. For at the first, they haue no occasion to feare any hard condition, but yeelding

A Generall
must not put
necessitie vpon
an enemy.

to subiection do looke for fauor : wheras rebels and reuolters, besides the condition of an enemie, are in the nature of offenders, and stand in feare of the extremities of warre, which maketh them more obstinate then otherwise they would be. And therefore it behoueth a Generall not to impose any further necessity vpon an enemie, then the qualitie of the warre doth lay vpon them: which oftentimes is more then can be well auoided.

CHAP. XIII.

Vercingetorix doth comfort the Gaules
for the losse of Auaricum.

HE next day calling a Councell, he comforted the Gaules, and exhorted them not to be utterly dismayd with that losse: for the Romaines had not ouerthrowne them with valour, nor in a set battell, but with a kind of art, and skill in besieging a towne, whereof they themselves were ignorant; he erred much that looked for all the euents of warre to fall out prosperously: it was neuer his opinion, that Auaricum should be kept, whereof they themselves were witnesses. But it fell out by the imprudencie of the Bituriges & ouer great indulgence of the rest that this losse happened vnto them, which notwithstanding he would speedily heale with greater helps: for by his diligence he would vnite such States vnto them as were not yet of the confederacie, and make one purpose of all Gallia, which the whole world was not able to resist: and that he had almost effected it already. In the meane time he thought it fit that they should yeeld vnto one thing for their safeties sake, which was to fortifie their campe, to the end they might better sustaine the sudden assaults of the enemie. This speech was not vnplesant to the Gaules: and the rather that he himselfe was not dejected in spirit vpon so great a losse, nor did hide himselfe, or flie the presence of the multitude: being the more esteemed, forasmuch as when the matter was in question, he first thought it fit that Auaricum should be burned, and afterwards he perswaded them to forsake it: wherein as misfortune and aduersitie do impair the authoritie of other commanders: so contrariwise his honour daily increased by the losse which he received. And withall they were in great hope vpon his affirmation, to winne the rest of the States vnto them. And that was the first time that the Gaules began to fortifie their campe, being so appalled in spirit, that where they euer were vnaccustomed to labour, yet they thought it their part to suffer and vndergoe all that was commanded them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

NEXT to the knowledge and experience of warre, there is nothing more requisite in a great Commander, then greatnesse of spirit: for where his employment consisteth in managing the great busineses of the world, such as are the slaughter of many thousands in an houre, the sacking of cities; the fighting of battels, the alteration of Commonweales, victories, triumphes, and the conquest of kingdomes, which like the constellations in the eighth sphere, are left to succeeding ages in such characters as cannot be defaced, and make an impression of the greatest measure of ioy, or the greatest heape of sorrow; it is necessarie that his courage be answerable to such a fortune, neither to be cruised with the waight of aduersitie, nor puffed vp with the pride of victorie; but in all times to shew the same constancie of mind, and to temper extremities with a settled resolution.

Of this mettall and temper, is the Philosophers *homo quadratus* made of, such as *Camillus* was in *Rome*: for neuer speech did better beseme a great personage then that of his, hauing knowne both the fauour and the disgrace of fortune: *nec mihi dictatura animos fecit, nec exilium ademit*, saith he. Whereas weake spirits do either vanish away in the smoke of folly, being drunke with the ioyes of pleasing fortune, or otherwise vpon a change of good times, do become more base and abiekt, then the theefe that is taken in the fact: such as *Perseus* the last *Macedonian* king was, who besides his ill fortune for loosing his kingdome in the space of one houre, hath euer since stood attainted of a base and abiekt mind, vnworthie the throne of *Alexander* the Great.

The wise *Romaines* vsed al means to giue courage and spirit to their leaders, and to free their minds from such externall respects, which losse or dishonour might cast vpon them. And therefore when *Varro* had fought so rashly at *Cannes*, that he had like to haue lost the *Romaine* Empire to *Annibal*, vpon his returne to *Rome* the whole Senate went out to meete him, and although they could not thanke him for the battell, yet they gaue him thanks that he was returned home againe, whereby he seemed not to despaire of the state of *Rome*.

In like maner did the *Gaules* congratulate *Vercingetorix*, that notwithstanding so great a losse, he was neither dejected in spirit, nor did hide himself from the multitude, but as a commander of high resolution, had found out means to heale those harmes, and to recompence the losse of *Auaricum*, with the vniting of all the States of *Gallia* into one confederacie.

A great Commander, must haue a great courage.

Homo quadratus.

Plutark, Paulus Æmilium.

Plutark.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly we may obserue, how dangerous it is to be the author of a counsel touching any important or graue deliberation, or to lay downe any proiect for the seruice of a State; for all men are blind in this point, that they iudge of good or ill counsell by the successe, and looke no further then the end which it taketh, which prouing disastrous or vnfortunate, doth either bring the author to destruction, or into danger both of life and state.

In the occurrences of this kingdome, it appeareth that *Henry* the fifth being solicited by the commons touching the Abbies in *England*, and moued by petition exhibited in Parliament, to that which was afterwards accomplished by *Henry* the eighth, was diuerted from those thoughts by an eloquent oratio made in Parliament by *Henry Chechley* Archbishop of *Canterburie* a graue and learned Prelate, perswading the King by many concluding reasons, to carie a great power into *France*, and there to make his claime for that kingdome, according to the right deriued vnto him from his noble progenitors. Whereupon the King was perswaded to vndertake that war, which albeit fel out most happily, yet the Bishop to satisfie both the king and the people for his former counsell, whereby many men were lost, built a colledge in *Oxford* dedicated to Allsoules, wherein he placed fortie scholers, to make supplications for all soules, and specially for such as had mischieued in *France* in the time of that warre.

Vercingetorix was happie in this point, for he perswaded the *Gaules* not to keepe *Auaricum*, but to suffer it to be burned as an enemye to their safetie: and thereupon he did not let to put them in mind of his opinion, as free from the danger which hapned to a great man neare vnto *Persus* whom I last spake of, who after his ouerthrow by *Paulus Emilins*, being told by that partie of many errors which he had committed in the cariage of that warre, turned himself suddenly, saying, Traitor hast thou referred thy counsell vntill now, when there is no remedie: and therewithall (as some report) flue him with his owne hand. And this was it that gaue *Vercingetorix* that happineffe: *Vt reliquorum imperatorum res aduersæ, auctoritatem minuunt: sic huius ex contrario, dignitas incommode accepto indies augebatur.*



Vercingetorix

CHAP. XV.

Vercingetorix laboureth to vnite all Gallia into one league for the vpholding of their warre.

NEITHER did *Vercingetorix* omit any indeuour for the accomplishment of his promise, to draw the rest of the States vnto him: and to that purpose he dealt with their chiefe men both by rewards and promises, and chose out fit men, that either by subtle speeches, or friendship, or some other meanes, might win the vnto him. He took order that such as had escaped from *Auaricum* should be both clothed and armed: and withall, that he might reeuforce his troopes which were weakened, he commaunded euery State to furnish out certaine supplies, and to be brought by a day to the campe: he commaunded likewise all the archers, of whom there is great store in Gallia, to be sought out and sent vnto him, and by this meanes he speedily repaired his losses at *Auaricum*. In the meane time *Teutomatus* the sonne of *Olloucio* King of the *Nitiobriges*, whose father had the title of a friend from our Senate, came to him with a great number of horsemen, which he had brought out of *Aquitaine*.

OBSERVATIONS.

It seemeth by this place, that *Fraunce* in those dayes did fauour archerie: for (as the storie saith) they had great store of archers amongst them, but of what value they were is not here deliuered: the vse they made of them followeth after in this Commentarie, which was to interminge them amongst the horse, and so they fought as light armed men.

In the times that our *English* nation caried a scourging hand in *France*, the matter betweene vs and them touching archerie, stood in such tearmes as gaue *England* great aduantage: for I haue not heard of any bowmen at all amongst them: whereas our nation hath heretofore excelled all other, as well in number of bowmen, as in excellent good shooting, and hath made so good proofe thereof against the *French*, as it needeth not any long dispute.

*Concerning Archerie I find these things considerable: first that euery man be so fitted with bow and arrowes, as he may be apt for strong and quick shooting, wherein I cannot so much commend these liuerie bowes, being for the most part heauy slugs, and of greater weight then strength, and of more shew then seruice.

Secondly, that in a day of seruice the bow-men endeuour so to deliuer their

Things considerable touching archery in the time of Henry the fifth the English lew-men did commonly shoot an arrow of a yard long besides the head

quieters, that the whole band or fleecue of shot may let go all at one instant of time: for so the shower of arrowes will be more fierce and terrible, and more available against an enemy.

Thirdly, the fittest forme of imbattelling for bow-men, which must not at any hand be deepe in flanke, for so such as are in the hindmost ranks, will either shoote short or to no purpose. And therefore the fittest forme of imbattelling for archerie, hath cuer bin accounted a long sided square, resembling a hearse, broad in front and narrow in flanke.

Fourthly, their defence in a day of battell, which must either be a count wooddie place, where the horse of the enemy cannot come at them, or a trench cast before them, or the place must be fortified with galktrops & stakes, such as were deuised by *Henric* the first at *Agin-court* field, or some other meanes to auoid the caualrie. The last thing is the effect which the bow-men worke, which are two: first the galling of the enemy, and secondly disorder. Touching the galling of the enemy, there cannot be a better description then that which *Plutarke* maketh of the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthian* arrowes. The *Romaine* souldiers hands (saith he) were nailed to their targets, and their feete to the ground, or otherwise were fore wounded in their bodies, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt, and turning and tormenting themselves vpon the ground, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Again, struing by force to plucke out the barbed heads, that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and sinewes, they opened the wounds wider, and so cast themselves away.

The disorder or rowting of an enemy which is caused by the bow-men, cometh from the fearefull spectacle of a drift of arrowes: for a shower of arrowes well deliuered and well seconded, for a while is so terrible to the eye, and so dreadfull in the successe, that it is almost vnpossible to keepe the enemy from rowting.

The two great victories which our nation had in *France* at *Cressie* and *Agin-court*, next to the valour of the English, are attributed to our archery: and the effect of our archerie at those times, was first disorder, and consequently slaughter. In the battell of *Cressie* the King of *Bohemia* fighting for the *French*, caused his horsemen to tie the bridles of their horses together in ranke, that they might keepe order notwithstanding the galling which he feared from our English archerie: but it fell out as ill as if he had tied their heads and their tailes together in file, for the drift of arrowes fell so terribly amongst them, that they ranne together on heapes with such confusion, as made the slaughter great, and their particular destinies most miserably fortun'd. At *Agin-court* the number of prisoners which euery souldier had, was admirable to speake of; for some report that many of our English had ten prisoners apiece, which happened chiefly from the disorder which fel amongst the *French*, and that disorder came by our archery. And doubtlesse if euer we should haue occasion to go against an enemy that so aboundeth in horse as the *French* do, there could be no better meanes against such horse, then our English bowmen. I know it hath bene said, that now the times are altered, and the argebuse and musket are so generally

received, and of such reputation in the courie of our moderne warres, that in comparison of them, bow-men are not worth the naming. Wherein I will not go about to extenuate the vse of either of these weapons, as knowing them to be both very seruiceable vpon fit and conuenient occasions, nor take vpon me to determine which of them is most effectual in a day of seruice, but onely deliuer my conceit touching their effects, and leaue it to the consideration of wise and discrete Commanders.

And first touching shot. A wing of muskaters is available against an enemy, onely in such bullets as do hit; for such as do not hit, passe away insensibly without any further feare, and the cracke is but as the lose of the bow. Of such bullets as do hit, the greatest part do not strike to death, but are oftentimes carried vntill the skirmish be ended before the party do feeble himselfe hurt: so that an enemy receiueh no further hurt by a charge of shot, then happeneth to such particular men as shall chaunce to be slaine out-right or fore hurt.

A fleecue of archers is available against an enemy, as well in such arrowes as do not hit, as in such as do hit: for whereas the cloud of arrowes is subiect to our sight, and euery arrow is both suspected and able to bring death sitting on the head, an enemy is as much troubled at such arrowes as come faire vpon him and do not hit, as at those that do hit, for no man is willing to expose his flesh to an open and eminent daunger when it lieth in his power to auoide it. And therefore whilest euery man seeketh to auoide hurt, they fall into such confusion, as besides the losse of particular men, the enemy doth hardly escape disorder, which is the greatest disadvantage that can befall him. Moreouer, the arrowes hauing barbed heads, although they make but a light hurt, yet they are not easily pulled out, which maketh the souldiers not to intend the fight vntill they be deliuered of them: and the horse so to sting and chafe, that it is impossible they should either keepe their ranke, or be otherwise managed for any seruice.

And this much touching bow-men and archerie, which is a weapon as ancient as the first and truest historie, and is of the number of such weapons as men vse to fight with a farre off. The vse whereof is too much neglected by the English at these times, considering the honour they haue atchieued by it in former ages.



How farre a wing of shot preuaileth.

How farre a fleecue of archers is available against an enemy.

Genesis. 27.3.

CHAP. XVI.

A controuersie fell out in the state of the Hedui
touching the choise of their chiefe
Magistrate.

CÆSAR staid many dayes at Auaticum: for finding there great store of corne and of other provisions, he refreshed his armie of their former labour and wants. The winter now being almost ended, and the time of the yeare being fit for warre, he determined to follow the enemy, to see whether he could draw him out of the woods and bogs, or besiege him in some place. Being thus resolved, diuers of the principall men of the Hedui came vnto him, beseeching him that he would stand to them, and assist their state in a time of great neede, the matter being in extreame daunger, forasmuch as their auncient vsage was for ope to be created their annuall Magistrate, hauing regall authoritie for that yeare: whereas now two had taken vpon them the said office, both of them affirming themselves to be lawfully created: the one was Conuictolitanis, a famous and flourishing young man, the other Cotus borne of an auncient family, and he himselfe of great power and kinred, whose brother Vedeliacus had borne the said office the yeare before. All their State was in armes, their Senate and their people diuided, together with their clients and followers: if the controuersie continued for any time, it would come to a battell: the preuention whereof consisted in his diligence and authoritie. Cæsar, though he knew it would be disadvantageous vnto him to leaue the warre and to forsake the enemy, yet knowing what inconueniences do usually arise of such discords and dissensions, least so great a State, and so neare to the people of Rome, which he himselfe had alwayes fauoured, and by all meanes honoured, should fall to warre amongst themselves: and that faction which distrusted their owne strength, should seeke helpe of Vercingetorix, he thought it most necessary to be prevented. And forasmuch as such as were created chiefe Magistrates amongst the Hedui, were by their lawes forbidden to go out of their confines: to the end he might not seeme to derogate any thing from their lawes, he himselfe determined to go vnto them. At his coming he called before him all the Senate, and those also that were in controuersie for the office: and finding in an assembly almost of the whole State, that one of them was chosen by a few priuily called together, in another place, and at another time then was accustomed, the brother pronouncing the brother: whereas their lawes did not onely forbid two of one family both being aliue to be created Magistrate, but also to be of the Senate together: he compelled Cotus to giue ouer his interest in the magistracie, and confirmed Conuictolitanis being created by their Priests, and according to the custome of their State. This decree being ratified, he adhorted the Hedui to forget their priuate controuersies and dissensions, and to giue their best helpe to the warre in hand, wherein they might challenge and expect (the Gauls being subdued) such rewardes as they deserved,

commann-

commanding all their horse and ten thousand foote to be speedily sent vnto him, which he meant to dispose into garrisons for the better provision of corne. And then diuiding his armie into two parts, he sent foure Legions towards the Senones and the Parisians vnder the leading of Labienus, the other foure he led himselfe against the Aruerni, to the Towne of Gergonia, along the riuer Eleuar sending part of the horse with him, and keeping part with himselfe.

OBSERVATIONS.

TO loose the least jot of that which a man hath in possession, is more dishonourable, then to faile of getting what he hath not. And therefore Cæsar chose rather to forgo the aduantages which a speedie pursuit of the enemy might haue afforded him to the ending of that warre, then to hazard the losse of so great a State, and so well affected to the people of Rome as were the Hedui, wherein he caried so equall and indifferent a hand, that he would do nothing but what the lawes of that State directed him vnto, as most assured that such directions were without exception.

No minor est
virtus, quam
quærere partem
suam.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar passeth his armie ouer the riuer Ele-
uar, and incampeth himselfe
before Gergonia.



WHICH thing being knowne, Vercingetorix hauing broken downe all the bridges of that riuer, tooke his journey on the other side of Eleuar, either armie being in view each of other, and incamping almost ouer against one another: discoverers being sent out to watch, lest the Romans should make a bridge in any place, and carie ouer their forces. Cæsar was much troubled, lest he should be hindred by the riuer the greatest part of that Sommer, forasmuch as Eleuar is not passable at any soord vntill towards the Autumne. And therefore to preuent that, he encamped himself in a wooddie place right ouer against one of those bridges which Vercingetorix had comanded to be broken. The next day he kept himselfe there secretly with two legions, and sent forward the rest of the forces, with all the cariages as were accustomed, taking away the fourth part of each cohort, that the number of legions might appeare to be the same, commanding them to go on as farre as they could, and making coniecture by the time of the day, that they were come to their camping place, vpon the same piles, (the lower part whereof remained there whole) he began to reedifie the bridge, and hauing speedily ended the worke, and caried ouer the Legions, and

Cæsar.

Dempsis
quærit qui-
busque cohor-
tibus.

chosen a fit place to encampe in, he called backe the rest of his forces. Vercingetorix hauing notice thereof, lest he should be forced to fight against his will, went before by great iourneys; Cæsar with five incampings went from that place to Gergonia, and after a light skirmish betweene the horse the same day he came, hauing taken a view of the situation of the towne which was built vpon a very high hill, & had very hard and difficult approaches on all sides, he dispaired of taking it by assault, neither would he determine to besiege it until he had made prouision of corne. But Vercingetorix hauing set his campe on a hill before the towne, had placed the seuerall forces of the States by themselves, in small distances round about him, and hauing possessed himselfe of all the toppes of that hill, made a very terrible shew into all parts where he might be seene: he commaunded likewise the chiefe men of the States, whom he had chosen out to be of the Councell of warre, to meete alwaies together with him at the dawning of the day, to know if any thing were to be communicated vnto them, or what else was to be done. Neither did he omit any day to skirmish with his horsemen, with archers intermingled amongst them: to the end he might trie what courage and valor was in his people. Right ouer against the towne at the foote of the hill, there was a knowle exceedingly fortified, and hard to be come vnto on all sides, which if our men could get, they were in hope to hinder the enemy, both of a great part of their water, and also from free foraging: but the place was kept with a strong garrison. Notwithstanding Cæsar went out of his campe in the silence of the night, and before any helpe could come out of the towne, he put by the garrison, and possessed himselfe of the place, and left two legions there to defend it, and drew a double trench of twelue foote in breadth from the greater campe to the lesse, that single men might go safe too and fro from any sudden incursion of the enemy.

OBSERVATIONS.



IRST we may obserue his manner of passing ouer the riuier Elauar, without any impediment from the enemy, notwithstanding the care which Vercingetorix had to hinder his passage, which was plotted with as great dexteritie as could be deuised in such a matter: and to shadow his purpose the better, that the number of legions marching vp the riuier might appeare to be the same, he tooke the fourth part of euery cohort, which in the whole amounted to two legions. For as I haue already deliuered in my former Observations, a legion consisted of ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained three maniples, and euery maniple had two companies which they called Orders: so that euery cohort hauing sixe companies, the fourth part of a cohort was a companie and a halfe, and in a legion came to fiftene companies, and in eight legions to one hundred and twentie companies; which being reduced make threescore maniples, which were equall to two legions: and proueth that which I haue already noted, the fit and convenient disposition of their troupes, to take out at all times competent forces for any seruice without seeming to lessen any part. Secondly, I obserue the phrase which he vseth in this place, *Quintis castris Gergoniam* per-

peruent, which imphyeth their infallible custome of encamping euery night within a ditch and a rampier: for as we vsually say, that to such a place is so many dayes iourney, because an ordinarie traeller maketh so many iourneys before he come thither: so the Romaines reckened their iourneys with their army by their incampings, which were as dully kept as their iourneys, and were the most signall part of their dayes iourney.

CHAP. XVIII.

Conuictolitanis moueth the Hedui to a reuolt.



HILEST these things were a doing at Gergonia, Conuictolitanis the Heduan to whom the magistracie was adjudged by Cæsar, being wrought by the Aruerni with money, brake the matter to certaine young men, amongst whom Litauicus was chiefe, and his brethren being youths of a great house: with them he treated at first, and wished them to remember that they were not onely borne free men, but also to empire and gouernement. The Hedui were the onely State which kept Gallia from a most assured victorie: for by their authoritie and example, the rest would be concluded, which being set on fire, there would be no place in Gallia for the Romaines to abide in. Touching himselfe, he had receiued a good turne from Cæsar, but in such sort, as he had but his right: but he owed more to the common libertie: for why should the Hedui rather dispute of their customes and lawes before Cæsar, then the Romaines come before the Hedui? These young men were quickly perswaded as well by the speech of the Magistrate, as by rewards; inasmuch as they offered themselves to be the authours of that Councell: but now the meanes was to be thought on, forasmuch as they were perswaded that the State would not easily be drawne to undertake that warre. They determined at last, that Litauicus should haue the leading of those thence thousand men that were to be sent to Cæsar, and that his brethren should be sent before to Cæsar, and concluded likewise in what sort they would haue other things carried.

Litauicus hauing receiued the armie when he was about thirtie miles from Gergonia, calling the souldiers suddenly together, and weeping: Whither doe we go (saith he) fellow souldiers? all our horsemen and our Nobilitie are slaine, the Princes of our State, Eporedorix and Viridomarus, being falsly accused of treason, are put to death by the Romaines without calling them to their answer: vnderstand these things from them that are escaped from the slaughter: for I my selfe (my brethren and kinsmen being slaine) am hindered with griefe from telling you what hath happened. Presently those were brought forth, whom he had taught beforehand what he would haue said: who testified to the multitude those things which Litauicus had spoken: that all the horsemen of the Hedui were slaine, forasmuch as they were said to haue had speech with

the Aruerni: for themselves they were bid amongst the multitude of souldiers, and were escaped out of the midst of the slaughter. The Hedui cry out all together, and do beseech Litauicus to looke to himselfe, and to them also: As though (saith he) the matter needeth any aduice or counsell, and that it were not necessarie for vs to go directly to Gergonia, and to ioyne our selues with the Aruerni. For do we doubt, but that the Romans, hauing begun so wickedly, will run presently vpon vs to take away our liues? And therefore if there be any courage at all in vs, let vs persecute their death that haue perished so vnderfuerally, and let vs kill these theenes. He shewed them diuerse Romaine citizens that were in the troups for safetie of conuoy: and forthwith he seized vpon a great quantitie of corne and other prouisions, and tortured the cruelly to death: he sent out messengers throughout all the State of the Hedui, continuing the same false suggestion touching the slaughter of the horsemen, and the Princes perswading them to reuenge their iniuries in like manner as he had done

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HIS trecherous practise of *Conuictolitanis*, who a litle before (as we may remember) had receiued so great a benefit from *Cæsar*, proueth true the saying of *C. Tacitus*, That men are readier to reuenge an iniurie then to requite a good turne, forasmuch as *Gratia oneri vltio in questu habetur*: a good turne is as a burthen and a debt to a man, whereas reuenge is reckoned a gaine. The debt of loyalty and good affection, wherein *Conuictolitanis* stood engaged to *Cæsar*, for confirming that right vnto him which ciuill dissention had made doubtfull, together with the respect of the generall cause, made him so willing to reuolt from the *Romaines*, and in lieu of thankfull acknowledgement to requite him with hostility. A part so odious and detestable, that vertue grieueth to thinke that a man should be capable of any such wickednesse, or be stained with the infamy of so horrible a crime. Other vices are faults in speciall, and are branded with the feuerall markes of ignominie: but ingratitude is equall to the bodie of euill, and doth counteruaile the whole nature of hatefull affections: according to that of the Philosopher: *Ingratum si dixeris omnia dixeris*. Ingratitude is culpable of all sorts of wickednesse, and deserueth the greatest measure of reuenge. And the rather for that it taketh away the vse of vertue, and maketh men forget to do good: for whereas the nature of goodnesse is specially scene in communicating it selfe to the reliefe of other mens wants, we ought to giue all diligence not to hinder this enlargement, nor by a froward and crooked example to preiudice others that stand in neede of the like fauour.

I haue often heard it spoken, but I know not how true it is, and am loath to beleue it, that in the exchange of a good turne, the partie that receiueth it, hath more assurance of his benefactor, touching a faithfull and friendly disposition for the future time, then he that shewed the kindnesse can haue of the receiuer: for men are loath to loose both the fruite and the seede, and will rather bestow

more

more cost and more labour, then forgo the hope of their first indeauours, expecting both in reason and nature, fruite answerable to their feed: whereas the badnesse of our nature is such of it selfe:

Vt gratia oneri vltio in questu habetur.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HERE is no meanes so readie to abuse a multitude as false suggestions, which like a lying spirit seduceth the minds of men from the truth conceiued, and fashioneth their hearts to such purposes, as seemeth best to the abuser: and the rather when it is deliuered by a man of place and authoritie, & such a one as pretendeth carefullnesse for the safetie of a people: for then it flieth as fast as the lightning in the ayre, and deludeth the wisest and best experienced of the multitude. A mischief that can hardly be preuented, as long as there is a tounge to speake or an eare to heare. But as *Socrates* said of paine and ease, that they are alwaies tyed together: so men must endeuour to redeeme the hurts of such an euill, by the benefite which thereby is consequently implied: for it were hard if wise men could not make the like vse of a multitude to good purposes, as these deceiuers do for their owne aduantage.

Numa Pompilius (to whom the *Romaine* Empire did owe as much for lawes and ciuill gouernment, as to *Romulus* for their martiall discipline) the better to establish such ordinances and decrees, as he made in his kingdome, fained familiar acquaintance with a goddesse of that time called *Egeria*, and by her he said he was assured, that the statutes which he made, were both equall and iust, and good for the *Romaines* to obserue, and the people found no hurt in beleeuing it.

In like manner *Lycurgus* hauing giuen many lawes to the *Spartans*, repaired to the citie of *Delphos*, and there he got a pleasing oracle, which he sent to *Sparta*, assuring them that his lawes were very good, and that citie keeping them, should be the most renowned of the world.

And *Sertorius* for want of other meanes vsed the seruice of a white hind, as a gift sent him from *Diana*, to make the *Lusitanians* beleue whatsoever might best aduantage his businesse. And thus a multitude lyeth open to good and ill purposes, and is either happie or vnfortunate in the counsell of their Leader.

A multitude is easily abused by false suggestions.

Phædo Platoni.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar hindereth the rebolt of
the Hedui.

Cæsar.



EPOREDORIX the Heduan, a young man of great parentage, and of great power in his country, together with Viridomarus of like age and authoritie, but not so nobly borne, who being preferred to Cæsar by Divitiacus, was by him advanced from meane estate to great dignitie, came both to Cæsar with the Heduan horsemen, being called out by name in that warre by him: betwene these two there was always contention who should be the chiefeſt, and in that controuersie for magistracie, the one stood for Conuictolitanis, and the other for Cotus: of these two Eporedorix vnderstanding the resolution of Litaucius, opened the matter to Cæsar almost about midnight: he prayed him not to suffer their State to fall away from the friendship of the people of Rome by the wicked counsell of young men, which would necessarily fall out if he suffered so many thousand men to ioyne themselves to the enemy, whose safetie as neither their kinsfolks would neglect, so the State could not lightly esteeme of. Cæsar being much perplexed at this message, forasmuch as he had alwayes cherished the State of the Hedui, without any further doubt or dispute, he took foure expedite and unburthened Legions and all the horse out of the campe, neither was there space at such a time to make the campe lesser, forasmuch as the matter seemed to consist in expedition, he left behind him C. Fabius a Legate with two legions for a garrison to the campe. And hauing giuen order for the apprehending of Litaucius brethren, he found that a litle before they were fled to the enemy: thereupon adhorting the souldiers not to thinke much of their labour in so necessarie a time, every man being most willing, he went sixe and twentie miles, and then met with the forces of the Hedui. The horsemen being sent to stay their march, he commaunded not to kill any one of them, and gaue order that Eporedorix and Viridomarus (whom they thought to be slaine) to ride vp and downe amongst the horsemen, and to call to their countremen. They being once knowne, and the fraude of Litaucius discovered, the Hedui stretched out their hands, making signes of submission, and casting away their weapons desired to be spared from death. Litaucius with his clients and followers, who by the custome of Gallia must not forsake their patrons in the extreameſt danger, fled to Gergonia. Cæsar hauing dispatched messengers to the State of the Hedui to acquaint them that he had saued their people, which by the lawe of armes he might haue slaine, gaue the armie three houres rest that night, and then returned towards Gergonia. In the midde way certaine horsemen sent by Fabius made knowne vnto Cæsar in what danger the matter stood: the campe was assaulted with all the enemies forces, and forasmuch as such as were wearied, were still releued with fresh men, it came to passe that our men fainted with continuall labours: for the campe was so great that

that they were alwayes to stand vpon the rampier to make it good, and that many were wounded with the multitude of arrowes and other sorts of weapons; wherein their engines had serued them to good purpose for their defence. Fabius when these messengers came away, had shut vp two gates, and left other two open, and had made sheddies and houels for the better defence of the wall, and prepared himselfe for the like fortune the next day. These things being knowne by the exceeding trauncle of the souldiers, Cæsar came into the campe before Sun rising.

OBSERVATIONS.



AS often as the people of Rome had occasion to make warre, besides the bodie of the armie inrolled for that seruice, in such sort and with such ceremonies as I haue formerly deliuered; the Conſull or Generall had authoritie to call out such others either of the communalty or the Equites, as for their long seruice were freed by the lawes from giuing in their names at a muster: and these they called *Euocati*, as a man would say, called out, being all men of speciall note and seruice, and such as were able to giue sound aduice for matter of warre. These *Euocati* went all for the most part vnder an ensigne, and were lodged together in the campe behind the pavilion of the Generall, neare vnto the gate which they called *Porta Pretoris*, and were alwayes free from ordinarie duties, as watching, incamping and fighting, vnlesse it came to such a passe, that every man would put too his helping hand: but in all seruices they had their place appointed them according to their former experience and worth. And thus the Romaines strengthened their armie with the wisdom and experience of such as for many yeares together, had bene acquainted with the difficulties and casualties of warre, and oftentimes were able to afford such helps both by example & otherwise by good directions, as the wisdom of the Generall did gladly embrace. Concerning these two young nobles *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus*, whom he nameth in this place *Euocati*, we are to vnderstand that they were called out to that warre vnder the same title, but to another end: for being men of great place and authoritie, he feared least in his absence they might be so wrought to fauour *Percingetorix*, as neither himselfe nor the Hedui should haue any cause to commend them, according as it happened to *Litaucius*.

Euocati, who they were.

CHAP. XX.

The Hedui robbe and kill diuers Romaine Citizens.

WHILE these things were a doing at Gergonia, the Hedui having received the first messages from Litauicus, gave themselves no time to understand the truth, some being led on by couetousnesse, others by anger and rashnesse, as it is naturally ingrafted in that nation to take a light beare. say for a certain truth, spoiled the Romaine citizens of their goods, and slue them besides, or drew them into bondage; Conuictolitanis stirring up the common people to madnesse, that when they had done some wicked fact they might be ashamed to be good againe. They drew Marcus Aristius a Tribune of the souldiers as he went to the Legion, out of the town Cauillonium, notwithstanding their faith and promise before giuen, causing the rest to do the like, which were there for matter of trade: these they set upon continually as they trauelled, robbed them of their carriages, and besieged such as made resistance day and night, many were slaine on both sides, & a greater number were stirred up to take armes. In the meane time newes being come that all their souldiers were vnder Cæsar's power, they runne speedily to Aristius, they tell him that nothing was done by publique authority, they called such as robbed the Romaines of their goods to answer the matter, they confiscate the goods of Litauicus and his brethren, they sent Ambassadors vnto Cæsar to cleare themselves of these disorders: and this they do for the better recovery of their people that were now with Cæsar. But being contaminated with a wicked fact, and taken with the shame of robbing the Romaine citizens, many of them being touched in the fact, and much perplexed for feare of punishment, they priuily entred into consultations of warre, and solicited other States to that purpose by their Ambassadors: which although Cæsar vnderstood, yet he entertained them as curiously as he could, telling them that for the ignorance and lenitie of the common people he would not thinke hardly of the State, nor abate any thing of his good will and fauour to the Hedui.

OBSERVATIONS.



Wicked act is not onely hurtful in it selfe and of it owne condition, but is like that boxe of euill, which the Poets saie to haue bene giuen to Pandora to be kept alwaies shut: for when the way is once made, and the gappe opened, one mischief draweth on another, and the tayle that followeth is more viperous then the head. There was neuer any one that stained himselfe with any detestable crime, but was moued to commit a second euill that had relatiō to the first:

for

for wicked deedes are iustified by themselves, and one crime is vpheld by another. When the hand is dipt in bloud, it seemeth no great matter to imbrue the arme: and the loyaltie of a people being once shaken by the indirect practises of a few, it is no straunge matter if the whole bodie of that state do immediately enter into treasonable consultations: as it happened in this place with the Hedui, who from that time which disclosed the trecherie of their heart, caried no faithfull regard to the Romaine government, vntill the bitteresse of that warre which happened shortly after, had made them know their error.

It shall be necessarie therefore, as much as lyeth in the possibilitie of our meanes, to keepe the bodie of vertue safe from wounding: for albeit the wound be neuer so litle, yet it is alwaies wide enough to let out both the bloud and the spirits, euen to the euacuation of the vitall breath of morall honestie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Conuictolitanis plebem ad furorem impellit (saith the storie) as the fittest instruments to trouble the state, and to leauen the rest of the people with the furie of madnesse. For the poorer and meaner people, that haue no interest in the Commonweale but the vse of breath, nor any other substance but a Flie in the commons, are alwaies dangerous to the peace of that kingdome: for hauing nothing to loose, they willingly imbrace all meanes of innoation, in hope of gaining something by other mens ruine, belecuing altogether in the Prouerbe, which auereth the fishing to be good which is in troubled waters.

Catiline conspiring against the Romaine Empire, made choice of such to accompanie him whose fortune was desperate. And thereupon Salust saith: *Homini potentiam quarenti, egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua chara, quippe que nulla sunt, & omnia cum pratio honesta videntur.*

Liue writeth, that vpon the rumor in Greece of warre betweene Perseus and the Romaines, the poorer sort did put themselves in pay vnder Perseus, with this resolution, that if there hapned no alteration vpon this occasiō, they would then cleaue to the Romaines, and assist them to put the state of Greece into a garboile: *Semper in ciuitate (saith Salust) quibus opes nulla sunt, bonis inuident, malos extolunt, vetera odere noua exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student.*

There are these two meanes left for a state to caue it selfe of this sort of people, either to employ them abroad in warres, or to increesse them in the quiet of the Commonweale, by learning them such trades and occupations as may giue them a tast of the sweetnesse of peace, and the benefite of a ciuill life.

The poorer sort of people do imbrace all meanes of innoation.

Salust in the conspiracie of Catiline.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsar spieth an occasion to aduance the
service at Gergonia.

CÆSAR suspecting a greater reuolt of the Gaules, lest he might be hemmed in with the strength of all the States of Gallia, he entred into deliberation how he might leaue Gergonia and get all his armie together againe, that his departure might not seeme to rise from the feare of their reuolt, and thereby be thought to flic away: and as he thought vpon these things, he seemed to spie an occasion of doing somewhat to purpose: for coming into the lesser campe to view the workes, he obserued a knoll which was kept by the enemye to be bare of men, which the day before could scarce be discerned by reason of the multitude of people: and wondering at it, he enquired the cause of the runawies which came daily in great numbers vnto him: they all agreed of that which Cæsar had before vnderstood by the discoverers, that the backe of that hill was almost leuell, but narrow and woody where it gaue passage to the other part of the towne. The Gaules did much feare that place, for the Romans hauing tooke one knoll if they should possesse themselves of another, the Gaules were almost blockt in round about and cutt off from foraging, or any other ifsuuing out of the towne: and therefore Vercingetorix had called them all to forsake that place. This being knowne, Cæsar sent many troupes of horse to that place about midnight, commaunding them to ride vp and downe all thereabout somewhat multuously: and early in the morning he caused many horses and mules for cariages to be taken out of the campe with horsekeepers vpon them, hauing caskes vpon their heads the better to resemble horsemen, and to be caried round about the hilles, and to them he added a few horsemen, to the end they might spurre out the more freely, and so make a better shew, commaunding them all to go to the same place by a long circuit about. These things were done in view of the towne: for Gergonia stood, that they might from thence see into the campe, but yet in so great a distance they could not certainly perceiue what was done. He sent likewise one Legion to the same hill, and appointed them to go a litle way, and then to make a stand in a dale, and to bide themselves in the woods. The Gaules began more to suspect that place, and all their forces were drawne thither, for the strengthening of it. Cæsar perceiuing the enemies campesto be void of men, hiding his ensignes and colours, he drew the souldiers by litle and litle out of the greater into the lesser campe, and acquainted the legates to whom he had given the severall legions in charge what he would haue done, warning them especially to keepe in the souldiers, lest they should be caried out either with a desire of fighting, or in hope of bootie: he propounded vnto them the incommodities of the disadvantage of place, which must onely be auoyded by expedition, the matter consisting rather in occasion and oportunitie then in fighting.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



IT is an easy matter to begin a busines, & to make work for many hands; but to put it off againe, and to quit it without preiudice of other important respects, is no small labour. Cæsar being engaged in the siege of Gergonia, & fearing a generall reuolt throughout all Gallia, was not a litle troubled how he might cleare himselfe of that busines, without suspition of feare or flight, and gather all his forces into one bodie againe, which he had before deuided into two armies: for as Marcellus said to Fabius touching the siege of Cassilium, *Multa magnis ductibus non aggredienda, ita semel aggressis non dimittenda esse, quia magna fama momenta in utramque partem sunt.* An enemy wil conceiue greater hopes from such a retreat, then from a greater aduantage. And therefore a Generall ought to haue as speciall a regard to the opinion which he desireth to be held of his proceedings, as of any part belonging to his charge; for fame is the spirit of great actions, and maketh them memorable or vnworthy by report, *ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia quid sibi conducere putent, Principum (saith Tacitus) diuersam esse sortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda: wherein there cannot be a better rule for the auoiding of that inconuenience, then that which Lucretius obserued, of whom Liuius saith, Id prudenter vs in temere susceperare Romanus scit, quod circumspèctis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus terreret celeriter abssistit incepto: for the speedie leauing of any such enterprife, doth excuse the rashnesse which might be imputed to the beginning, and men are not so much blamed for making triall of an ill digested proiect, as they are for obstinate continuing in the same.*

It is an easier matter to begin a worke, then to quit it againe with credit.

Liuius.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



SOME seruices (saith Cæsar) are *Res occasionis non prælij*, whereof I haue already disputed. Notwithstanding giue me leaue to adde the mistake, which often falleth out in matter of oportunitie: for in viewing the occurrences of the warres of these latter times, we may find that some hot-spurre commanders, hauing tasted of the good successe which occasion affoordeth, haue thought of nothing but of seruices assisted with oportunitie, in such maner as at length they forgot that occasion came but seldome, and caried their men vpon such desperate attempts, as prooued the businesse to be a matter scarce affording meanes to fight for their liues, but were often swallowed vp with deuouring danger: wherein they did mistake the condition of the seruice, and fell short of Cæsars example: for albeit he sent out his men to struggle with the height of the hill, and the disadvantage of well fortified campest, yet he knew they should find litle resistance by the enemy, being drawne away vpon other occasions, if they made that expedition as was requisite in this seruice, whereby he left them not

Some seruices are Res occasionis non prælij.

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without meanes to ouersway those difficulties, and so made it *Rem occasio non prali*

CHAP. XXII.

The Romaines make an assault
vpon Gergonia.

THESE things being deliuered, he gaue the soldiers the signe to begin, and at the same time he sent out the Hedui by another ascent on the right side. The wal of the towne was distant by a right line from the plaine and the foote of the hill (if it lay even without any dale or valley) a thousand and two hundred paces: whatsoeuer more was added in fetching circuits about to climbe the steepe of the hil, was ouer and besides that distance: from the midst of the hill in length as the nature of the place would beare it, the Gaules had with great stones raised a wall of sixe foote in height, to hinder the assault of our men, and all the lower part being left void and empty, they filled the upper part of the hill enen to the wall of the towne with thicke and frequent camps. The souldiers vpon the signe giuen were quickly come to the workes, and passing ouer them they possesst themselves of three camps with such speed and expedition, that Teutomatus the King of the Nitobriges being surprisid in his tent as he rested about noone time, the upper part of his bodie being naked and his horse wounded, did hardly escape the hands of souldiers occupied in bootie. Cæsar hauing got that which he preponded to himselfe, commaunded a retreat to be sounded, and the Ensignes of the tenth Legion staid, but the souldiers of the other Legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, forasmuch as a great valley was betweene them, and it was said notwithstanding by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Legates according as Cæsar had giuen in charge, but being caried away aswell with a hope of a speedy victory, as by the sight of the enemy and the fortunate battels of former times, they thought nothing so difficult but they could overcome it by their valour, inasmuch as they desisted not from following untill they came to the wal and the gates of the towne. Then a great outcry being took vp in all parts of the towne, such as were further off being terrified with the suddenness of the tumult, thinking the enemy had bene within the gates, did cast themselves out of the towne, and the women cast down their apparel & their siluer frō the wals, & holding out their naked breasts & their hands spread abroad, aduired the Romaines to saue them, & that they wold not (as they had done at Auaricū) destroy both women and children: and some women slips downe by their hands frō the wal, and gaue themselves freely to the souldiers. L. Fabius a centurion of the eighth legion, who was heard to say that day, that the bootie which he had got at Auaricum so stirred him vp, that he would suffer no man to get vp vpon the wal before himselfe: hauing got three of his manipular souldiers, with their helpe he climed vp to the top of the wall, and then he himselfe did helpe vp his fellows. In the meane time such as were on the other side of the

the towne, busied in fortifying that place (as we haue already deliuered) first the noise being heard, and then stirred vp by often messengers, that the Romaines had tooke the towne, sending their horsemen before they hasted thither in great numbers, and still as they came they stood vnder the wall, and increased the number of such as they found fighting: a great multitude being at length come together, the women that a litle before had reached out their hands from the wall to the Romaines, began now to aduise their owne people, and as the manner of the Gaules is, to shew their haire lose about their eares, and to bring out their children.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is both safe and honourable for Souldiers and inferiour Commanders to keepe their directions: for whensoever they go about to enlarge their businesse according to their owne fantasie, howsoever occasiō may seeme to further their desires, they inuert the whole course of discipline, and do arrogate more to themselves, then they do attribute to their Generall.

It is honorable for soldiers to keepe their directions.

The Romaines were strict in this point, as may appeare by that of *Manlius*, who put his owne sonne to death for making a happie fight against the enemy contrary to his directions: for although it fortun'd to fall out well at that time, yet the example was so dangerous in a wel ordered war, that he chose rather to bring a mischiefe vpon his own son, then an incōuenience to their military gouernement. *In iussu tuo* (saith one in *Linie* to the Consul) *nunquam pugnabo, non si certam victoriam videam*, making profession of true obedience, and ranging himselfe in the order of such parts as haue no other office but obseruance: for an armie is as a bodie, and the souldiers are as particular parts, euery man according to his place: the Generall is as the life and soule, and giueth motion to euery part according to reason: and as in a naturall bodie no part can moue without directions from the life, so in the bodie of an armie, when any part moueth without the consent of the head, the motion is either monstrous or exorbitant, and sureth with such an effect as condemneeth the instruments of vnaduised rashnesse.

Polybius saith, that men haue two ways to come by wisdom, either by their owne harmes, or by other mens mischances: such wisdom as is got through correction happening by their own errors, is dearly bought; but sitting neare them, is not easily forgotten: that which is obtained by other mens misfortunes, is well come by, and at an easie rate, but for the most part it is soone forgotten: but such as can retaine it to a good vse, are most happie men. This precept to souldiers touching obedience, and the precise keeping of their directions, hath by other mens harmes so often bin vrged, as a man wold thinke that latter ages should beware of this disorder. And yet it falleth out almost in euery final seruice, for the greatest losse which the English receiued at any one time at *Ossend*, was in a fally, wherein capitaine *Woodward* hauing possesst himselfe of some of the enemies workes, when by his directions he should haue staid,

thinking to improve his reputation by some further service: deeming it easie peradventure to go forward, he went on beyond the compass of his command, whereby it hapned, that both the enemy had greater scope to revenge their former dishonour, and the rest of our English troopes that had their part in that proiect by way of second helps, could not proceede according to their directions, and so they all returned with losse.

That which *Zenophon* reporteth touching one *Chrysantas*, is notable to this purpose, who being in the heat of a conflict, & having his sword lift up to strike one of the aduerse partie, he chanced to heare a retreat sounded, whereupon he presently withdrew his hand, and did forbear to smite him: which howsoever to some may seeme ridiculous, and vnfitting the temper of a souldier in time of battell, yet let them know that *Zenophon* a great Commander, and an excellent historian, did alledge that example to the eternall memorie of the forenamed partie, for the knowledge and instruction of *Cyrus*, whom he propoundeth to the world as an absolute paterne both of militarie and ciuill vertue.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Romaines continue the assault, and were beaten off with losse.

THE contention was not indifferent to the Romaines, neither in place nor in number of combattants, being wearied withall, both with the long race which they had run, and with the continuance of their fight, whereby they did not so easily beare the enemy being whole & fresh. Cæsar seeing the fight to be in an vnequal place, & the enemy stil to increase their forces, fearing his people he sent to *T. Sextius* the legat, who he had left to command the lesser camp, to bring out the cohorts speedily, & to place them at the foot of the hill on the right side of the enemy, to the end that if our men were forced to forsake their place, yet the enemy might be terrified from following them ouer freely, he himself removing a little out of that place where he stood with the legiō, attended the event of the battell: and as they fought at hand very fiercely, the enemy trusting in the place and in the multitude, and our men in their valour, the *Hedui* sodainly appeared on the open side of our men, whom Cæsar had sent up by another assent on the right hand, and although they saw their right armes shewed or put forth, which was a signe of peace, yet they doubted lest the enemy had vsed that pollicy to deceiue them. At the same instant *L. Fabius* the Centurion, and those that climbed up upon the wall with him being slaine, were cast downe from the wal againe, and *M. Petreius* a Centurion of the same legion, as he was about to cut downe the gates, being oppressed with the multitude and despairing of his owne life, hauing received many wounds: Forasmuch (saith he to his souldiers that followed him) as I cannot saue my selfe and you too, I will certainly provide for your safetie, whom I haue brought into danger whilest I thirsted after honor:

you

You while you may, shift for your selues, and withall he brake through the thickest of the enemy, and with the slaughter of a couple he removed the rest from the gate. And as his souldiers went about to helpe him, *In vaine* (saith he) do you indewor to saue my life, which bloud and strength haue already forsaken: and therefore get you hence while you haue meanes, and betake your selues to the legion, and so fighting fell downe dead, but saued his men. Our men being ouercharged on all sides with the losse of sixe and fortie Centurions, were beaten downe from the place, but the tenth legion which stood for a rescue in a more equall place, hindered the *Gauls* from following ouer eagerly. And againe, the cohorts which *Fabius* had brought out of the campe seconded that legion, hauing got the aduantage of the upper ground. The legions as soone as they came into the plaine stood still and turned head to the enemy: *Vercingetorix* drew backe his men from the foote of the hill, and brought them into their camps. That day few lesse then seven hundred souldiers were wanting.

OBSERVATIONS.



ND this is the end of presumptuous rashnesse, when men are become so pregnant, as to take vpon them more then is required. But as they say of faire weather, that it is pitie it should do hurt: so is it great pitie that valour and resolution should proue disadvantageous. For this ouerdoing of a seruice, is but the spirit of valiant carriage, and the very motion of prowesse and courage, memorable in the offenders themselves: as we may see by this particular report of *Fabius* and *Petreius*; and much to be pitied, that vertue should at any time be ouerquelled with a greater strength.

At this seruice the Romaines stood in these tearmes, they were ouermatched in number, they had spent their strength in speedie running to the place which in it selfe was not fauourable vnto them, but almost as great an enemy as the *Gauls*, onely they trusted in their valour, and thought by vertue to cleare all difficulties. The *Gauls* had the fauour of the place, a faire greater number of fighting men, they came fresh to the battell, and were alwaies seconded with fresh supplies. Cæsar seeing the two armies ingaged one with another, could neither part them nor recall his souldiers, but let such forces as were free in such conuenient places, as might rescue his people in the retreat, and keepe the *Gauls* from following the chafe, or making any great slaughter of the Romaine souldier. Whereby it happened, that in so great an inequality, where there were so many swords drawne to make way to death, there were not seven hundred men lost of the Romaine armie. And yet it happened to be the greatest losse that euer he receiued in those warres in his owne presence, when the issue of the conflict gaue the enemy the better of the day.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar rebuketh the rashnesse of his souldiers, and maketh light but successfull skirmishes vpon the enemy.



CÆSAR the next day calling the armie before him, rebuked the temeritie and cupiditie of the souldiers, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge how farre they were to go, or what they were to do: neither would they stay vpon the sounding of a retreat, nor hearken to the Tribunes nor the Legats that would haue kept them backe: he laid open vnto them how auailable the inequalitye of the place was, and what he himselfe thought of it, when at Auaricum he tooke the enemy without a Generall and without caualrie, and did forgo a most assured victorie, lest in the buckling he might haue receiued a small losse through the inequittie of the place. How admirable was the greatnesse of their spirit? whom neither the fortifications of the campes, the height of the hill, nor the wall of the towne, could stop or hinder? Wherein he blamed their licentious arrogancie the more, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge better of the victorie and the successe of that seruice, then the Generall himselfe: neither did he so much desire to find courage and vertue in his souldiers, as modestie and sobrietie. This speech being deliuered, and in the end confirming their minds that they might not be discouraged at the matter, nor attribute that to the woorth of the enemy, which indeed was in the nature of the place, keeping his former purpose of departure, he brought the legions out of the campe, imbruted them in a conuenient place, and finding that Vercingetorix would not be drawne into an indifferent place, after a light skirmish of horse wherein the Romaines had the better, he caried his armie backe againe into the campe, and doing the like the next day, thinking it sufficient to abate the pride of the Gauls, and to strengthen the courage of his souldiers, he removed his campe into the State of the Hedui, the enemy refusing to make after him.

OBSERVATIONS.



Reparation of honour is a chiefe point in the carriage of an army: for he that leaueth an enemy vpon a losse receiued, when his souldiers are either awed or well beaten, must looke to find the same spirit and courage in them, when they shall come againe to confront the enemy, as they had when they last left him with a disadvantage: which is nothing else but an vnskilfull continuance of his own losse, and a preparation to a second ouerthrow. In the warre the Romaines had

with

with Anniball, in all the fights they made, they continued their first losse vnto the battell at Nola, at what time by Marcellus good directions, they gaue him an ouerthrow, which was the first time that euer Annibals souldiers began to giue place to the Romaines, and repaired the Romaines valour againe, after so many battels as they lost: for then they were perswaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether inuincible, but that he was subiect to losse and ouerthrow. And in respect of this so happie a fortune, restoring the Romaine souldiers to their auncient valour and good fortune, it is that *Linie* saith: *Ingens eadie res, ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit.* Cæsar did well vnderstand this Philosophie: and therefore he laboured to repaire the breach which the enemy had made in the valour of his souldiers, by light and small skirmishes, before he would adventure to hazard the maine drift of the businesse in any set conflict. And the rather for that he had a purpose to leaue the enemy for a time, whereby he seemed to end the former seruices, wherein he had a speciall care not to depart with the last blow, hauing alwaies before that time had the better: for the condition of the end doth challenge much of the former proceedings, and doth draw the opinion of men to deeme of al as the conclusion importeth. According as *Claudius Nero* told his souldiers: *Semper quod postremo adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse.*

Plutarke in the life of Marcellus.

Lib. 3. bel. civil. post pugnam Pyrrachianam. Cæsar neque satis militibus perterritus cõfidebat, statimq; interponendum ad recreandos animos putabat.

CHAP. XXV.

The Hedui reuolt: Cæsar passeth his armie ouer the riuer Loier.



THE third day he reedified the bridge at the riuer of Eleuar, and caried ouer his armie: there he vnderstood by Viridomarus and Eporedorix, that Litauicus was gone with all the enemies horse to sollicite the State of the Hedui, and therefore it was requisite that Cæsar should send them before to confirme the State, and keepe them in loyalty. And although Cæsar did mistrust the State of the Hedui for many causes, and did thinke that the departure of these two Nobles would hasten their reuolt, yet he did not thinke it fit to detain them, lest he should either seeme to do them wrong, or to giue any suspicion of distrust. At their departure he propounded vnto them briefly, how well he had deserved of their State, how low and weak they were when he receiued them, confined within their townes, their lands extended, all their forces taken from them, a tribute laid vpon them, pledges extorted from them with great contumelie: and into what fortune and greatnesse he had brought them againe, that not onely they had recovered their former state, but did exceed the dignitie and fauour of all former times: and with these mandates he let them go. Noiodunum was a towne of the Hedui situate in a conuenient place, vpon the banke of the riuer Loier, thither had Cæsar sent all the hostages of Gallia, the corne, the publike treasure, and the greatest part of the baggage of the armie, and thither he had

Cæsar.

likewise sent great store of horse, which he had bought in Spaine and Italy for the service of this warre. Eporedorix and Viridomarus comming thither, and understanding touching the affaires of their State, that Litauicus was received into Bibracte by the Hedui, which is the Metropolitane citie of their State, and that Conuictolanis their chiefe Magistrate, and a great part of the Senate were come unto him, and that publike messengers were sent to Vercingetorix touching a league of peace and amitie, they did not thinke it fit to omit so great an opportunitie. And thereupon hauing slaine the Guard at Nouiodunum, with such others as were there either by way of trade or trauell, they deuided the money and the horses betwene them, and tooke order that the hostages of the other States should safely be conueyed to Bibracte. For the towne, forasmuch as they thought they were not able to keepe it, lest the Romaines might make any use of it, they burned it: such corne as they could carie on the sudden, they conueyed away in boats, the rest they either burned or cast it into the riuer. They began to raise forces in the countrie next adioyning: to dispose of watches and garisons, on the banke of the riuer Loier: to shew their Cavalrie in all places, to the end they might exclude the Romaines from prouision of corne, or drine them through necessitie of want to forsake the Prouince. Whereof they were the rather assured, forasmuch as the Loier was much swelled by a fall of snow, whereby it was unpassable at any foord. These things being knowne, Cæsar thought it necessarie for him to make hast, to the end he might giue them battell before they had gathered a greater head: for touching his purpose for returning into the Prouince, he did not thinke it fit by any meanes, both in respect of the shame and infamie thereof, as also forasmuch as the opposition of the hill Gebenna, and the difficultie of the passage did hinder him, but especially for that he did exceedingly desire to ioyne himselfe with Labienus and the Legions that were with him. And therefore making great iourneys both by day and night beyond all mens expectation, he came to the riuer Loier, where the horsemen hauing found a conuenient foord for the necessitie of the time, that the souldiers might passe ouer with their armes and shoulders aboue the water, to hold vp their weapons, disposing the horse in the riuer to breake the force of the streame, and the enemy being affrighted vpon their first shew, he caried ouer his armie in safetie. And hauing satisfied his souldiers with corne which he found in the fields, and good store of cattell, he determined to march towards the Senones.

OBSERVATIONS.



HE greatest difficultie that euer Cæsar found in the course of these warres, was at this instant vpon the reuolt of the Hedui: for whereas that state after Cæsars coming into Gallia, was euer reputed the favorite of the Romaine Empire, hauing receiued such speciall priuiledges and prerogatiues aboue the rest, as might tye them with an inuiolable bond of amitie to the people of Rome: it was not to be expected that they should forsake so great a stay, or fauour any thing that might tend to the weakening of that authoritie, which preferred them in dignitie before all other states of that continent: and was as a Remora to diuers other nati-

ons

ons of Gallia, from shewing that defection by plaine and open reuolt, which they had so long before conceiued in their minds.

But when it appeared (notwithstanding any precedent benefite, or the merit of imperiall fauours) that the Hedui did affect the common cause of their countries libertie, and were content to ingage themselues therein, as farre as their liues or fortunes could any way be valued: it was not to be doubted, but that such other Commonweales, as before that time had remained newtrall, and had lesse cause then the Hedui to keepe backe their hands from a worke of that pietie, would apprehend the matter, as a businesse importing the safetie of their countrie, whereunto Cæsar and the Legions were common enemies. The consideration whereof, made Cæsar to thinke of returning backe into the Prouince, had not the dishonour of such a retreat, and the desire he had to ioyne with Labienus, hindred that purpose.

CHAP. XXVI.

Labienus commeth to Lutetia with
four Legions.

HI L E these things were done by Cæsar, Labienus hauing left those supplies which came last out of Italie, at Agendicu for the safetie of the cariages, went himselfe with foure legions to Lutetia a towne of the Parisians, built in an Island in the riuer Sequana. The enemy understanding of his comming, great forces were speedily brought together out of the countries neare about: the chiefeest commaund was giuen to Camulogenus of the nation of the Auleri, who notwithstanding his great age was called to that honour for his singular knowledge in matter of warre. He finding it to be a continued bog that ran into Sequana, and much hindered all that place, did stay there with his armie, and purposed to hinder the passage of the Romaines. Labienus did first indour to drine the vines, to fill vp the bog with hurdles and earth, and so to make the passage firme: but after that he perceived it to be very hard to effect, in the third watch of the night he went out of the campe with silence, and the same way that he came, he went to Melodunum a towne of the Senones, situate in an Island of Sequana, as Lutetia is: and hauing surprised some fiftie shippes and boates, and manned them with souldiers, the townsmen being affrighted with the noueltie of the matter, of whom a great part were called out to that warre, he posselt himselfe of the town without any resistance: the bridge being reedified which the enemy had cut downe a few daies before, he transported ouer the armie, and went downe along the riuer towards Lutetia. The enemy hauing notice thereof by such as escaped from Melodunum, commaunded Lutetia to be burned, and the bridges of the towne to be broken: they themselves forsaking the bog, sate downe vpon the bankes of Sequana right ouer against the campe of Labienus. By this time Cæsars departure from Gergonia was knowne abroad, with the reuolt of the Hedui: and rumors were brought of a second

rising and motion in Gallia: it was certainly confirmed, that the Gauls were in consultation, that Cæsar was kept backe both by the difficulties of the passage, and thier Lœier, and for want of corne was constrained to returne into the Province. The Bellouaci also vnderstanding of the reuolt of the Hedui, whereas they were before trecherous and disloyall of themselves, did now begin to raise forces and prepare for open warre. Labienus vpon so great a change of things, vnderstood that it was necessarie for him to take another manner of course then was before intended. For now he thought not of making any conquest, or vrging the enemy to battell, but to bring the armie backe in safetie to Agendicum. For on the one side, the Bellouaci stood ready to charge him, being a people that had the name for deedes of armes of all the nations in Gallia; the other side was kept by Canulogenus with an armie readie in the field: and last of al, the legions were kept from their garrison and their cariages with a great riuer that ranne betwene them and it.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE great alteration which the reuolt of the Hedui made in Gallia, caused Labienus to let fall his former resolutions, and to shape such a course as might best answer the extremity of the tempest, for he that will attaine the end of his desires, or make peace with the affections of his mind, must not thinke at all times to carie away contentment with the strength of his meanes, or subdue resistance with force of armes, but must be well pleased to be driuen with the streame, vntill he meet with a tide of better oportunitie: for oftentimes it falleth out, that the opposition of resisting power is more available then ten legions commaunded by Cæsar, or what the Romaine Empire could adde besides to so great an armie: for there is no quantity so great, but there may be found a greater; nor none so little but there may be a lesse; which may teach a man neither to conceit himselfe in a matchlesse singularity, nor to despaire of a weake condition. And this is that which is so often recommended to the consideration of discreete Governours, whether they be Magistrates in peace, or Commanders in warre, to put them in mind of the condition of times, and to cary themselves answerable thereunto: forasmuch as fortunate and happie successe, riseth for the most part from such meanes as haue respect to the occurrences of the time, nor running alwayes vpon one bias, nor failing at all times with a fore-wind, but sometimes to presse forward, and sometimes to giue backe, according as the circumstances of the time shall make way to good fortune.

Fabius the great Romaine, thought it no shame to be called coward, or to vndergo the displeasure of the people of Rome, while he gaue place to the furie of the Carthaginian, and refused to receiue a third ouerthrow. And thus he altered the course of the Romaine warfare according to the time, and ouerthrew that enemy by shunning to encounter him, which in a battell would haue hazarded the conquest of Rome. In like maner Cn. Sulpitius the Dictator did imitate the wisdom of Fabius against the Gauls, by lingring out the warre. *Nolens sefer-*

una committere aduersus hostem (as Liui saith) quem tempus deteriorum indies & locus alienus faceret. And to conclude this point, Cæsar vpon the losse which he receiued at Dyrrhachium, Omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem exisistimauit, as the storie saith: which was nothing else but varying with the time, and helping a bad fortune with new directions.

CHAP. XXVII.

Labienus passeth the riuer of Sequana,
and fighteth with the Gauls.



EOR the auoiding of these great difficulties which came so suddenly vpon him, he knew there was no help to be had, but that which the vertue of his mind would afford him: and therefore calling a counsell a litle before the euening, he adhorst them to execute such things as he commaunded both with diligence and industry; and so taking the ships which he had brought from Melodunum, he diuided them amongst the Romaine horsemen, and after the first watch he commaunded them to go foure miles downe the riuer in silence, and there to attend him: he left five cohorts which he thought to be too weake for any fight as a garrison to the campe, and sent the other five cohorts of the same legion about midnight with al the cariages vp the riuer, commaunding them to make a great noise and tumult as they went: he sought out all barges and boates, and sent them vp the riuer with much noise and beating of oares: and a litle while after he himselfe went quietly with three legions to the place where he had commanded the ships to abide him. At his comming thither, the enemies discouered which were disposed on al parts of the riuer, were suddenly and at vnawares surprised by our men, by reason of a sodain tempest that did rise in the meane time: & the army and the horse were by the diligence of the Romaine Knights (to whom he had committed that businesse) caried ouer. At the same time a litle before day-light, the enemy had intelligence that there was an extraordinary noise and tumult in the Romaine campe, and a great troope went vp the riuer, and the beating of oares was heard that way, and a litle below the souldiers were caried ouer. Which being knowne, forasmuch as they iudged that the legions were caried ouer in three places, and that they were so perplexed at the reuolt of the Hedui, that they fled away: they diuided their forces also into three parts, for a garrison being left right ouer against the Romaine campe, and a small band sent towards Glossendium, which was to go so farre as the boates went, they caried the rest of their army to meet Labienus. By the dawning of the day al our men were caried ouer, and the enemy was discouered ranged in battell. Labienus adhorting the souldiers to betinke themselves of their auncient vertue, and to recall the memory of their fortunate battels, and to suppose that Cæsar himselfe was present, vnder whose leading they had oftentimes ouerthrowne the enemy, he gaue the signe of battell. Vpon the first affront on the right wing where the se-

Cæsar.

Cini. 3.

bat will
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uarke in
the life of Fa-

nenth legion stood, the enemy was beaten backe and put to flight; in the left corner where the twelfth legion was, the former ranks of the enemy being pierced through and beaten dead downe with the pikes, the rest notwithstanding did secretly resist; neither did any man give suspicion of flying. Camulogenus the Generall was present with his men, and encouraged them to fight, the victory being uncertaine. When the Tribunes of the seventh legion understood what was done in the left wing, they shewed the legion behind on the backe of the enemy, and there began to charge them, and yet none of them forooke his place, but were all inclosed and slaine, Camulogenus ending his dayes by the same fortune. Such of the enemy as were left over against the Romaine camps, understanding that the battell was begun, came to second their fellows, and tooke a hill, but were not able to abide our conquering souldiers, but joining themselves to the rest that fled, were neither protected by the woods nor the mountaines, but were all slaine by the horsemen. This businesse being ended, Labienus returned to Agendicum, where the cariages of the whole army were left, and from thence came to Cæsar with all the forces.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Labienus being to passe the riuer of Seine, which was strongly guarded by the Gauls, was forced to seeke a meanes out of the vertue of his mind (as Cæsar saith) and to lay such a proiect as might amuse the enemy, and keep him in suspence what way to take to prevent his passage, vntill he had effected that which he desired; which bringeth to our consideration the saying of *Epaninondas* the Theban, that there is nothing more necessarie or behouefull for a Generall, then to vnderstand the purposes of the enemy. A point so much the more commendable, by how much it is in it selfe difficult, and hard to be discovered; for it were hard to vnderstand their secret deliberations, which for the most part are onely knowne to the Generall, or to such chiefe Commaunders as are neare about him, when their very actions which every man knoweth, and such things as are done in the open view of the world, are oftentimes doubtfull to an enemy.

Liuy hath a notable storie to this purpose. *Sempronius* the Romaine Consull giuing battell to the *Equi*, the fight continued vntill the night parted them, not without alteration of fortune, sometimes the *Romaines* preuailing, and sometimes the *Equi*: the night coming on, both sides being wearie and halfe routed, they forooke their camps, and for their better safetie tooke each of them a hill. The Romaine armie diuided it selfe into two parts, the one part followed the Consull, and the other a Centurion, named *Tempanius*, a fellow of great spirit, and had shewed much worth in the battell. The next morning the Consull without further inquirie, made towards *Rome*; and so did the *Equi* withdraw their armie backe into their country, either of them deeming themselves ouerthrowne, and casting victorie vpon ech others shoulders. It happened that *Tempanius* with that part of the armie that kept with him, inquiring after the enemy,

enemie, found him to be ouerthrowne and fled: whereupon he first went to the Romaine campe and made that good, and then marched to the campe of the *Equi*, which he tooke and rifled, and so returned victor to *Rome*.

The morning following the battell of *Agincourt*, *Montjoy* the French Herald comming to inquire for prisoners, King *Henry* asked him who had wonne the field: to which he answered, that the French had lost it: which was vknowne to that worthy Conquerour. *Plutarke* writeth, that *Cassius* killed himselfe vpon the like errour, not knowing the fortune of the right wing of his armie. And therefore it must needes be a commendable matter, to vnderstand the deliberations of an enemy, when the issue of a battell is oftentimes so vncertaine.

Holinhead.
Henry the 5.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Camulogenus hath the report in this place of singular knowledge and experience in matter of warre, and being of a great age he fought as resolutely as the youngest gallant of them all: which may bring to our consideration the fittest age of life to be wished in a Generall, for the atchieuing of noble and worthy exploits: wherein we are to consider, that the youth and former yeares of a mans age, are plentifully stored with hot bloud and nimble spirits, which quickly apprehend the conceptions of the mind, and carie them with such violence to execution, that they bereaue the iudgement of her prerogative, and giue it no respite to senserue them; whereby it commeth to passe, that young men are for the most part heedlesse, inconsiderate, rash and resolute, putting more vpon hazard then vpon good aduice.

The fittest
age of life for
a Generall.

On the other side, old age is cold in bloud, and not so quicke of spirit, but being beaten with the rod of long experience, it learneth to be slow and lingering, full of doubts and consideration, inclining rather to a feminine feare, then to a forward resolution.

Neither of these attributes are simply in themselves the best attendants of noble enterprises: for a hot-spurre gallant may runne apace, but not go sure; and what young man soeuer be aduanced to command, had neede of an old mans wit to discharge it. And if authoritie did at any time fall into the hands of youth in the Romaine gouernement, which was very seldome, it was *Praemium virtutis, non ætatis*. *Pompey* was extraordinarie happie in that behalfe, for he attained the surname of Great, because he had deferred the honour of triumph before his beard was growne. And yet *Sertorius* tooke such aduantage at *Pompey*: youth, comming against him in *Spain*, that he said he would haue whipped the yong boy to *Rome* againe with rods, had not that old woman (meaning *Metellus*) come to helpe him.

Plutarke in
the life of
Sertorius.

Againe, where old age heapeth doubt vpon doubt, and falleth into the danger of vnprofitable lingering, *Nec ausus est satis nec prouidit*, it wanteth boldnesse

Hist. 3.

to steale the enterprise, and falleth also short of good providence, as *Tacitus* speaketh of *F. Valens*. *Augustus Cæsar* purposing to commend *Tiberius* his successor with an extraordinarie praise, said he was a man that neuer put one thing to be twise consulted of. And it is said of *Marius*, that being come to the age of threescore and five yeares or thereabouts, he shewed himselfe very cold and slow in all his enterprises, forasmuch as age had mortified his active heate, and killed that readie disposition of bodie that was wont to be in him. The *Romaines* finding *Fabius Maximus* to be full of doubts and delay, good to defend, but not to offend, and *Marcellus* of a stirring spirit, neither quiet with good nor ill fortune, (as *Anniball* truly said of him) they thought to ioine *Marcellus* youthfull courage with *Fabius* feare and wisdom, and so make a temperature fit for a Generall; whereupon they called *Marcellus* the sword, and *Fabius* the buckler: wherein *Cæsar* of himselfe was excellent, of whom *Suetonius* reporteth, *Dubium cautior, an audientior*.

The best state of yeares then for this businesse, is that which tempereth the heate of youth with the coldnesse of age, and quickneth the slow and dull proceedings of double aduice, with the rashnesse of youthfull resolution: and falleth out betwene the yeares of five and thirtie, at five and fiftie. *Scipio African* commaunded the Romaine armie in *spaine* at foure and twentie yeares of age, and died at foure and fiftie. *Anniball* was chosen Generall to *Asdruball* at fixe and twentie yeares, and poisoned himselfe at threescore and ten. *Pompey* was slaine at nine and fiftie, and *Cæsar* at fixe and fiftie: *Marcellus* kept his youthfull resolution to his old dayes, for being threescore yeares of age, he neuer longed for any thing more then to fight with *Anniball* hand to hand.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gaules consult of the cariage
of that warre.

THE reuolt of the Hedui being knowne, the warre waxed greater, Ambassadors were sent out into all parts, and they laboured to draw the rest of the States to their party, as farre as either fauour, authoritie, or money could preuaile: hauing got the pledges into their hands which *Cæsar* had left with them, they terrified such as stood doubtfull, by threatening to kill them. The Hedui do desire *Vercingetorix* to come vnto them, and to acquaint them with the course of that warre: which being yeelded vnto, they labour to haue the chiefe commaund transferred vpon them: the matter growing vnto a controuersie, a generall Councell of all Gallia was summoned at *Bibracte*: thither they repaired in great multitudes: and the matter being put to voices, they

all with one consent made allowance of *Vercingetorix* for their Generall. The men of *Rhemes* with the *Lingones* and *Treuri* were absent from this Councell, the two first continuing their affection to the Romaine partie: the *Treuri* were farre off, and were annoyed by the *Germanes*; in which respect they were absent from that warre, and remained neutrall. The Hedui were much grieved that they were put by the principalitie, they complained of the change of their fortune, and wished for *Cæsar* former indulgence, neither durst they disioyne themselves againe from the rest, the warre being already undertaken: but *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus*, two young men of great hope, were constrained, though unwilling, to obey *Vercingetorix*; he commaunded pledges to be deliuered by the rest of the States, and appointed a day for that businesse: he commaunded fiftie thousand horse to be speedily brought together: touching foote forces, he would content himselfe with those which he had; for his purpose was not to wage battell but where as he was very strong in horse. He made no doubt to keepe the *Romaines* from corne and forrage, onely they must patiently endure to haue their corne spoiled and their houses burnt; which particular losse would quickly be recompensed with libertie and perpetuall souerainie. These things being ordered, he commaunded ten thousand foote to be raised by the Hedui and *Segutiani* bordering vpon the Prouince, and to them he added eight hundred horse, and sent them vnder the commaund of *Eporedorix* his brother, to make warre against the *Allobroges*. And on the other side, he caused the *Gaballi* and the nearest villages of the *Aruerni* to set vpon the *Heliij*, the *Rutheni*, and the *Cardurci*, and to depopulate their country. Notwithstanding by secret messages he dealt with the *Allobroges*, whose minds he thought to be scarce settled from the former warre: he promised money to their chieftemen, and to giue the gouernement of all the *Romaines* Prouince to their State. To answer all these chaunces, there were provided but two and twenty cohorts, which being raised out of the Prouince, were disposed by *L. Cæsar* a Legate to preuent these mischiefes. The Hedui of their owne accord giuing battell to their borderers, were beaten out of the field, and were driuen into their townes with the slaughter of *C. Valerius Denotaurus*, the sonne of *Caburus* the chiefe man of their State, and of many other. The *Allobroges* hauing set many watches and garrisons vpon the riuer *Rhene*, did with great care and diligence defend their borders. *Cæsar* vnderstanding the enemy to be stronger in horse then he himselfe was, and the passages being shut that he could not send either into the Prouince or into *Italie* for any supplies, he sent ouer the *Rhene* into *Germanie*, and got horse from such States as he had quieted the yeare before, with such light armed footemen as were accustomed to fight amongst the horse: at their arrivall, forasmuch as they were not well fitted with horse, he tooke the horses from the *Tribunes* and the *Romaine* Knights, and distributed them amongst the *Germanes*.

OBSERVATIONS.

HERE are three principall meanes to draw a state into a partie which of it selfe standeth newtrall, or to win the minds of men, when they carie equall or indifferent affections. The first is, by fauour or friendship. The second, by authoritie: and the third by money.

Friendship relyeth vpon former respects, and the exchange of precedent courtesies. Authoritie concludeth from future daungers, and the inconueniencies which may follow the refusall. Money doth gouerne the present occasiō, and is more generall then either fauour or authoritie. The *Gaules* were not wanting to make their partie good in any of these three perswading motiues: but as *Cæsar* saith: *Quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas ciuitates nituntur.*

Wherin as they went about to lay the stocke vpon it, so they left themselves but one triall for the right of their cause, and ioyned issue for all vpon the fortune of that action: for when they should see their best possibilities too weak, and their vttermost indeauours profite nothing against a mightie preuailling enemy, the greater their hopes were which they had in the meanes, the greater would be their despaire when such meanes were spent: for it is a shrewd thing for men to be out of meanes, and not to driue a hope before them.

It is vsuall vpon such maine occasions to imploy the chiefeest man in a State, in whome the souldiers may haue most assurance, and to accompanie him with such meanes as the strength of the Commonweale may afford him: but if their greatest hopes die in his ill successe, or waxe faint through cold fortune, the kingdome receiue th losse, and the enemy getteth aduantage, as may appeare by the sequelle of this great preparation.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Caultrie of the *Gaules* do set vpon the *Romaine* army, and are beaten.



VHILE these things were a doing, the enemies forces and the horsemen that were commaunded to be leauied in all *Gallia*, met together, and came out of the territories of the *Auerni*. A great number of these being gathered together, as *Cæsar* marched against the *Sequani* by the borders of the *Lingones*, to the end he might the easier relieue the Province, *Vercingetorix* sate downe about ten miles from the *Romaines* in three severall campes, and calling the Captaines and Commanders of horse to counsell, he told them that the time of victorie was now come: for the

Romaines

Romaines left *Gallia*, and fled into the Province: which was sufficient for the obtaining of their present libertie, but auailed little for the peace and quiet of future time, forasmuch as the *Romaines* did not purpose to make an end of the warre, but to returne againe with greater forces. And therefore it was necessarie to set vpon them in their march laden with cariages. If the foote did assist their horse, then they were not able to make any way or proceede in their iourney. But if (which he hoped would rather happen) forsaking their cariages euery man shifted for himselfe, they would depart both robbed of their necessaries and of their honour: for they need not doubt of the enemies horse, of whom he was most assured that they durst not go out from amongst the foote forces. And to the end they might be the better encouraged, he would draw all the forces in a readines out of the campe, and place them so as they might be a terror to the enemy. The horsemen cryed out all together, that this resolution might be strengthened with an holy oath: Let him neuer be receiued vnder any roose, or haue access to his wife and children, that did not twice runne through the armie of the enemy. The thing being well liked of, and euery man forced to take that oath, the next day he deuised his caultrie into three parts: two armies shewed themselves on each side, and the third began to make stay of the vanward: which being knowne, *Cæsar* deuised his horses likewise into three parts, and sent them to make head against the enemy. At the same time they fought in all parts, the army stood still, the cariages were receiued within the Legions: if our men were overcharged any where, *Cæsar* bent the Legions that way, which did both hinder the enemy from following them, and assure our men of hope of rescue. At length the *Germanes* hauing possesst themselves of a hill on the right side, did put the enemy from their place, and followed them as they fled euen to the riuer, where *Vercingetorix* stayed with the foote companies, and sue many of them: whereupon the rest fearing lest they should be encompassed about, beooke themselves to flight: execution was done in all places. Three of the Nobilitie of the *Hedui* were taken and brought to *Cæsar*, *Cotus* the Generall of the horse, who at the last election of *Magistrates* stood in controuersie with *Conuictolitanis*, and *Cauarillus* who after the reuolt of *Litauicus*, commaunded the foote troopes, and *Eporedorix* vnder whose commaund, before *Cæsars* coming into *Gallia*, the *Hedui* made warre with the *Sequani*: all the caultrie being put to flight *Vercingetorix* drew in his forces which he had imbatteled before his campe, and immediately after began to march towards *Alesia* a towne of the *Mandubij*, commaunding the baggage to be speedily brought out of the campe and to follow him. *Cæsar* hauing conueyed his cariages to the next hill vnder the custodie of two Legions, he followed the enemy as long as the day would giue him leaue: and hauing slaine some two thousand of the reareward, the day following he encamped at *Alesia*.

OBSERVATIONS.



THE *Gaules* were much stronger then the *Romaines* in Caultrie, both according to quantitie and qualitie, but the *Romaine* Infanterie was greater in vertue and worth then any foote forces of the *Gaules*, notwithstanding their inequality in number: which sheweth that the *Romaines* did more relye vpon their legionarie

P 3

Whether the caultrie or infanterie be of greater importance and use in a warre.

souldiers, then vpon their *Equites*: and may serue for an argument in the handling of that question, which is so much debated amongst men of warre, whether the horse or the foote companies be of greater importance in the carriage of a warre: Which indeed is a question *a male diuisis*: being both so necessarie for the perfect execution of martiall purposes, as they cannot well be disioyned. And if we looke particularly in the nature of their severall seruices, we shall easily discern the differences, and be able to iudge of the validitie of their parts.

Wherein first it cannot be denied, but that foote companies are seruiceable to more purposes then troupes of horse: for the horsemen are of no vse, but in open and champion places: whereas footemen are not onely of importance in fielden countries, but are necessarie also in mountenous or woodie places, in valleys, in ditches, in feiges, and in all other parts of what site or nature soeuer, where the horsemen cannot shew themselves. Whereby it appeareth, that the infanterie extendeth it seruice to more purposes then the caualrie, and maketh the warre compleat, which otherwise would proue lame and vneffectuall.

Touching the waight of the businesse when it commeth to a day of battell, it resteth for the most part vpon the foote troopes: for the horsemen are profitable to the armie wherein they serue, by making discoueries, by harrying the enemies country, by giuing succour or rescue vpon a suddaine, by doing execution vpon an ouerthrow, and by confronting the enemies horse: but these are but as second seruices, & far short of the maine stroke, which for the most part is giuen by the footmen. Neither doth a rowt giuen to the caualrie seruing an armie royall, concerne the bodie of that armie further then the seruices before mentioned: but the armie doth oftentimes go on notwithstanding, and may well atchieue a happie victorie: whereas vpon the ouerthrow of the infanterie, the horsemen haue nothing to do, but to shift for themselves, and get away to their owne home. So that it appeareth that the foote companies are the bulke and bodie of the armie, and the horse as the armes and outward parts hauing expedient and necessarie offices, but alwaies subordinate to the maine stroke giuen by the foote.

If any man looke for prooffe hereof by example, he shall not need to seeke further then the *Romaines*, being maisters of the art militarie, who by an auncient law interdicting the Dictator to haue the vse of a horse in the warres for his priuate ease: intimated as *Plutarke* saith, The strength of their armie to consist in their footmen, which the Generall in a day of battell should assist with his presence, and in no wise forsake them if he would. But touching the vse of war amongst them, their *Equites* were so farre short of the seruice performed by their foote troopes, that when they would stand to it indeed, they forooke their horses and fought on foote: as in the battell with the *Latines* at the lake *Regillus*, which I haue alreadie mentioned in my former obseruations. Neither were the *Romaines* good horsemen, as it seemeth by *Cæsar*: for he tooke the horses from the Tribunes and the *Romaine Equites*, and gaue them to the *Germanes*, as better Ritters then any *Romaines*. But howsoeuer a State that aboundeth in horse, and trusteth more in them then in foote companies, may harrie

a cham-

a champion country, but shall neuer be able to follow a war with that strength, as is requisite to make it fortunate.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar besiegeth Alesia, and fighteth
with the enemies caualrie.

*C*ÆSAR hauing viewed the site of the towne, and knowing theemie to be much troubled for the ouerthrow of their horse in whom they put all their hopes, adhorting the souldiers to take a litle paines, he determined to inclose the towne round about with a ditch and a rampier. Alesia was sited on the top of a hill, in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a continuall siege: at the foote of the hill ran two riuers on each side of the towne: before the towne there lay a plaine of three miles in length, the other sides were enclosed round about in a reasonable distance with hills of equall height with the towne. Vnder the wall on the East side lay all the forces of the Gauls, hauing drawne a ditch and a drie wall on that part of eight foote in height: the whole circuit of the worke which the Romaines made to inclose the town about, contained eleuen miles. Their campe was sited in a conuenient place, where there were made three and twentie castles, which in the day time were kept by garri- sons, and in the night by strong watches. The worke being began, there happened a skirmish betweene the caualrie of both sides in that plaine which lay before the towne of three miles in length: they fought eagerly on both sides: our men being ouercharged, Cæsar sent the *Germanes* to second them, and set the Legions before the campe, lest there might happen any sudden salley by the foote troupes of theemie. Vpon the safeguard of the Legions our men tooke courage, theemie was put to flight, and being many in number one hindred another, and stucke in heapes in the straight passage of their gates. The *Germanes* followed them close to their fortifications, and made a great execution amongst them: many of them for saking their horses attempted to leape the ditch, and to clime over the drie wall. Cæsar commaunded the legions imbattelled before the campe to aduance a litle forward. The Gauls that were within the fortification were no litle troubled: for thinking theemie would presently haue come vnto them, they made an alarme: some were so frightened that they brake into the towne. Vercingetorix commaunded the gates to be shut lest the campe should be left naked of defendants: many of theemie being slaine, and very many horses taken the *Germanes* fell off and returned to Cæsar.

Cæsar:

OBSERVATIONS.

EOrasimuch as casualtie and chaunce haue oftentimes the prerogative of a service, and in misdeeming opinions do carie away the honour from vertue and valour: the first triall of a fortune is not of that assurance, nor so much to be trusted, as when it is seconded againe with the like effect: for when a matter by often triall falleth out to be of one and the same qualitie, it sheweth a certaintie of a cause, producing ends of like condition. The *Gauls* (as it seemeth) were much discouraged vpon the first ouerthrow of their horse, in whom they so much beleueed, and altered the course of their high resolutions so farre, as where before they sware the ouerthrow of the *Romains*, they were now content to take the protection of a strong towne: but this second foile which they receiued, did so assure them of a harder confrontation and stronger opposition then they were able to beare, that they neuer thought of any further triall, but were content to go away losers, rather then to hazard their liues in a third combat. And thus, when a second euent backeth a former fortune, it taketh away the suspicion of casualtie, and maketh the winner bold, and the loser desperate. Pompey was so transported with ioy for the blow which he gaue *Cæsar* at *Dyrachin*, that he sent letters of that daies victorie into all parts of the world, and made his souldiers so secure touching the issue of that warre, *ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam sibi viderentur*: not remembring as *Cæsar* saith, the ordinary chaunges of warre; wherein oftentimes a small matter, either of a false suspicion, or of a sudden fright, or some other accident, doth indanger an armie, which the enimie taketh to himselfe, *perinde ac si virtute vicissent*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Vercingetorix sendeth away the horse: *Cæsar* incloseth *Alesia* with a strong wall.

VERCINGETORIX thought it best to dismiss all the horse, and send them away in the night before the fortifications were perfited by the *Romains*. At their departure he commanded them, that euery man should repaire vnto his owne State, and send all to that warre that were able to beare armes: he layeth open his deserts towards them, and doth aduise them to haue regard to his safetie, and not to suffer him to be deliuered ouer to the torture of the enemy, that had so wel deserved of the common libertie; wherein if they should proue negligent, fourescore thousand

men would perish with him in that place: and looking into their provisions, he found that they had corne scarce for thirty dayes, but by sparing and good husbandry it might be made to serue longer. With these mandates he sent out the horsemen in silence about the second watch of the night, at that part of the towne where the workes were not perfited: he commanded all the corne to be brought vnto him vpon paine of death. The cattel he distributed to the souldiers by pole, whereof there was great store brought out from the *Mandubij*: the corne he began to measure out very sparingly. All the forces which he had placed before the towne, he receiued within the walles; and so he purposed to attend the supplies of *Gallia*: which being knowne by the runne-aways and captiues, *Cæsar* appointed to make these fortifications: he drew a ditch of twenty foot in breadth and depth, with straite sides, as broad at the bottome as at the top. The rest of the worke he made forty foote short of that ditch, which he did for these reasons; that the whole body of the *Romains* might not easily be inclosed about with an army of souldiers, which he thought to prevent by taking in so great a circuit of ground; and secondly, lest the enemy salying out vpon a sodaine, should in the night come to destroy the workes, or in the day time trouble the souldiers with darts and casting weapons as they were busied about the workes. This space of forty foote being left, he made two ditches of fifteene foote in breadth and depth, the inermost whereof being caried through the fields, and the lower ground he filled with water drawne out of the river: behind them he made a ditch and a rampier of twelue foote, and strengthened it with a parapet and pinacles, and with great boughes of trees cut in cags like vnto a *Harts* borne, which he set where the howels were ioyned to the rampier, to hinder the enimie from climbing vp, and made towers round about the whole worke, in the distance of fourescore foote one from another. At the same time the *Romaine* souldiers were both to get stufte for the fortification, to go a haruesting for provision of corne, and to make such great workes: our forces being much weakened, and were to seeke corne and stufte far off from the campe, the *Gauls* oftentimes attempting to destroy the workes, and to sally out of the towne at diuers ports: and therefore *Cæsar* thought it fit to adde this much more to the the foresaid workes, that the fortifications might be made good with the lesse number of men. He made ditches round about the workes of five foote deepe, and in them he planted either the bodies of trees or great firme boughs sharpened into many pikes and snags, being bound together at the bottome, that they might not be easily plucked vp, and spreading themselves at the top into very sharpe cags. There were of these five ranks, so combined and insolded one in another, that which way soeuer the enimie should enter vpon them, he would necessarily runne himselfe vpon a sharpe stake, these they called *Cippos*. Before these in oblique courses, after the manner of a quincunce were digged holes of three foote deepe, narrow at the bottome like a sugar loaf: these they set with round stakes of the bignesse of a mans thigh, with a sharpe hardned point, in such sort that they sticke not about foure fingers out of the earth, and for the better fastening of them they sticke all a foote within the ground, the rest of the hole for the better ordering of the matter, was hid with oyers and spreads: of these were eight courses three foote distant one from another, and these they called *Lillies*, from the resemblance they had to the figure of this flower. Before these were galthrops of a foote long fastened in the earth, and headed at the top with barbed hookes of iron, sowed vp and downe in all places in a reasonable distance one from

another, and these they called *Stimulus*. The inner fortifications being thus perfected, he followed the even and level ground as much as the nature of the place would give him leaue, and tooke in foureteene miles in circuit, and made the like fortifications in all points against the enemy without, as he had done against the towne, to the end that if he were driven upon occasion to depart and leaue the workes, it might be no damage for him to leaue the campe: forasmuch as a few men would defend it, he commanded every man to haue forrage and prouision of corne for thirty dayes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Promised in my former obseruation to speake somewhat touching the *Romaine* workes, and to shew the vse they made of them in their greatest occasions: but this description of the workes at *Alesia*, doth so farre exceede the enlargement of commenting words, that it hath drowned the eloquence of great Historians, and in stead of expositions and inforcements, hath drawne from them speeches expressing greater admiration then beleefe: *circa Alesiam* (saith *Paterculus*) *santa res gesta, quantas audere vix hominis perficere nullus nisi Dei fuerit*. To inclose a towne with a ditch and a rampier of eleuen miles in circuit, was a matter worthie the *Romaine* armie: but to adde such varietie of workes, and to make such strange trapes and oppositions against an enemy, was admirable to the hearer; and not that onely, but to make the like workes without, to keepe the *Gaules* from raising the siege, did double the wonder: by which workes he did besiege and was besieged, tooke the towne and ouerthrew the enemy in the field.

Such as since that time haue imitated this industrie onely by a small ditch and a rampier (for I thinke no man euer made such workes) haue wrought wonders in matter of warre. *Castruccio* got the name of renewing the auncient militarie discipline in *Italy*, chiefly for that he besieged *Pistoia*, and with the helpe of a double trench according to the exāple of *Cæsar*, he kept in the *Pisoyans* on the one side, and kept out an armie on the other side of thirtie thousand foote and three thousand horse, in such manner as in the end he tooke the citie and made their succours of no effect. The States armie of the vnited Prouinces vnder the leading of *Graue Maurice*, did the like at the towne of *Graue* in the year 1602. But of this at *Alesia* may well be said that which *Liuy* speaketh of the battell at *Nola*: *Ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit*.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



It is here deliuered, that the outward circuit of the workes contained foureteene miles, and the circuit of the inward workes eleuen miles: vpon which ground *Iustus Lipsius* maketh an vniust coniecture of the space betweene the outward and the inward workes where the *Romaines* lay incamped. For according to the proportion betweene the circumference and the diameter, he maketh the diameter of the greater circle foure, and of the lesser three miles: and then he taketh the lesser diameter out of the greater, and concludeth the space to be almost a mile betweene the inner and the outward rampier where the *Romaines* lay incamped betweene the workes: and least the matter might be mistaken in ciphers, he doth expresse it at large in significant words, whereby he maketh the space twise as much as indeede it was: for the two circles hauing one and the same center, the semidiameter of the one was to be taken out of the semidiameter of the other, and the remainder would amount almost to halfe a mile; which according to the ground here deliuered, was the true distance betweene the workes, if the nature of the place (whereunto they had a respect) would suffer them to keepe the same distance in all parts; but *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*, and no disgrace neither to the excellencie of his learning, deseruing all honour for the great light which he hath brought to the knowledge of Histories, and for redeeming the truth from blots and Barbarisme.

Iustus Lipsius
mistaken.
Poliorecticon.
Lib. 2, Dial. 2.

CHAP. XXXII.

The *Gaules* raise an armie of 248000. to raise the siege at *Alesia*.



WHILE these things were a doing at *Alesia*, the *Gaules* hauing summoned a Councell of the Princes and chiefe men of each State, they thought it not conuenient to take all that were able to beare armes according to *Vercingetorix* direction: but to proportion out a certaine number for every State, lest that of such a confused multitude there would be no government, being not able to know their souldiers, or to martiall the in any good order, or to make prouision of victuall for so great a bodie. The *Hedui* and their clients were commanded to send out siue and thirtie thousand, the *Aruerni* with their clients as many: the *Senones*, *Sequani*, *Bituriges*, *Santonnes*, *Rutheni*, *Carnutes*, twelue thousand: the *Bellouaci*, ten thousand, the *Lemouices* as many, the *Parisij* & *Heluetij* eight thousand, the *Senones*, *Am-*

Cæsar.

biani, Medionatrices *six thousand*, the Attrebatas *four thousand*, the Vellocassi Lexonij, Aulerci, Eburones *three thousand*, the Raucaci and Boij *thirtie thousand*, the States bordering vpon the Ocean, whom by the custome of Gallia they call Aremoricæ, such as are the Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibarri, Caletes, O. lissimi, Lemouices, Vuelli *six thousand*: of these the Bellouaci refused to give their number, saying, that they would make warre with the Romaines in their owne name, and according to their owne directions, neither would they serue vnder any mans command. Notwithstanding being intreated by Comius for his sake they sent two thousand. Cæsar as we haue heretofore deliuered, had used the helpe of this Comius the yeares before in Brittain, being both faithfull and seruiceable: for the recompence of which seruice he had freed his state of all duties to the Romaine Empire, and restored vnto them their auncient lawes and customes, and to himselfe he had giuen the Morini. Notwithstanding such was the vniuersall consent of all Gallia, to redeeme their auncient honour in matter of warre, as neither friendship, nor the memorie of former benefites could any way moue them, euery man intending that war as farre as either the power of his mind or the possibilitie of his meanes would reach vnto: and hauing drawn together eight thousand horse, 2. hundred & forty thousand foote, they mustered their forces in the confines of the Hedui, there they appointed capitaines, and the chiefe command was giuen to Comius of Arras, and to Viridomarus, and Eporedorix Hedui: and to Vergasilanus of the Aruerni, and consin germane to Vercingetorix. To these there were certaine chosen out of euery State to giue assistance in counsell of warre, and all of them went iocundly and full of hope to Alefia. Neither was there any man that did thinke, that the very sight of such a multitude were able to be endured, especially when the sight would grow doubtfull by sallies made out of the towne, and so great forces of horse and foote should be seene without.

OBSERVATIONS.



Vercingetorix desire was to haue had as many of the Gauls sent to his relieue as were able to beare armes, grounding himselfe vpon that maxime; where the whole state is in question, there the whole forces of that State are to be employed. But the other Princes of Gallia, thought it not expedient to raise so great a number: for they would haue accrewed to such a multitude of people, as could not haue bene contained within the rules of gouernement: which may bring to our consideration that which the course of these times doth not often bring into dispute: What number of men well martialled and with good discipline, are a competent proportion for any seruice? Xerxes armie which he carried into Greece, was famous for two respects: first, in regard of the multitude which was so great, that when he himselfe returned backe into Asia, he left behind him three hundred thousand of the best souldiers chosen out of the whole armie, vnder the conduct of one Mardonius. Secondly, that of so many fighting men, there were two hundred and threescore thousand slaine in

one

one battel, with the losse of one thousand & three hundred Grecians. Whereby it appeareth, that the conquest of a kingdome doth not necessarily follow the multitude of souldiers in an armie; for either Xerxes armie was too few in number to conquer Greece, or too many to be well martialled.

Marius with fiftie thousand men defeated the Cimbri that were so many in number, as they made a battel of thirtie furlong square, and of them he slue a hundred and twentie thousand, and tooke threescore thousand prisoners. And for that I do remember of that which I haue read, the greatest conquests that euer were made, were atchieued with armies vnder fifty thousand fighting mē. The great Alexander subdued all Asia, and set the Monarchy from the Persia into Greece with thirtie thousand men.

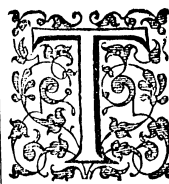
The Romaines had very seldome ten legions in an armie which was about that rate, but commonly their conquering armies were farre vnder that proportion. Paulus Emilius onely had a hundred thousand in his armie against Persus, and wonne the battell in an houre. The condition of our times requireth no dispute touching this point, for we seldome see an army of fiftie thousand men in the field, vnlesse it be the Turke or some such Monarke.

Plutarke in the life of Marius.

Plutarke in the life of Paulus Emilius.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Critognatus speech at Alefia, touching the keeping of the towne.



THEY that were besieged in Alefia, the day being past by which they looked for succour, their corne being spent, and not knowing what was done abroade, entred into consultations touching the end of their fortune; and diuers opinions being deliuered, some of them tending to the yeelding vp of the towne, and others perswading that as long as strength lasted there might be sallies continually made vpon the enemy: I will not omit the speech of Critognatus for the singular and wicked crueltie which it imported, a man of great birth and authoritie amongst the Aruerni. I will say nothing (saith he) of their opinion that call base seruitude by the name of rendry: neither do I thinke them fit to be accompted citizens, or to be admitted to counsell of State: with them will I deale withall that like well of sallies, in whose aduice and counsell euen by all your consents the memory of auncient vertue seemeth to consist. It is no vertue but a weaknesse of the mind, not to be able to endure want a little while. It is an easier matter to find men that will offer themselves willingly to death, then such as will endure labour with patience. For mine owne part, I could like well of that opinion (for honour much preuaileth with me) if I did not see a further losse then of our lines, but in these our consultations let vs looke vpon all Gallia, whom we haue called together to succour vs. What spirits do you thinke would our friends and kins-

Cæsar:

men conceiue, fourescore thousand men being slaine, in a place if they were constrained to wage battell vpon their dead carcases? I would not haue you to desir and them of your helpe, that do neglect all perill for your sake, nor by your foolishnesse and your rashnesse, or the weaknesse of your mind, throw downe all Gallia, and cast it into perpetuall bondage. Do you doubt of their faith and constancie, because they came not by a day? What do the Romaines then meane in these outward workes? Do you thinke they make them for exercise, or to passe away the time? If you cannot then receive assurance by their messengers all passage being sloop, vse them for witnesses that their comming is at hand, for feare whereof they labour night and day. What then? my aduice is that we do as our forefathers did in a war against the Cimbri and Teutons not equal to this, who being shut vp within their townes, and brought to the like necessitie, did satisfie their hunger with the bodies of such as were found vnfit for warre, neither did they yeeld themselves vnto the enemy, whereof if we had not an example, yet I would iudge it an excellent thing to be begun now for liberties sake, and to be left to posterity: for what warre was like this? Gallia being wasted and dispeopled, and the kingdome brought into great misery, the Cimbri at length forsooke our country, and sought out other territories, and left vnto vs our lawes, customes, lands and libertie: for the Romaines, what is it they desire, or what would they haue? But being drawne on with malice and enuie, whom they vnderstood to be a noble and a warlike nation, their fields and cities they did desire to take from them, and to yoke them with eternall bondage, as neuer making warre with other condition: for if you be ignorant what they do saue off in other countries, looke at home in that part of Gallia which is reduced into a Province. Their lawes and customes being changed, it is subiect to the axe and to perpetuall seruitude. Their opinions being deliuered, they decree that such as through age or sicknesse were vnfit for war should depart the towne, and that they should proue all meanes before they yeelded to Critognatus opinion, and yet if the matter so required, to consent vnto it, and to attend their succour rather then to yeeld to any vnder dry and condition of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is oftentimes made questionable in the extremitie of a siege, how farre the Commanders may go in continuing their resistance to the danger and hazard of the people besieged: whether they may not in honour proceede as farre as Critognatus opinion would draw them: or how they may know when to leaue it, in the very point of discrete and valiant cariage: which is to be answered according to the qualitie of the enemy that giueth siege to the place; for against a trecherous and disloyall enemy, that maketh profession of infidelitie, and would not sticke after a composition to insnare them in a greater danger then the perill of death, there would be much endured rather then to vndergo so hard a fortune: and yet I do no way approoue the cruell resolution of this

this Gaule, but do rather commend the example of the Hungarians at the siege of Agria; for in the year 1562. Mahomet Bassa lay before that towne with an armie of threescore thousand Turkes, and layd batterie to it with fiftie canons. There were within the Towne two thousand Hungarians, who endured and put off thirteene most terrible assaults of the enemy: and for the better strengthening of their high resolution, they tooke a mutuall oath that no man vpon paine of death should once speake of a treatie, or of giuing vp the Towne, or to make any answer to the enemy but by the hargebuse or the cannon. And if the siege should happen to continue long, rather to die for hunger then to put themselves in the hands of so cruell and barbarous an enemy. They determined further, that such amongst them that were not seruiciable with a weapon, should attend continually to reenforce the rampier and repair the ruines. And to auoide trecherie, they tooke order that there might be no assemblies in the citie about the number of three together. They commaunded likewise that all the victuall as was either publique or priuate, should be diuided into equall portions amongst the souldiers, and the best of it should be refered for such as were hurt in fight. It is further reported, that the Bassa hauing oftentimes offered a treatie, they onely shewed for an answer to his summons a funerall beare couered with blacke, lifted vp aboue the wall betwene two pikes, to signifie thereby that they would not come out but by death.

As this is a degree short of Critognatus resolution, so I do not denie but that a Generall may giue vp a Towne before he come to these tearmes with true honour and wisdome. But the matter (as I haue said) consisteth altogether vpon the circumstances interlaced. But that which is further to be obserued in this place, is the extreame contrarietie of opinions, which are usually deliuered vpon dispute of such difficult cases, wherein *Quantum alteri sententia deest animi, tantum alteri superesse solet*; as Curio said vpon the like occasion: *Medio tutissimus ibis*, was Phæbus direction to his sonne Phæton in a matter of difficultie and great hazard, and obserued in this place by the Gauls.



brought vpon their state, as it happened in the warre against the *Fidenates* revolted, which nothing but their recourse to a Dictator, could make happie to their Empire: whereupon *Linie* saith: *Tres Tribuni, potestate consulari, documen- to suere quam plurimum imperium bello inuultesse, sentando ad sua quisque consilia, cum alij aliud videretur, apparuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti.* In the time of their Consuls, *Quintius* and *Agrippa* being sent against the *Equi*, *Agrippa* referred the businesse wholly to his colleague, concluding as *Linie* saith: *Saluberum in administratione magnarum rerum est summum imperij ad unum esse.* And therefore as one bodie requireth but one head, so one businesse would haue but one director, forasmuch as *Æmulatio inter pares & ex eo impedimentum.*

CHAP. XXXV.

The Gaules do chuse out sixtie thousand of their best men, and do assault the weakest part of Cæsars campe.



THE Gaules being repelled twice with great losse, do fall into consideration what they were next to do: they call vnto them such as were well acquainted with the nature and site of the place, by whom they vnderstand of the situation of the upper campe. On the north sides there lay a hill, which by reason of the greatnesse of the circuit, our men could not take in within the compass of their workes: and thereupon were necessarily constrained to lay their campe in an vnequall place somewhat shelving. This part was kept by *Caius Antistius Reginus*, and *Caius Caninius Regulus* with two Legions. This being knowne by the discoverers, the Captaines of the enemy chose out sixtie thousand of those States which caried the greatest opinion of manhood, and did secretly determine amongst themselves, how and in what sort they would haue the service caried, and do determine to put it in execution when the Sunne should be neare about the noone meridian, appointing *Vergasilaunus* to command those forces, being one of the foure Captaines, and kinsman to *Vercingetorix*. He going out of the campe in the first watch of the night, came to the end of his iourney a litle before day, and hiding himselfe behind a hill, commaunded his souldiers to refresh themselves from the former nights trauell. And when it beganne to be towards noone: he made towards that part of the campe which I haue before mentioned: and at the same time the horsemen began to approach towards the workes, and the rest of the forces shewed themselves before the campe. *Vercingetorix* perceiuing this out of the watch-tower of *Alesia*, went out of the towne, and caried with him long poles, hookes and such other prouisions which he had made readie beforehand for a salley: they fought at one instant in all places, all waies were tryed: where they thought it to be weakest, thither they ran, the Romaine forces were dismembred by reason of the large extension

extension of their workes, and the shout which was made behind their backs, did much affright our men, forasmuch as they perceiued that their daunger did consist in other mens valour: for such things as are absent do for the most part greatly perplex and trouble mens minds. Cæsar hauing got a conuenient place, doth see what is done in every part: if any were overcharged he sent them succour, and was readie to answer all occasions on both sides the campe: he told them that that was the time, when it was behouefull for the to fight: the Gauls wold despair of all good successe, vnlesse they brake downe the workes. The Romaines if they obtained their purpose, might expect an end of their labours: the greatest contention was about that place to which *Vergasilaunus* was sent; a small rising in a place doth giue much aduantage in a sheluing descent: some cast weapons, others put themselves into a Testudo, and came vnder the workes, the wearied and ouerlaboured were seconded by fresh supplies: every man cast earth into the workes, which raised it so high, that the Gauls had aduantage of ascent: and the pikes and sharpe stakes which the Romaines had cunningly hid vnder the earth to annoy the enemy, were thereby couered: it came at last to that passe that our men wanted both strength and weapons: which being knowne, Cæsar sent *Labienus* with sixe cohorts to releene those that were overcharged, commanding him (if he could not beare out the charge) to fall out vpon them, but not vnlesse he were constrained vnto it: he himselfe went about to the rest, adhorting them not to faint vnder their labour, forasmuch as the fruite and benefite of all their former battels consisted in that day and that houre. The enemy within being out of hope of doing any good vpon the workes made in plaine and champion places, by reason of the strength of the fortifications, tried what they could do in steepe and broken places, and thither they brought those things, which they had prepared, with the multitude of their casting weapons, they cast out such as fought from turrets, they fitted their passages with hurdles and earth, they brake downe the parapet and the rampier with hookes. Cæsar sent first young *Brutus* with sixe cohorts, and after him *Fabius a Legate* with seuen more, and at length as the fight waxed hote, he went himselfe with a fresh supply. The fight being renewed and the enemy beaten off, he hasted to that place whither he had sent *Labienus*, and tooke foure cohorts out of the next Castle. Part of the horsemen he commaunded to follow him, and the rest to compass about the outward workes, and to set vpon the enemy behind. *Labienus* finding that neither rampier nor ditches were able to keepe out the enemy, hauing got such forces together as were drawne by chaunce from the workes nearest hand, he acquainted Cæsar by messengers what he thought fit to be done. Cæsar made hast to be at the fight: his coming being knowne by the colour of his garment, which he was accustomed to weare in time of battell, and the troupes of horse and the cohorts being discovered which he had commaunded to follow him, as the sheluing and declining places were subiect to the view of higher grounds: the enemy begun the fight, a great shout was taken up on both sides: our men hauing throwne their pikes, betooke themselves to their swords: suddenly the horsemen were discovered behind them, and other cohorts made their approaches towards them. The enemy turned his backe and fled, the horsemen met them as they fled, the slaughter was great in that place. *Sedulius*, a Captaine and Prince of the *Lemouici* was slaine, *Vergasilaunus* was taken aliue, threescore and fourteene ensignes were brought vnto Cæsar, and very few of so great a number returned safe

into their campe. Those of the towne beholding the slaughter and flight of their friends, being out of all hope, drew backe their forces from the workes. This being knowne, the Gauls fled presently out of their campe: and if the souldiers had not bene wearied with that daies labour, they might easily haue destroyed all their enemies. About midnight the horse being sent out to fall vpon the reuerward, a great number was taken and slaine, the rest escaped into their countries.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tis an old saying of a hungry man, that it is an easier matter to fill his belly then his eye, which is as true in other cases: wherein our desires are oftentimes so great, that we thinke no means sufficient to accomplish the same: but when we shall come to put it in triall, and suffer euery man to be measured with his owne foote, it will appeare that our desires are better applied to the infinitie of the mind, then to the necessarie occasions of our life. *Vercingetorix* was so farre interested in the successe of this warre, that he thought all the able men of *Gallia* not inough to make it happie vnto him: but the other Princes that were not so deeply touched, and yet stood as well affected to the cause, refused to inrole all that were able to beare armes, but thought two hundred fortie and eight thousand men to be a competent force for this seruice. But comming to the execution of the businesse, they employed onely but sixtie thousand: and whē they failed of their indeuour, and were rowted and ouerthrowne by the *Romaines*, the rest staid no longer to dispute the matter, but fled all away by night: which sheweth the difference betweene the affections which are forerunners of a cause, and such as grow and increase with a businesse, and are not commonly found in one and the same subiect in their greatest strengths. For these antecedent desires, are like womens longings, strong and violent at first: but decayiag as fast againe before they come to any ripenesse: whereas such affections as rise from the cariage of a businesse, and grow from the occurrences of that proceeding, are not so easily abated, but do hold out strong either for constancie or obstinacie.



CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vercingetorix yeeldeth himselfe, and the Towne to Cæsar

THE next day *Vercingetorix* hauing called a Councell, told them, that he had not undertooke that warre for his owne occasions, but for the cause of common libertie, and forasmuch as they were necessarily to yeeld to fortune, he made offer of himselfe vnto them, either to satisfie the *Romaines* with his death, or to be deliuered vnto them aline. Ambassadors were sent to *Cæsar* touching that point: he commaunded their armes to be deliuered, and the Princes to be brought out: he himselfe sate in the fortifications before the campe: thither the Captaines were brought, *Vercingetorix* was deliuered, their weapons were cast out. The *Hedui* and the *Aruerni* being referred, to the end he might recover the rest of the States by them: of the rest of the captiues, he gaue throughout all the army, to euery man a prisoner, by the name of a bootie. These things being ended, he went to the *Hedui* and receiued in the State: thither did the *Aruerni* send Ambassadors vnto him, promising to obey whatsoeuer he commaunded: he demanded a great number of hostages, and sent the Legions into their wintering camps: he sent home twenty thousand captiues to the *Hedui* and *Aruerni*; he sent *T. Labienus* with two Legions into the *Sequani*, and gaue him *M. Sempronius Rutilius* to assist him: he lodged *C. Fabius* and *Lucius Minatius Basilus* with two legions amongst the men of *Rhemes*, lest they should receiue any damage by the neare bordering *Bellouaci*: he sent *C. Antistius Reginus* to the *Ambiuariti*, and *T. Sextius* to the *Bituriges*, and *C. Caninius Rebilus* to the *Rutheni*, with each of them a Legion: he placed *Quintus Tullius Cicero* and *Paulus Sulpitius* at *Cauillonis* and *Matiscona* of the *Hedui* vpon the riuer *Arar* for provision of corne: he himselfe determined to winter at *Bibraet*. These yeares seruice being knowne at *Rome*, there was a feast of thanksgiuing appointed for twentie dayes together.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATIONS.

VERCINGETORIX notwithstanding a hard fortune, entertained a noble resolution: for hauing first acquainted the Gauls that he had not vnderooke that warre for any respect to himselfe, but for the cause of *Gallia*, and the auncient libertie of that continent, he made offer to satisfie the angry *Romaines* with his body dead or alieue.

Plutark reciteth the maner of his deliuerie to be in this sort: being armed at all parts, and mounted on a horse furnished with a rich caparison, he came to

Plutark in the life of Cæsar.

Cæsar and rode round about him as he sat in his chaire of Estate, then lighting off his horse, he tooke off his capparison and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe and laid all on the ground, and went and sat downe at *Cæsars* fecte, and said neuer a word. *Cæsar* at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to be led afterwards in his triumph at *Rome*: but the ciuill wars did cut off that solemnitie.

If it be demanded, what became of these great Princes and personages after the triumph, it will appeare that they did not stroke their heads, or make more of them then of miserable captiues: for *Paulus Emilius* after the noble triumph for king *Perseus*, pittying his fortune and desiring to help him, could neuer obtaine other grace for him, then onely to remoue him from the common prison, which they called *Carcer*, into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly guarded, he died, either by abstinence, or being kept from sleepe by the souldiers. Two of his sonnes died also, but the third became an excellent Turner or Ioyner, and could write the *Romaine* tongue so well, that afterwards he became Chancellor to the Magistrates of *Rome*. And thus the *Romaines* dealt with their captiue Princes, making them examples of Fortunes vnconstancie, and turning their diadems into shakels of iron.

And thus far did *Cæsar* comment himselfe vpon the warres he made against the *Gauls*, being a noble and a worthy people, and bred in a large & fertile continent; the inhabitants whereof haue in all ages, even to these times, challenged an eminencie, both for politticke gouernment and martiall prowesse, amongst the Westerne kingdomes of the world: their actions and cariage from time to time deseruing as honorable memory as these warres recorded by *Cæsars* owne hand; whereof *Paulus Emilius*, *Philip Commynes*, and of late *Iohn de Seres* are very pregnant witnesses: they continued vnder the *Romaine* gouernement foure hundred fortie and one yeares, according to the computation made by *Iohn Tillius*, reckoning from the last victorie in *Cæsars* Proconsullship, to the time of *Marcomerus* a General of the *French*, by whose prowesse and meanes they denied to pay that homage and tribute to the Emperour *Valentinianus*, which *Vercingetorix* had lost to *Cæsar*.

The next Sommers seruice compiled by *Hirtius*, I haue purposely omitted, as intending no further matter then what *Cæsar* hath related, who best knew the whole proiect of that businesse.

And thus endeth the seuenth and last Commentarie, written by *Cæsar* of the warre he made in *Gallia*.

LAUS Deo in æternum.

FINIS.





THE FIRST BOOKE OF
Cæsars Commentaries of the
Ciwill Warres.

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giuing vp his gouernment: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bellirred themselves, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.

LETTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Consuls from C. Cæsar, it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be graunted. The Consuls propounded busineses concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consul, protested his assistance should not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly; but if they respected Cæsar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they vsually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate; neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Cæsars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resolved to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would stand to him: but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter should they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from

B. Pompeis

Pompeys owne mouth, he himselfe being absent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others spake more temperately; as first, M. Marcellus, who thought it not convenient, that the Senate should bring these things in question, vntill they had made a leuie of souldiers throughout all Italie, and inuolued an Army; by whose protection, they might safely & freely determine what they thought fit: As also M. Calidius, who thought it requisite, that Pompey should goe to his Prouinces and Governments, to remove all occasions of taking Armes: For, Caesar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them nere about the cittie to his preiudice. And likewise M. Rufus, varying some few words, declared himselfe of Calidius opinion. All these were bitterly reprooued by L. Lentulus the Consull; who utterly denied to publish what Calidius had sentenced. Marcellus feared with these menaces, retracted his opinion. And so, what with the clamor of the Consull, the terrour of the present Armie, and the threatening used by Pompeys faction, most of the Senators were compelled against their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by a certaine day, Caesar should dissolue and dismisse his Armie; which if he did refuse to doe, that then he openly shewed himselfe an Enemy to the Common-weale. M. Antonius, and L. Cassius, Tribunes of the people, did oppose this decree. Their opposition was instantly spoken vnto; and many sharpe & hard censures were giuen vpon the same: for, according as any one spake most bitterlie, and cruelly, so they were most highly commended by Caesars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the ensignes of honour, displaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: so are these Relations branded in the forehead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decreed cause, ill befitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chiefe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the losse of Crassus, chose rather to imbrow their ambitious swords in the blood of their owne Country: Eagle against Eagle, and Pile against Pile, in a warre which could challenge no Triumph. If it be now demaunded as formerlie it was,

Quis furor ô Cines? quæ tanta licentia ferri?

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Caesars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the losse of so many Romaines? It were besides the scope of these discourses, to lay an imputation vpon either of those Worthies; the one beeing chiefe Assistant to the Empire, when she put off her Consularie Government, and the other sitting sole at the helme, directing a course to fetch in many Caesars. Onely this I may truly say with Tacitus; That Ciuil warre were neuer set on foote by iustificable courses. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this storie (which is more to be regarded then

then either Socrates or Platos friendship) it shall not be impertinent to fetch the causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

The histories of that age doe all intimate, that when Rome had ennobled Pompey with her seruice, & stiled him by employments with the title of Greatness, as a satisfaction for the iniuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalenge the renowne of other mens labours, and suffereth no subiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of seruice & obedience) assumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his spirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a seruant; so easily are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe vnder the awe of priuate commaund. In this height of greatness & authoritie, he made way for Caesar, his father in law; hauing a spirit as subiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Families: And vpon the ending of his first Consulship, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the government of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia which they called Cisalpina, containing the Countries that lie betwene the Alpes and the little Riuer Rubico, together with Slavonia, and foure legions of souldiers for the terme of five yeares. At the expiration wherof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the assistance of Crassus, for five yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Caesars daughter, who Pompey had married, was deceased (wherby Caesar stood single, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoise of a third partie, to hold them balanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus liued) Pompey, ialous of those victories and passages of Armes which Caesar had atchieued by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found meanes first to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to send him a successor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a priuate person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Caesar taking as an assurance of his downefall, gaue huge summes of money to gaine Paulus Acmilus, one of the Consuls, and C. Curio, a Tribune of the people, to resist this Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and hauing no hope of repealing the same, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Cisalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, vntill hee should obtaine the Consulship; which was the effect of these Letters deliuered by Fabius. And beeing denied by Pompeys faction, in these partiall and tumultuous assemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyaltie to the State, verifying the olde saying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato: Magni amici veritas, Aristot. 1. Ethic. Pomp. Mag.

Constantine was so ialous thereof, that he published an edict, that the honour of all victories should be attributed to him; although they were atchieued too. leagues off.

Fonte cadit modico, paruisque impellitur vndis Iuniceus Rubicon, et Callicæ certus limex, ab Ausonij discriminat arua colonis. Lucan. l. 1. Fasta tribus domus communi Roma. Pompeius, Caesar, et Crassus. Quæ sola futuri Crassus erat belvi Medius mora. Nulla sancta societas, nec fides Regni. Ennius.

Nec quemquam, nam ferre potest, Cæsare priore, Pompeiusque patrem. Lucan. l. 1. Adversus hæc est, opibus non tradere mores. Martial. Sæpe maior fortuna locum fecit inuria. Seneca Epist. 91.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Concerning the opposition of the Tribunes, it is to be understood, that the people eaten vp with vsurie, and other grievous exactions, forsooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Dosci and the Equi; and taking themselves to a Mountaine neere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had given order for their grievances. In which transaction it was agreed, that there should be Magistrates chosen out of the body of the people, to counterpoise the power of the Senate, and to restrain the boundlesse authoritie of the Consuls: which office, was reconed in the number of their holiest things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender should redeeme it with the losse of his life. Their whole power consisted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senator, went about a matter, which might be prejudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the communaltie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpose their authority, to frustrate and auert the same: which was auailable, albeit the matter was gainesaid but by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent persons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were neuer shut, but stood open night and day, for a refuge to such as should flie to them for succour: neither was it lawfull for them to be absent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magistracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Cluentio*. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was suppressd by Sylla; restored by Pompey; and vtterly taken away by the Emperour Constantine.

If it be demaunded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine government was; it is to be understood, that vpon the expulsion of their Kings, the soueraintie rested in their Consuls. For, as Liuius saith, there was nothing diminished of kingly government, saue onely for the better establishing of libertie, that the Consular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long, for Publicola imparted this soueraintie to the Communaltie; making it lawfull to appeale from the Consuls to the people. Whereby the Consular soueraintie was dissolued, and the people tooke occasion to oppose themselves against the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocal inuettues between the Senate and the Tribunes; and when the Consull sent a Seriant to the Tribune, the Tribune would send a Pursuuant to the Consull. And so the Common-wealth halted betwene an Aristocratie and a Democratie, vntill at length the voagg of the Communaltie, drew it to a perfit Democratie, and made their Acts of Senate of no value, vnlesse they were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Senate, affording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, such as hauing enlarged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour,

and

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

and were the flower of that people, which Cynceas called a towne of kinges, were consequentlie so engaged in the businesse of the State, that matters were for the most part, carried as they stooode affected; as appeareth by this passage of Cæsar.

Cynceas interrogatus à Pyrrho quali Roma esset? Respondit, Regū urbem subridens. Iust. l. 8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane of all consultations: especiallie, when the common good is shadowed vvith priuate respects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Romaine Senate, farre exceeded all that can be spoken of other Councils of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any Catiline that would lift vp his head higher then his fellowes: yet heere it suffered equitie and indifference to be suppressed with faction, giuing way to violence, which gouerneth all things vntowardlie; and with cordes of priuate hate, oftentimes draweth the Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention whereof, the Athenians swore their Senators, to make the common good the chiefe scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that priuate respects are alwaies offensive to publique ends; and the State euer suffereth, when fauour preuaileth against the common profit.

Tully, going about to direct a Councillor in this behalfe, onely wisheth a man to deliuer sincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee happen to stand alone in his owne conceit: for, the issue of a businesse, dooth not so much concerne a Councillor, as to speake truly his opinion thereof. And to that end, the custome of the Romaine Senate was, that the youngest & such as came last in place, should declare themselves first; that they might not be forestalled in their opinions, nor put besides that they would haue spoken; together with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, thinges first spoken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theodorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer shew himselfe on the stage after any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators. Notwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Cæsar, in fauour of Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to anticipate the opinion of others that should follow.

The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Tiberius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath, that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn: Piso replied; What place wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Cæsar: for, if thou speake first, I knowe how to follow; if last, I am assured I shall dissent from thy opinion. But that which is most blameable in matter of councill, is, when they come to the Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. VVherein L: Piso is deservedly commended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselfe of a seruile opinion; but when necessitie forced him, hee tempered it with wisdom. Neither is it

Faction in a Councill, is an enemy to the publicke good.

Nam male cuncta ministrat impetui, et stimulat non raro perniciem adij perniciem in publicum exitum. Tac. l. hist.

Atheniensis Senator iurabat se praeceptis populi consulturum. Demost. cit. N. ar. 1. Philippic.

Arist. 7. polit. 17.

Sueto. in vita Iulij Cæsaris.

Tacit. 1. Amal.

Tacit. 6. Amal.

the leatt milchiet, that the condition of souerainie is such as will hardly indure reprooffe; but must be disguised, as Appolonius corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede against Cæsar,
with all eagerneſſe.

HE Senate, rising a little before night, were all sent for to Pompey. He commended them for what they had done, and confirmed them for after resolutions, reprehended such as shewed themselves indifferent, and stirred them up to more forwardnesse. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were sent for, vpon hope of reward & aduancement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Cæsar, were commaunded to attend; inſomuch, as the Cittie swarmed with ſouldiers. Against the election of new Magistrates: C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people: All the Consuls friends, the kinsfolks & allies of Pompey, and such others as had any former enmity with Cæsar, were cōpelled into the Senate. By the presence & opinio of these Men, the weakest were terrified, the doubtfull confirmed, & the most part were cut off from giuing absolute and free voyces. L. Piso the Censor, and L. Roscius the Prator, offered themselves to goe to Cæsar, to aduise him of these things; requiring but sixe daies space to returne an aunswere. Others thought it fit, that Embassadors should be sent to Cæsar, to giue him notice of the pleasure of the Senate. To all these was opposed what the Consull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and specially, by the repulse of the Pratorship. Lentulus, out of a consideration of his great debts, hoping to commaund an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to receiue the liberall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he should thereby procure, to be stiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; inſomuch, as he would not stick to boast in priuate, that hee was like to proue a second Sylla, on whom, the soueraine commaund of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawn on by the same hope, of hauing the gouernment of a Prouince, or the commaund of an Armie; which by reason of his alliance he thought to share with Pompey (beeing otherwise aſſeard to be called into iustice) as also through flattery and ofentation, both of himselfe, and other great friends, which were able to sway much, as well in the course of iustice, as in the Common-wealth.

Pompey, in his particular, was much prouoked by Cæsars enemies, and specially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Cæsars friendship, and had reconciled himselfe to their common Enemies; the greatest part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Cæsar,

in the time of their alliance: as also by the dishonour which he had gotten by taking those two legions from their journey towards Asia and Syria, and vsing the for the aduancement of his owne particular: which things moued him to draw the matter to Armes. For these respects, all things were caried impetuouslie and confusedly; neither was there leasure giuen to Cæsars friends to aduertise him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to auoide the danger which was falling vpon them, or to vse their right of opposition which L. Sylla left vnto them: but within seauen daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to list for their safetie; notwithstanding that the most turbulent and seditious Tribunes of former times, were neuer put to looke into their affaires, or to giue account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themselves to that extreame and last Act of Senate, which was neuer thought vpon, but whē the cittie was vpon the point of burning, or in the most desperate estate of the Common-weale. That the Consuls, Prators, Tribunes of the people, and such as had beene Consuls, and were resiant neere about the cittie, should endeavour that the Common-weale might not be indangered. This Act was made the seauenth of the Ides of Ianuary: so that the five first daies, in which the Senate might sit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Consulship (excepting onelie two daies for the generall assembly of the people) most heauie & cruell Decrees were made, against the authority of Cæsar, and against the Tribunes of the people, famous and worthy men; who there-vpon fledde presently out of the cittie. Cæsar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an aunswere to his easie and modest demands, if by any reasonable course matters might be drawne to a peaceable end.

Ne quid respublice detrimenti capiat. Consecuti sunt dies Commutales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Cic. L. I. i. i. i. i.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



T is the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once it hath auouched, although the matter be of small consequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it easilie be reclaimed by motiues of reason, but is rather incited thereby (per Antiperistafin) to persist in wilfulnesse, then to harken to that which is more conuenient; especially, when either iealousie or reuenge doe imple an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no measure; but to iustifie an errour, runnes headlong into all extremities, and flieth to the last refuge of desperate and deplored cases, to make disordered passions seeme good discretion. Which evidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in resolving of that desperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in most eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at sea, when a shippe rideth in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempest, is vpon the point of shipwrack, the Mariners are wont to cast out a sheete Anker as their last refuge: so had Rome anciently recourle to this Decree, at such times as the Common-wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by serpents in their bosome at home. Liuiē speaking of the warre

Et gratia oneri, sic visio in qua flu habetur. Tac.

Suprema lex Salus reipub.

of the Equi, saith; The Senators were so affrighted, that following the forme of the Decree which was alwaies referred for cases of extremitie, they ordained, that *Posthumius* (one of the Consuls) should take care that the Common-wealth might not be endangered. The like was vsed in ciuill and intestine seditions: as, when *Manlius Capitolinus* aspired to a Tyranny: and as likewise in the tumults of the *Gracchij*, the conspiracie of *Catiline*, & other times of like danger. For, albeit the Consuls had all soueraine authoritie, as well in warre as in peace; yet neuertheless, there were certaine referred cases where, in they had no power, without expresse order from the Senate, and assent from the people: as, to leuie an Armie to make war, to take money out of the Treasury; whereas vpon such a Decree, they were inabled to dispose of all busineses of State, without further mouing of the Senate or people: which *Tully* noteth in his Orations against *Anthonie*. I thinke it fit (saith hee) that the whole state of the Common-weale be left vnto the Consuls, and that they be suffered to defend the same; and to take care that the Common-weale be not endangered.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Fabius. May not omit (for the better vnderstanding of this noble Historie) to say somewhat of the Persons here mentioned: and first of *Fabius*, as descended of the noblest and most auncient Family of the Patrician Order; being able of themselves to maintaine warre a long time against the Veij, a strong & warlike towne, vntill at length they were all vnfortunatly slaine by an ambushment: which *Ouid* mentioneth, where he saith;

*Hæc fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis,
Tercentum Fabij ter cecidere duo.*

Onely there remained of that house, a child then kept at Rome: which in tract of time, multiplied into fixe great Families, all which had their turne in the highest charges and dignities of the Common-weale; amongst whom, hee that supplanted *Hanniball* by temporizing, & therby got the surname of *Maximus*, was most famous, as *Ennius* witnesseth;

*Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.*

But *C. Fabius*, here mentioned, neuer attained to any place of Magistracie, other then such commaunds as he held in the warres vnder *Cæsar*.

Lentulus. Lentulus the Consul was of the house of the Cornelians, from whom are said to come xvi. Consuls. He was from the beginning a mortall enemy to *Cæsar*, and so continued to his death, which fell vnto him in Egypt, by commaundement of King *Ptolemei*, after *Pompey* was slaine.

Scipio. Scipio was father in law to *Pompey*, after the death of *Iulia*, *Cæsars* daughter; and by that meanes, obtained the gouernment of Asia. In the beginning

of the Ciuill war, he brought good succors to assist his son in law, as it folows in the third Comēntary: & vpon the ouerthrowe at *Pharsalia* he fled into *Affrick*, where he renewed the war, & became chief Commander of the remaining party against *Cæsar*; but being in the end defeated, he made towards *Spaine*: and fearing by the way least he should fall into his enemies hands, he slew himselfe.

Marcellus was of the ancient Family of the *Claudians*, which came originally of the *Sabines*; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of *Tullies*, intitled, *Pro Marcello*. He was afterwards slaine by one *Chilo*.

M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine histories, for attaining in a small time to so great a height in that gouernment; for, in all the warres of *Gallia*, he was but a Treasurer vnder *Cæsar*, which was the least of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the ciuill wars, hee was made Tribune of the people; and within lesse then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with *Octavius Cæsar* in the gouernment of the Empire. And if *Cleopatras* beautie had not blinded him, he might haue easily through the fauour of the souldiers supplanted his Competitor, and seized vpon the Monarchie.

The name of *Cassius* was ominous for trouble to the state of Rome, & their ends were as vnfortunate. This *L. Cassius*, for his part, after the great troubles he had stirred vp in *Spaine*, was drowned in the mouth of the Riuer *Eber*.

Piso was made Censor in the Consulship of *L. Paulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, hauing himselfe been Consul eight yeeres before, in the yere of Rome 695, succeeding *Cæsar*, and *Bibulus*; and was the man against whom *Tullie* penned that Oration which is extant in *Pisonem*. Touching the office of Censor, it is to be vnderstood, that about the yere of Rome 310, the Consuls being distracted with multiplicitie of torraine businesse, omitted the Censure or alselment of the Citie for some yeeres together: wherevpon it was afterwards thought fit, that there should be a peculiar officer appointed for that seruice, and to be called Censor: forasmuch as euery man was to be taxed, rankt and valued, according to his opinion & censure. The first part of their office consisted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & possession of the Romaine citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the number of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne strength, and so to shapetheir course accordingly, either in vndertaking warres, transplanting Colonies, or in making prouision of victuals in time of peace. It was also as requisite to know euery mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of *Ouid*;

finitaque certis

Legibus est ætas, vnde petatur honos.

M. Antonius commaunded, that the names of the Romaine children should be brought into the Treasury within 30 daies after they were borne; according to which custome, *Francis* the French king published an Edict, Anno 1539, that euery parish should keepe a Register of burials and christenings: which since that time is vsed in England.

The distinction of conditions and states, ranging euery man in his proper order, is as necessary in the Common-weale, and as woorthy of the Censors notice,

Marcellus.

M. Anto.

Cassius.

Piso.

To know the number of Citizens.

Their age.

De Fast.

Halicarnasseus, lib. 3.
Gotofred ad L. ætatem 3.
S. De Cens.
Their calling.
Maiores primus quisque fuit ille suorum, aut Pastor fuit, aut il- und quod dicere noli.

notice as any thing belides. Neither may the allotment of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that euery man might beare a part in the seruice of the State. In which respect, Seruius Tullus is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time euery man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee interested in the Common-weale according to their means. The last and basest sort of Citizens, were named *Capite censi*, and were set in the Subsidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not assessed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

The second and chiefeft part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of euery Common-wealth; to which end they had power to inquire into euery mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Farme, or left his Vine vntirrimmed, the Censors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horse leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They depofed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: aduanced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the best rank of Magistrates in Rome. L. Roscius had formerly bin one of Cæsars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the first Commentary, *Tertiam in Effus. L. Roscio*. The Prætor was ludge in causes of controuersie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongst the Turkes.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.



HE next day after, the Senate assembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to such instructions as he had formerly giuen to Scipio) extolled their constancy & magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, consisting of ten legions in Armes; and further assured them, he knew of a certaine, that Cæsars souldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And vpon the assurance of these remonstrances, other motions were entertained: As first, that a leuié should be made throughout all Italy. That Faustus Sulla should forth-with be sent as Proprætor into Mauritania. That money should be deliuered out of the Treasurie to Pompey. That king Iuba might haue the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, stoppt the passage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermaunded Faustus commission: other matters were passed by Aet. The two Consular, and the other Prætorian Prouinces, were giuen to priuate men that had no office of Magistracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L. Domitius. Philippus and Marcellus, were purposely omitted, and no lottes cast for their employment. Into the other Prouinces were sent Prætors, without any consent or approbation of the

the people, as formerly had beene accustomed: and hauing performed their ordinary vowes, they put on their Military garments, and so tooke their iourney. The Consuls (which before that time was neuer seene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seruants priuately within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, against all order and ancient custome. A leuié was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commaunded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HE neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and abolishment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generally true which Philosphers say; That the forme giueth being to whatsoever subsisteth, and that euery thing hath his name from his fashion and making: then it must necessarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confusion. For, complements and solemnities, are neither *Nimia* nor *Minima* (as some haue imagined) either superfluities, which may bee spared, or trifles of small consequence. But, as the flesh couereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: so are ceremonies, which ancient custome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesse of publique actions, which otherwise would not be distinguished from priuate busineses. And therefore the neglect of such ceremonies, as were vsually obserued to ennoble their actions, was as iniurious to the safety of the Empire, and as euident a demonstration of faction and disloyaltie; as the allotment of Prouinces to priuate persons, or whatsoever else they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publique Weale.

Concerning which, it is to be vnderstood, that no man was capable of those governments, but such as had borne the chiefeft offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that commonly vpon the expiration of their offices, the Consuls and Prætors did either cast lots for the Prouinces, which they called *Sortiri prouincias*, or did otherwise agree amongst themselves how they should be disposed: and that they termed, *Comparare Prouincias*. Liuié toucheth both the one & the other; *Principio insequentis anni cum Consules noui de Prouincijs retulissent, primoquoq; tempore, aut cõparare inter eos Italiam et Macedoniam, aut sortiri placuit*. Howbeit, sometimes the people (whose assent was alwaies necessary) interposed their authoritie, & disposed the same as they thought expedient. But such as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of those dignities, nor thought fit to commaund abroad, hauing neuer shewed their sufficiency at home.

For the manner of their setting forward out of Rome, after they were assigned to employments, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they first went into the Capitoll, & there made publick sacrifices & solemn vowes, either

Paludæi exēit.

The vse of Ceremonies. Forma dat nomē et esse. Arist.

Nimia nec Minima.

Ciuitatis legibus conseruatis, salua quoque populi dominatio. Cicero, in Cestianis.

The manner of disposing of the Prouinces and governments.

Sortiri Prouincias, comparare Prouincias. Lib. 43.

The manner of their setting forward to their governments.

to build a Temple, or to doe some other worke woorthy good fortune, if their designs were happily atchiued; which they called *Vota nuncupari*. And hee that had made such a vow, stood *voti reus* vntill his busines sorted to an issue: and after he had attained his desire, he was *voti damnatus*, vntill he had acquitted himselfe of his promise.

Touching their habite expressed in this phrase, *Paludati exeunt*, it appeareth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a cloake vsed and worne by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chiefe, or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left shoulder. Festus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta*. And Varro giuing a reason of that name, saith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, sunt hæc insignia et ornamenta Militaria: Ideo ad bellum, cum exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant vestem, et signa incinuerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficisci: quæ propterea quod conspiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam fiunt, Paludamenta dicta*. The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a preface of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Mesopotamia, one gaue Crassus a black cloake in steed of a white, as hee went to lose the battaile to the Parthians.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, not contented with the spacious circuit of the sunne, bounding their Empire with the East and the West, but for want of Regions and Countreys, searching the vastnes and depth of the sea; did sildome acknowledge any other soueraintie, or leave a partie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had been so fortunate, as to gaine the fauour and estimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon speciall and deserued respects, or at the instance of their Generalls abroad, enforcing the woorthines of such Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the seruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuius, concerning Vermina, king Syphax sonne; that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vnlesse first he had right well deserued of the Common-weale.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewise particularly expressed by Liuius, in another place speaking of Scipio. The day following (saith hee) to put king Mafsinissa out of his griefe and melancholie, hee ascended vp to his Tribunal, and hauing called an assembly of the souldiers, presented him before them; where he first honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praises: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a scepter of Iuorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Cæsar: That Ariouistus was by the Senate stiled by the name of King and Friend, and presented with great and rich gifts; which happened but to few, and was onely giuen by the Romaines to men of great desert. Howbeit,

beit, such as had gouernments and imployments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cæsar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this sense was king Iuba brought in question, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Associate to the State of Rome.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Touching the franchises and liberties of the townes of Italy, and others in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, those were called *Municipes*, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Magistrates, were neuerthelesse indowed with the freedom of Rome. And therefore Adrianus maruailed, that the Italicenses and Vicenses, did rather desire to bee Coloni, and so tied to the obedience of forraigne & strange lawes, then to liue in a Municipall state, vnder their owne Rights and Customes; and as Festus addeth, with the vse of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, such as they anciently vsed, before they were priuiledged with the immunities of Rome.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, we are to obserue, that there were degrees and differences of Municipall townes; for some had voices with the Romaine people, in all their elections and suffragies: and some others had none at all. For, Gellius in the same place, saith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom of the Cittie, for preserving the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of *Cerites Tabula*, wherein the Censors inrolled such, as were by them for some iust cause deprived of their voices. And the Tusculani, beeing at first receiued into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admission of the Cerites, were afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyces.

The meanes of obtaining this freedom, was first and specially by Firth: wherein it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the Parents, as well the mother as the father, should be free themselves. Howbeit, Vlpian writeth, that the sonne may challenge the freedom of the State, wherein his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Puteolis, he iudgeth the sonne to belong to Campania: According to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuerthelesse, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Issue; That if the wife were a citizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children should be Romaine Citizens. And the Emperour Iustinian, caused it likewise to be decreed, that the mother beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the son should be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Ciues originarij*.

The second meanes of obtaining this freedom, was by Manumission, or setting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Citizens; and yet rankt in the last and meanest order of the people.

C 3.

The

Et Spe Apellandorum Regum.

Municipes.

Lib. 6. cap. 13

Lib. 11.

Cum suffragio

Municipum

Sine suffragio.

Cerites Tabula
Liue lib. 6.

Liue lib. 3.

Liue lib. 3.

Ciues originarij.

The third meanes, was by gitt, or coaptation; and so Romulus at first enlarged and augmented Rome; Theseus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, sited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the first, London; by taking all such strangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuse in giuing this honour. Cicero floutes Cæsar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the City; and Anthony gaue it to all that liued in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vlpian witnesseth, Rome was called *Communis Patria*. Popular states were more sparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the aunfwere of one of the Corinthian Embassadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (saith he) to any man but to thy selfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Tisamenus and his brother.

The priuiledges of this freedome were great; for, the Cittizens of Rome were held to be *maiestate plenos*. Is the best man of Gallia (saith Tully) to be compared with the meanest Cittizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiting, that the life of a Cittizen should not bee brought in question, but by the generall assembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Celsanus, a Romaine Cittizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vsufferable: *Facinus est (inquit) vinciri Ciuem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in crucem agi?* vwith many the like examples: besides the possibilitie they were in, if their sufficiency were answerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and consequently, Commanders of the Empire.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar tasteth the affection of the Souldiers.



Cæsar vnderstanding of these things, called the souldiers together, and acquainted them with all the iniuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their practice and meanes alienated from him, and drawne through enuy of his good fortune, to partialize against him; notwithstanding that he had alwaies affected his honour, and endeuoured the aduancement of his renowne and dignitie: Lamenting likewise the president which this time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie should be opposed and suppressed by Armes, which former age had by force of Armes reestablished. For, Sylla hauing stript the Tribuneship, naked of all rights and prerogatives, yet left it the freedome of opposition: But Pompey, who would seeme to restore it to the dignity from which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer resolved of that Act, That the Magistrates should take a course for the satisfaction of the Common-weale, whereby the people were necessarily summoned to Armes;

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and secession of the people, vwhen the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held against the State: which disloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and disaster of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this present, there was no such matter attempted, so much as in thought: no law published; no practice with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorted them; that forasmuch as vnder his leading and command, for nine yeres together they had most happily caried the gouernment, fought many prosperous and victorious battels, settled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it against the malice of his aduersaries. The souldiers of the xij. legion which were present (for them onely had hee called out in the beginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out instantly, That they were readie to undertake his defence against such wrongs, and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS Publique-weales and Societies are chiefly supported and maintained by iustice: so likewise, such as liue in the ciuill communitie of the same, and inioy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themselves interested in the maintenaunce of iustice, and cannot indure the tyrannie of wrongs; vnlesse happily (as euery man is partiall in his owne cause) they be the authors thereof themselves. The first dutie of iustice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*, did Cæsar make the theame of his Oration to the souldiers; aggravating his particular iniuries, by opening and enforcing the malice of his Aduersaries: and making the State a partie in his sufferings, through the oppression and defacing of the Tribuneship; which in times of libertie, and iust proceeding, was sacred and inviolable.

These remonstrances were apprehended by the souldiers, as matters specially concerning their dutie; holding theselves, either bound to redresse them, or otherwise to be guiltie of betraying their parents, coutry, companions & friends. Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipile of Cæsars Armie, making aunfwere to this speech, gaue assurance of the souldiers good affection; which the rest approued with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophisme, pretending Cæsars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SECondly, we may obserue, that as discord and dissension, renting asunder the bonds of ciuill communitie, are the bane of flourishing and opulent Cities, and make the greatest Empires examples of Mortalitie: so by the same rule of discourse, it is also true, that the mutuall

Whereof *Lex Agraria* was the chiefest.

Plutarch saith, he had the but 500. foote, and 300. horse on that side the Alpes: which amounteth to the iust number of a legion.

Cic. i. officio.

Nihil in iustis quâ propulsare iniuriam. Xenophon Cyrop. lib. 1. *Iustitia primum munus est ne cui quis noceat.* Cic. lib. 1. de officiis.

Qui non defendit nec obstitit si potest iniuriam, tam si in vitio, quâ si parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam, aut socios deserat. Cic. lib. 1. off.

Opulentia ciuitatibus venenâ seditio, magna imperia mortalia reddidit. Liv. lib. 2.

in Exceſſu
ue Theſauri
ſilia regni
et, verum a
ci. Saluſtan
lo Inguſth.
de amicitia.

quisq; max-
e opibus prin-
cipatu, et pote-
ſtate excellit, ita
ciuiſ maximè
ſuget. Ariſt.
hic. 8.

mutuall reſpects or well qualihed friendſhip, are as expedient, both for the ſtrengthening of the ioynts of a publique State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treaſure, or Armies, or any other thing required therevnto. Hence it is that Cicero ſaith, that wee haue as much vſe of friendſhip, as of fire and water: and that he that ſhould goe about to take it from among men, did indeauour (as it were) to take the ſunne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vſe of many wheelles for the motion of their feuerall occaſions; ſo haue they the more neede of amitie and correſpondencie, to ſecond the multiplicitie of their deſires, and to put on their buſineſſes to their wiſhed ends.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar taketh Arminium, receiueth and aunſwereth meſſages from Pompey.



Cæſar hauing ſounded the minds of the ſouldiers, went directly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, ſent for the reſt of their legions from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they ſhould follow him. Thither came young L. Cæſar, whoſe father was a Legate in Cæſars Campe. And after ſome ſpeech of the occaſion of his coming, acquainted Cæſar, that Pompey had giuen him a meſſage in charge to be deliuered vnto him: which was, that he deſired to cleare himſelf to Cæſar, leaſt he might peradventure take thoſe things to be done in ſcorne of him, which were commaunded onely for the ſeruiſe of the State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any priuate reſpect: and that Cæſar likewiſe was tied in honour to lay aſide his indignation and affection for the Common-wealths ſake: and not to be ſo transported with anger and diſdaine of his Aduerſaries, as he ſeemed to be; leaſt in hoping to bee auenged of them, he ſhould hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added ſomewhat more of the ſame ſubiect, together with excuſes on Pompeys behalfe. Almoſt the ſelfe ſame diſcourſe, and of the ſelfe ſame things, Roſcius the Prator dealt with Cæſar, and ſaid that hee had receiued them in charge from Pompey: which although they ſeemed no way to ſatiſfie or remooue the iniuries and wrongs complained of; yet hauing got ſit men, by whom that which he wiſhed might be imparted to Pompey, he praied thē both, for that they had brought vnto him what Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to returne his deſires to Pompey; if happily with ſo little labour they might accord ſo great differences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. He greened much,

that

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

that a benefit giuen him by the people of Rome, ſhould be ſpightfully wrefled from him by his aduerſaries; that ſix months of his gouernment were to be cut off; & ſo he to be called home to the Cittie: notwithstanding the people had commaunded at the laſt creation of Magiſtrates, that there ſhould regard be had of him, although abſent. Neuertheleſſe, for the Common-wealths ſake hee could be content to vndergoe the loſſe of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was ſo far from gaining the ſame, that contrariwiſe a leuie was therevpon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, vnder a pretence of the Parthian warre, were ſtill retained about the Cittie, which was likewiſe in Armes. And to what tended all this, but his deſtruction? And yet notwithstanding, hee was content to condeſcend to all things, and to indure all inconueniences, for the cauſe of the Publique weale. Let Pompey goe to his gouernment and Prouinces; let both the Armies be diſcharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Cittie be freed of feare; the aſſemblies of the people left to their auncient libertie; and the whole gouernment of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accompliſhment whereof, vnder well aduiſed and ſecure conditions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the ſame: or otherwiſe, let Pompey approache neerer vnto him; or ſuffer Cæſar to come neerer to him, that theſe controuerſies might happely receiue an end by conference.

Roſcius, hauing this meſſage, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Cæſar; where finding the Conſuls and Pompey, he deliuered vnto them Cæſars propoſitions. They hauing conſulted of the matter, made an aunſwere in writing, and returned it by them to Cæſar, whereof this was the effect; That he ſhould returne into Gallia, quit Arminium, & diſmiſſe his Army: which if he did, Pompey would then goe into Spaine; In the meane time, untill aſſurance were giuen that Cæſar would performe as much as he promiſed, the Conſuls & Pompey would not forbear to levy ſouldiers. The condition was too vnequall, to require Cæſar to leaue Arminium, and to returne into his Prouince; and Pompey to hold Prouinces & legions belonging to other men: to haue Cæſar diſmiſſe his Armie, and he to raiſe new troopes; to promiſe ſimply to goe to his gouernment, but to aſſigne no day for his departure: inſomuch, that if hee had not gone untill Cæſars time of gouernment had expired, he could not haue been blamed for falſifying his promiſe. But forasmuch as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any ſhew of coming neerer, there could no hope be conceived of peace.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Cæſar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vnderſtanding how matters paſt at Rome, according as Plutarch reporteth, commaunded diuſts of his Centurions to goe before to Arminium, without any other armour then their ſwords; and to poſſeſſe themſelues thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then leauing the troopes about him to be commaunded by Hortenſius, he continued a whole day together in publique ſight of all men, to behold the fencing of the

D.

Sword-

Capua.

Cicero, lib. 7. ad
Atticum, epiſt.
13. ſaith, that
this aunſwer
was made at
Thianum, in the
territories of
Lauour, the 25
of Ianuary.

Plutarch: in vi-
ta Cæſaris.

Rimini.

L. Cæſar.

Sword-players. At night hee bathed his body, and then kept companie with such as he had bidden to supper; and after a while rose from the table, wishing every man to keepe his place, for he would instantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing secretly commanded some of his followers to attend him, in such manner as might giue least suspition, hee himselfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making shew of going a contrary way, turned suddenly towards Arminium. When hee came to the little river Rubicon, which diuided his gouernment from the rest of Italie, he stood confounded through remorse of his desperate designe, and wist not whither it were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aside all doubtfull cogitations, he resolved vpon a desperate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge*. And passing ouer the Riuer, neuer staid running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and shewed them to the souldiers, as they were driuen to flie out of Rome, disguised like slaues in a Carriers cart.

It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this Riuer, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnatural sense; but of that, hee himselfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and standeth in Romania, vpon the Adriatick sea, in the Popes dominion. The Riuer Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Augustus caused a faire bridge to be built, with this inscription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R.COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMILITO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRMÆ-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINI TO. NEC CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEATVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVSIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICATIONIS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R.AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. AS-PORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCO. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTURA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.
S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this manner of proceeding be brought into dispute, and the reason required why Cæsar kept not himselfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne desire, or otherwise haue drawne his aduersaries to buckle with the strength of those conquering Legions; and so brought the businesse to a short end, with as great probability of good successe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderstoode, that in causes of this nature, which shal dome admitte anie treatie of accomde, hee that striketh first, and hath the

advantage

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a designe in hand, it is farre more safe to begin first, and by way of prevention, to giue the onset on him, rather then to shew a readinesse of resisting his assaults. For, if blowes (of necessitie) must be way-makers to peace, it were a mistaking to be either wanting or behind hand therein; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands affected to deny what is iust, and of right due, doth neuertheless grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not stick to supply all vniust refusals, with as great an over-plus of what may be demanded. For which cause, Cæsar staid not the comming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand: and so preventing all intendements, hee put his aduersaries to such a straight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with what ouer was sacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Countrey.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Cæsar taketh diuers Municipall Townes.

FOR which regard, he sent M. Antonius with five cohorts to Arctium: but he himselfe staid at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with severall cohorts, to kee Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being advertised that Thermus, the Prætor, did hold Tignum, with five cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee sent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose comming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The souldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there receiued with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Cæsar conceiuing hope of the sauourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legion out of their guarizons, and marched towards Auximum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts: which hee had brought thither with him; and hauing sent out diuers Senatours, made a levie of men throughout all the Countrey of Picenum.

Cæsars comming being knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concerned not him at all: for, neither themselves, nor the rest of the Municipall townes, would shut their gates against such a Commander as Cæsar was, that by great and worthy seruice had so well deserved of the Common-wealth:

D 2.

Magis terrorem
necit, et inua-
lere volenti pri-
or occurrat, qui
ut te repugnans
tarum significat,
flucyd. lib. 6.
Arma tuentis
omnia dat, qui
inflanegat.
Lucan. lib. 1.

Cæsar.
Hic a legion
being about
2500 men.
Pisaurum.
Pætoro. Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignum.

Auximum.
Atius Varus

Picenum.

and

and therefore aduised him to consider what might ensue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. Varus, being thoroughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Guarison which he had brought in, and so fled away: and being overtaken by a few of Cæsars first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giuing battell, was forsaken of his men. Some of the souldiers went home, and the rest came to Cæsar. Amongst them was taken L. Puppins, Centurion of a Primpile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Cæsar commended Atius souldiers; sent Puppins away; gave thanks to them of Auximum; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this seruise.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Amongst other things which serue to inable our iudgements, and do make men wise to good fortune: that which is gathered from similitude or likenesse of qualitie, is not the vnshurest ground of our discourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passage, thorough the doubtfulness of great enterprises, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an overture from euery particular, and tarry for circumstances to accomplish all his purposes, & make no vse of instances to better his advantage, shall neuer wade farre in businesse of moment, nor attchieue that which he desireth. Which Cæsar well obserued: for, vpon the accidentall discouerie of the disposition of one towne, hee thereby tooke occasion to make triall how the rest stood affected: and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Concerning these places taken by Cæsar, it is to be vnderstood, that *Pisaurum* is sited on the Adriaticke sea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of Vrbine; a towne famous of old, by reason of the prodigious opening of the earth, and swallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of Actium, some few yeeres after it was thus taken by Cæsar.

Fanum was so called of a faire Temple which was there built to Fortune. *Tacit. Annal. 10. Exercitus Vespasiani ad Fanum Fortunæ iter sistit.* It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke sea, sited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the sea betweene two forlands; and so maketh one of the fairest Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence riseth that common saying, expreising the rarenesse and singularity of three things; *Vnus Petrus in Roma*, noting the beaurty of Saint Peters Church; *Vna Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanship of a steple there: And *vnus Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour Traian, to giue it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of the Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones: and made it Theater wise, with descents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



His word *Decurio* hath a double vnderstanding: for, Romulus hauing 3000 foote, and 300 horse, diuided them into three Tribes, & euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne horsemen. Whereby Marcellinus concludeth, that *Decuriones*, et *Centuriones* à numero cui in Militia præerant dicebantur. But Vegetius is more particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (saith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horse was called *Turma*, or *Ter-denos*, containing 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which sense Cæsar speakeeth; *Ea res per fugitios L. Aemylj Decurionis equitum Gallorum hostibus nunciatur*. But in this place it hath another signification: for, the Romanes, when they sent any Cittizens to people and inhabite a place, they chose out euery tenth man; such as were found most able, and of best sufficiency, to make and establish a publike Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*; according as Pomponius and other Ciuiilians vnderstand it. So that these *Decuriones* were the Senate of that place.

Decuriones.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome.
Cæsar commeth to Corfinium.



These things being reported at Rome, the Cittie was suddenly strooke into such a terrour, that when Lentulus the Consul came to open the Treasurie, and to deliuer out money to Pompey according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the Cittie, & left the inner chamber of the Treasurie open. For, it was reported (although vntruly) that Cæsar was neere approaching, & that his Canallie was hard at hand. Marcellus, the other Consul, together with most of the other Magistrates, followed after. Pompey, departing the day before, was gone to those legions which he had taken from Cæsar, & had left in Apulia to winter. In the meane while, the inrolement of souldiers ceased within the Cittie. No place seemed secure betweene that and Capua. There they began first to assemble and assure themselves; impresting for souldiers, such as by Iulius law were sent thither to inhabite. And the Fencers which were there trained and exercised by Cæsar, for the entertainment of the people of Rome, were by Lentulus brought out, set at libertie, mounted vpon horses, & commanded to follow him. But after wards, vpon aduise of his friends (euery mans iudgement disallowing thereof) he dispersed them heere and there throughout Campania, for their better safetie and keeping.

Cæsar.

Sanctiore Aetario.

Capua.

Lex Iulia.

Cæsar,

D 3.

Picenum. Caesar, dislodging from Auximum, marche throughout all the Countrey of Picenum, and was most willingly received by all the Praefectures of those Regions, and reueined with all necessaries which his souldiers stood in need of; insomuch as Commissioners were sent vnto him from Cingulum, a towne which Labienus had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to obey whatsoeuer he commaunded: whereupon he required souldiers, & they sent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Caesar, and with these two hee marched directly to Asculum, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, vnderstanding of Caesars approche, left the place; and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was forsaken by the greatest part of the souldiers: and so marching with a few, happened by chaunce vpon Vibullius Rufus, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Countrey of Picenum, to confirme and settle the people. Vibullius, being aduertised how matters went there, tooke the souldiers, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from Pompeis former inuolments; and amongst others, entertained L. Hirrus, flying with sixe cohorts out of Camerinum, whereof he had the keeping. These being all put together, made 13 cohorts; and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarbus, who was at Corfinium, telling him that Caesar was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raised twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marsia, and Pelignia, adiacent Countreys. Asculum being taken in, and Lentulus driuen out, Caesar made inquirie after the souldiers that had left Lentulus, and commaunded them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies aboade for the prouision of Corne, he marched towards Corfinium. Vpon his approche thither, Domitius sent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the River, which was about three mile off. The vauntgard of Caesars Armie, encountering with Domitius souldiers, draue them from the bridge, & forced them to retrait into the towne; whereby Caesar past over his legions, made a stand before the towne, & incamped himselfe vnder the walles.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Tis well obserued by Guichardine, that Insolencie & Timiditie are neuer found asunder, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the same subiect; for, the minde being the center of all such motions, doth according to euery mans nature, giue the like scopeto passions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference: as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfullnesse in like manner enlarged to Cowardice; & will imbase mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rise in height by insuling. For which cause it is aduised by such as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of passions, or in suffering them to flie out beyond the compass of reason, which contained the measure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be obserued throughout the whole course of mans life. Lentulus the Consull may be an instance of

chis

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by shunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of these broiles, & sorting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overlwaide the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Consular grauitie should haue settled the distracted Comons, and made good his first resolution, his over-hastie flying out of the Cittie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no safetie within those wals, not for so small a time, as might serue to haue shut the Treasure at his heeles; and so became as abiect, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Concerning these words (*Aperto sanctiore Aerario*) it is to be noted, that *Aerarium* was their publique Treasurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne: whereof diuers men make diuers coniectures. Macrobius saith, that as long as Saturne continued in Italie, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the safest place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather, that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne reigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then known amongst them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne first taught Italie the vse and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howsoever, it is manifest, that not onely the publique Treasure was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with such bookes as were for their immeasurable greatnes, called *Libri Elephantini*; containyng all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, archieued by the Commanders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise did such Embassadours as came to Rome, enregister their names, as Plutarch affirmeth.

It was called *Aerariū* of *Aes*, signifying Brasse; for that the first money vsed by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as Pliny witnesseth; when they began first to coyne peeces of siluer marked with the letter X. whereof they tooke the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten asses of brals, which before they vsed for their coyne; and euery of the saide asses waied 12 ounces. Touching their order obserued in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying vp of their moneys, we must vnderstand, that as bodies politique require necessarie and ordinarie treasure to be imployed in such manner, as may best concurre with the publique honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to provide against vsuall and extraordinary casualties, which are not remoued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines disposed of their treasure, and tooke the twentieth part of their receit, which they called *Aurum viceissimarium*, and reserued it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay so priuileged, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the Gallies, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. Liuie affirmeth as much, where he saith, *Cetera expedientibus qua ad bellum opus erant consuli-bus, aurū viceissimariū, quod in sanctiore Aerario ad ultimos casus seruaretur, promi placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo Auri.*

THE

Aerarium.
Plutar. in vita
Publicole.
Aerarium po-
pulus Romanus
in ade Saturni
habuit. Festus.

Libri Elephan-
tini.

Signae Aer-
ario prompta se-
ruantur ad Dic-
tatorem. Liv.
lib. 4.

Lib. 3. cap. 33.

Aurum viceissi-
marium.

Lib. 24.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SVch as affect offices and dignities in a State, must euer haue meanes to court *Souerainty*, according as may best sute with her *Politia*, either as she is eipoused to a Monarch, or left in trust to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very sumptuous in setting forth shewes and spectacles, of diuers sorts and fashions; and specially of Gladiators or Fencers, as best fitting a Romaine disposition, & more pleasing then others of any kind. *Equidem (saith Tully) existimo, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi, quam illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis vlli, neque verò vllorum Commitiorum.* And in another place; *Id autè spectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maxime delectatur.*

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of these Fencers, in some conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of these people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occasion to vie them in their shewes, either at their triumphall entries into the City vpon their victories, or at the funerall solemnities of some personage of memorie; or otherwise at their feasts and iollities.

*Quin etiam exhibare viris conuicia cade
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira.*

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were sildome excused, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had slaine his companion, but stood liable to vndertake another, and so a third, vntill he had foiled fixe or seauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile so often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemnisci*, and receiued of the Prætor a great knotted staffe, called *Rudis*: which he afterward carried about with him as an ensigne of libertie. These bloudy spectacles continued vnto the time of Constantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewise also by Arcadius and Honorius; and vtterly abolished after the raigene of Theodoric, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the fashion of these shewes, read what Lipsius hath written concerning the same. That which I obserue heerein, is, the vie which the State made heereof: for, howsoeuer these fights and solemnities were sette forth for the compassing of priuate ends; yet neuerthelesse, the Common-weale drew benefit from the same. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way so well settled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innovations, as with publick shewes and entertainments: which are as staies to their affections, that they swarue not from the government by which they liue in ciuill consociation. So we read how the Grecians instituted, as popular entertainments, their Olympian, Nemean, Istmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting shewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and

all

all for the satisfaction of the people. Wherein, howsoeuer the Grecians seem more iudicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertertain the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and slaughter, and to make the dreadlesse in cases of horreur.

But, to leaue all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for pastime; it shall suffice to note, that these publique entertainments are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comlineesse: for, as their chiefe end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfulness and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comicall arguments doe sympathile with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

O be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away casualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge, to free thinges from distemperature: tall men are as subiect to Feauers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easily disturbed, as the states of petty Princes.

*O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri
difficiles!*

Lucan. lib. 1.

It is easier to attaine the end of high desires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the assurance of seeking, then of possesing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnfoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much dismayed at a subjects disloyaltie, as was possible for a meane State to be amuzed vpon an alarm of any danger. And that City which suffered no enemy to approche neer her confines, but in the condition of a Captiue, was not trusted as able to giue her owne people safety.

Parare, et quere ardua: tueri difficilis. Liv. lib. 37.

*sic turba per Urbem
Præcipiti lymphata gradu, velut unica rebus
Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros,
Inconsulta ruit.*

Lucan. lib. 1.

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great commaund, haue great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwise as subiect to apprehensions of distrust, as those of lesser power to resist.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar goeth on with the siege of Corfinium,
and taketh it.

DOMITIVS, being thus ingaged, sent out skilfull men of the Countrey, with promise of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and relieue him; for, Cæsar, by reason of the straightnesse of the passages, might with two Armies bee easily shut vp: which opportunitie if he neglected, himselfe, with about 30 cohorts of souldiers, bejaies a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and resolution; placed his* Artillery on the walles; assigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promised in publique assembly of the souldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and possessions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enccates. Meane-while, it was told Cæsar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne distant seauen miles from Corfinium, were desirous to receiue his commands, but that they were restrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a garrison of seauen cohorts. Wherevpon, he sent thither M. Antonius with fine cohorts of the seauenth legion: whose Ensignes were no sooner discovered by those of the towne, but the inhabitants and souldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Atius conuaid themselves ouer the wall. Atius being taken and brought to Antony, desired to be sent to Cæsar. Antonie returning the same day, brought Atius & the souldiers that were found in Sulmo, to Cæsar; w^hom he tooke to his Army, and sent Atius away in safetie.

Cæsar, the three first daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; caused store of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to stay the coming of the rest of his forces. Within the space of those three daies, the eight legion came vnto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horse, which the King of Noricum had sent vnto him. Vpon the arriual of which forces, he made second Camp on the other side of the towne, and appointed Curio to command it. The rest of the time was spent in compassing the towne with a Rampier and with Castells: the greatest part of which worke beeing finished, it chanced at the same time, that such as were sent to Pompey, returned. The Letters beeing read, Domitius dissembling the truth, gaue out in the counsell of warre, that Pompey would come speedily to succour them: and therefore wished that no man should be dismayed, but to prepare such things as were of vse for the defence of the towne; and hee himselfe conferring secretly with some of his familiar friends, consulted how he might escape away. But forasmuch as his lookes agreed not with his words, and that his carriage seemed more troubled and timorous then vsuall, & likewise his secret conferences,

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as also his avoiding of publique councells and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer dissembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such termes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his aduice or consent; & therefore, if by any meanes he could, he should quit the place, and bring the forces vnto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so begird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose being knowne abroad, the souldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening forooke their stations, and drew themselves apart, and therevpon had conference with the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were besieged by Cæsar, and the fortifications almost finished; their Generall Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) setting aside all matters whatsoeuer, was bethinking himselfe how hee might escape and flie away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne safetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; possessed themselves of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a dissension thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, understanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpose to flie away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and sent some to Cæsar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receiue his commandements, and to deliuer Domitius aline into his hands. Vpon aduertisement whereof (albeit Cæsar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as he could, and to take the souldiers into his Campe, least eyther by large promises and gifts, or by entretyning other purposes, or otherwise through false bruits or deuised messages, their mindes might happely be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time; yet for that he feared least the night time might giue occasion to the souldiers vpo their entrance to sack & pilfer the towne) hee comending those that came vnto him, sent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles should be kept with a good guard. Hee himselfe disposed the souldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certaine spaces and distances, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreouer, he sent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no eruptions or sallies, and that they should looke to the priuate slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heauie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæsar: which being graunted, he was sent out of the towne, attended with some of Domitians souldiers, who left him not untill he came in sight of Cæsar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praised him

Lentulus Spinther.

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours receiued from Caesar, which were very great; namely, that by his meanes, he was chosen into the Colledge of Priests; that vpon the going out of his Pratorship, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his suit to be Consull, hee was much assisted by him.

Caesar, interrupting his speech, told him, that hee came not from his gouernment to hurt any man; but to defend himselfe from the iniuries of his aduersaries; to restore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thrust out and expelled the Cittie; and to put himselfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were oppressed with the partialities of a few factious persons. Lentulus, being reassured vpon this answer, prayed leaue to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne safety, might giue hope to the rest: amongst whom, some were so affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into some desperate course; and hauing obtained leaue, hee departed. Caesar, as soone as it was day, commanded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the souldiers and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treasurer, L. Rubius; besides Domitians sonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Romaine Knights and Decurions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. These being all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the insolencies and iniuries of the souldiers. Moreover, he spake a few words vnto them, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done vnto them: and so sent them all away in peace.

The gold which Domitian had laid vp in the publique Treasury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magistrates or Bailieues of Corfinium, he redeliuered to Domitian; least hee should seeme more continent in taking away mens liues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treasure, and deliuered out by Pompey to pay souldiers. He commanded Domitians partie to be sworne his souldiers. And that day removing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS it is true, that a friend is not solie tied to the respects of right; but doth giue more advantage by offices of good indeuour, then by that which dutie requireth: so is it dangerous for a man to put his sickle further into a haruest, then happely may deserue thanks of the owner. Neither can it be cleared from imputation of follie, to care an other mans busines, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth oftentimes so ingage both our persons and affections, either in the maine action it selfe, or in some circumstances of the same, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not fort

with

with his liking that is to approoue them. VWhereof Domitius may be an instance; who, taking Corfinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheless disauowed in his merit, and consequentlie, brought into extremitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the seruice of his Country. Such libertie hath loue-rainie, either to take or leaue, when the euent shal not rise answerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

WHen a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, *Redimas te captum quam queas minimo*; which is not vnderstood, that we should cleere the head, and leaue the rest of the members to misfortune: for, that were to draw a double mischief on the whole bodie. But the head is to escape with as little preiudice to the other parts, as by wisdom and vertue may be gained; and so much the rather, least in seeking to purchase safetie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole destruction vpon it selfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to flie out of the towne, and to leaue such forces as by his meanes were embarked in that cause, was iustly made the sacrifice of their peace. Sulla deserued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, being moued to escape himselfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to such fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage should put vpon them; answered, *Etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga, incerta ac forsitan paulo post morbo interiturum vitæ parceret*. And therefore, if a Commander shall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne safetie, the issue will bring out either his dishonour, or his confusion.

Salust. de bello Iugurth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.


SVch as vndertake great designses, doe likewise proiect the meanes of archieuing the same, & doe propound vnto themselves such principles to be obserued, as they take to be speciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they sildome or neuer swaue. As appeareth by this of Caesar; who ayming at the souerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way so direct to leade him therevnto, as to cline vp by the steps of Mildnes, and to make his Aduersaries debtors to his clemency, he left aside his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbear to gaine a towne of great importance, with that speed which occasio & opportunitie did afford him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of such chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a small moment of time; least his souldiers entering into the towne, after the shutting of the euening, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his merice.

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It shall therefore be well-beseeming the wisdom of a Leader, to haue alwaies respect to the principles of his Meanes, and to distinguish between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the native carriage of his business.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

 Concerning this *Colligium Pontificum*, the Colledge of Priestles; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Common-weale, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State, which at that time consisted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie small parts and factions, making his diuision by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minstrels or Trumpeters should bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner, Goldsmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Coriers, Tawyers, Belfounders, Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, should haue their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feasts, assemblies, and seruices, according to the worthiness of each mysterie, as Plutarch hath obserued in the life of Numa.

Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minstrels. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Coppersmithes. Cicero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which hee calleth *Collegium Mercurialium*; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Mercurie was believed in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priuiledges & customes where-with these Fraternities were endowed, are set downe by Caius, the Ciuilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, saith hee, incorporated by Act of Senate, and established with good ordinances and constitutions, hauing certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique weale: And as Senola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the better government of such Colledges and Societies; so the same be not contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the State. After the same manner, the Priestles had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the first institution were but foure in number, and all of Patrician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at what time there were foure of the Commons chosen, and added to the former number; whom Sulla increased to 15, as Dio: witnesseth. And these were called *Collegii Pontifici*, wherof this *Pontifex Maximus* was president: one of the absoluteft dignities of Rome; as being for teame of life, and of greatest and diuine authority. Which generall distribution of the Romaines into trades and mysteries, doth not vnfitly bring into remembrance, that which is vsuall amongst the Turks, who by their law, are al bound to be of an occupation; not excepting the Grand Signior himselfe. For, hee that now vpholdes the Ottoman familie, by the name of *Sultan Acmet*, is a professed maker of rings, which the Turkes doe weare on their thumbe when they shoote, to let the string go easily without hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In like manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and euery man is called by the title of his Art: as, he that was lately Visier Bassa to the present Sultan, was called by the name of *Nateash Bassa*; the Visier Painter, being indeed the

the Sultans Painter; neither are they ashamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were sent into Turkie out of Christendome, that were limmed about the Margin, said, he could paint as well as that himselfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.



HE fift thing which I obserue out of these passages at Corfinium, is the restoring back of such moneys to Domitian, as were brought vnto Caesar by the Officers of the towne, and which he knew to be of the publique treasure of the State. Which howsoeuer may seeme admirable to the hearers of these times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of mony, *Vnde habes ac querit nemo, sed oportet habere*: Yet such as will lay a sure foundation of honour, and thrive in the courses which they follow, must not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requisite to gaine opinion & reputation in the carriage of any publique business, then to bee cleare of the least suspition of couetousness. Neither is there any means that will sooner win a multitude, to belieue in those things which are set abroad by publique Authoritie, then those two virgin vertues, Abstinence & Continencie: especially when they are found in Princes and chiefe Comaunders, that can other wise iustifie their actions with soueraintie & vncontrolement. Nor on the other side, did euer Apollo giue out truer Oracle then that, which saide; that there was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice.

In which sense, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wished, that the Gods had referred him to times wherein the Romaines would haue beene corrupted with gifts: for, then he would soone haue seene an end of their Common-weale. And certainly, that Empire could neuer haue towred so high, nor continued firme to many ages, had not her foundation beene laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius; who hauing sacked Macedonia, and brought as much wealth into the publique Treasure, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subsidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And such also was Scipio Africanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage, brought nothing into his priuate house, but a high and triumphant Name, as a merit of his vertues and deedes of Armes: Leaving behind him this Oracle, as a document to following times; That couetous Captaines are good to none but to the Enemie. And to conclude, such was M. Curius, who hauing triumphed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refused a great mass of Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites: esteeming it more honourable, to command them that had Gold, then to haue Gold of his owne. Howbeit, such is the frailtie of humane nature, that for the most part, men haue alwaies suffered their desire of money, to increase with their wealth, although it were to their ruine and destruction. VVhich Caesar well discerned, as appeareth by that which he writ to Oppius, touching this accident: *Hac noua sit vincendi ratio, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*

Caput autem est in omni procuratore negotii, et muneris Publici, et auaritie peccatur etiam minima suspicio. Nulla autem res, conciliare facilius beneuolentiam multitudinis possit inquirere, quam abstinentiam et continentiam. Cicero.

Cic. lib. i. Offici.

Imperatores muneribus habitantes, Hostibus sunt peritules. Appian, de bell. Hispan.

Cic. Cato Maior

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.



Pon occasion of Cæsars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores, senatorumque filios, Equitesque Romanos*, it shal not seeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of state whereof the Romaine people consisted. For the better clearing wherof, it is to be vnderstood, that by that notable transaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both those Nations should dwell together at Romulus towne, which after his name, should bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, should be named *Quirites*, after the name of Tatius Cittie. Howbeit, speciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, *Ramenenses*; those that came with Tatius, *Tatienenses*; and the third Tribe *Lucerences*, of *Lucus*, a Groue: forasmuch as they beeing neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuertheless met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly assemblies were made to offer sacrifice, and to performe their heathenish solemnities.

Each of these Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten Curia; and so made the number of 30 Curia. And out of each of these Curia, he chose 3 persons, such as by their presence and sufficiencie, seemed fittest, and most woorthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of every Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne choosing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he established as his Councel or Senate: by whose aduise he resolved of all matters of consequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dionisius Halicarnasceus noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, they were sildome assembled but to vnderstand the Kings pleasure: and had no other preheminance in the Common-weale, sauing they were the first that did knowe what was purposed. Howsoeuer; they were stiled by the name of *Senatores, quasi seniores*, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counsell: and in the same sense they were called *Patres*.

The Senate beeing thus established, Romulus selected out of euery of those Curia ten young men, and so made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his person: who for their readinesse and nimblenesse were called *Celeres*, all mounted on horsebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equestris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betwene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to supply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The rest, that were not of these two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome consisted of three estates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Aufonius;

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priscus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentiu*. And Brutus hauing

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, made the vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conscripti*. Neither were they at all times limited in that number: for, the seditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Iulius Cæsar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) *Senatorum affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.*

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obserue, that in the raigne of Seruius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand asses (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the riches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thousand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum sensum ampliavit, ac pro octingentorum millium summa duodecies H-S taxauit, suppleuitque non habentibus*. The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score, or there abouts.

This Corfinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and stoode in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people assembled when they consulted of warre against the Romaines, for their right of Burgeshippe, or freedom of the Cittie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellum sociale, Marsicum, and Italicum*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciently stood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundisium: Cæsar maketh meanes to treat with him.



Pompey, vnderstanding of these things which had past at Corfinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canusium, and from thence to Brundisium; causing all the power hee could to be raised by new musters and inrolements, arming shepheards and slaves, and mounting them on horsebacke; of who he made some 300 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prator, fled from Alba with sixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prator, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who deserying a farre off the Cavalrie of Cæsar, commaunded by Binius Curius, forsaking the Prator, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn. Magius of Cremona, maister of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæsar: whom he sent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; Forasmuch

asmuch as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to seek him at Brundisium; for, it much imported the common-weale, and euery mans safety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could things bee so well handled, vpon so great a distance of way, where the articles of treatie must be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This message being first giuen, he came to Brundisium with sixe legions, foure legions of old souldiers, and the other raised by new inuolements, or made up as he came along the Countrey: for, he had presently dispatched Domitians cohorts from Corfinium into Sicily. At his comming, he found the Consuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greatest part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brundisium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainly bee informed, whither he remained at Brundisium to make good the towne, whereby he might the easier be maister of the Adriatick sea, and commaund both the vpper parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and so to keepe the warre on foote on the one side and on the other; or whether he staid there for want of shipping. Howsoeuer, he would not endure, that Pompey should thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore resolu'd to stop up the mouth of the Hauens, & to take away the use thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauens was narrowest, hee raised great mounts of earth on either side neere vnto the shore; for, there the Sea was shallow: but going further into the deepe, where no such mounts could be raised, hee placed double flottes of wood, right against the same mounts, of thirtie foote square; and at the corners cast out foure Ankers to fasten them. These flottes being thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the same scantling, and couered them with bavin and earth, to the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each side, with hurdles and gabions; and on euery fourth flotte, made a towre of two stories high, the better to defend them from violence of shipping, and from burning.

Against this worke, Pompey sent out great ships of burthen, which he found in the Hauens, armed with towers of three stories high, full of munition, & all sort of weapons, to hinder and disturbe the same. So that euery day they fought a farre off each with other, with slings, arrows, and other casting weapons. Which business Caesar so carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happily it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had sent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie so often attempted, did hinder much his designs: yet hee thought it fitte by all meanes to persueue therein: and therefore sent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and neere allied to Scribonius Libo, to speake with him, commaunded him to perswade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Caesar himselfe might speake with Pompey. It might be, that therevpon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes vpon equall conditions: the greatest part of which honour would redound to Libo; if by his intercession the war might take an end.

Libo, hauing heard Caninius, went straight to Pompey; and within awhile returning,

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Where-vpon, Caesar resolu'd to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His accident of taking Cn: Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vñe in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howsoever there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfectus Fabrum*, or Maister of the workes in any of Cæsars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of prouisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to euery legion did belong Carpenters, Bricklayers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towers, targets, motions, corslets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatsoeuer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the commaund of them, was called *Præfectus Fabrum*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was giuen by the General; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulship hee had bestowed vpon him the place of *Præfectus Fabrum*. And albeit Caesar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimeres as will not be forgotten:

*Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, et vorax et Hellus,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habeat et vltima Britannia?*

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, writeth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the workes vnder Caesar, in Gallia, was the first that couered all the walles of his house, which he built in Mount Cælius, with leaues of Marble. Neither let any man disdaine the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; whose house vvas farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the saide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome that

Præfectus Fabrum.

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

Lib. 36. cap. 6.

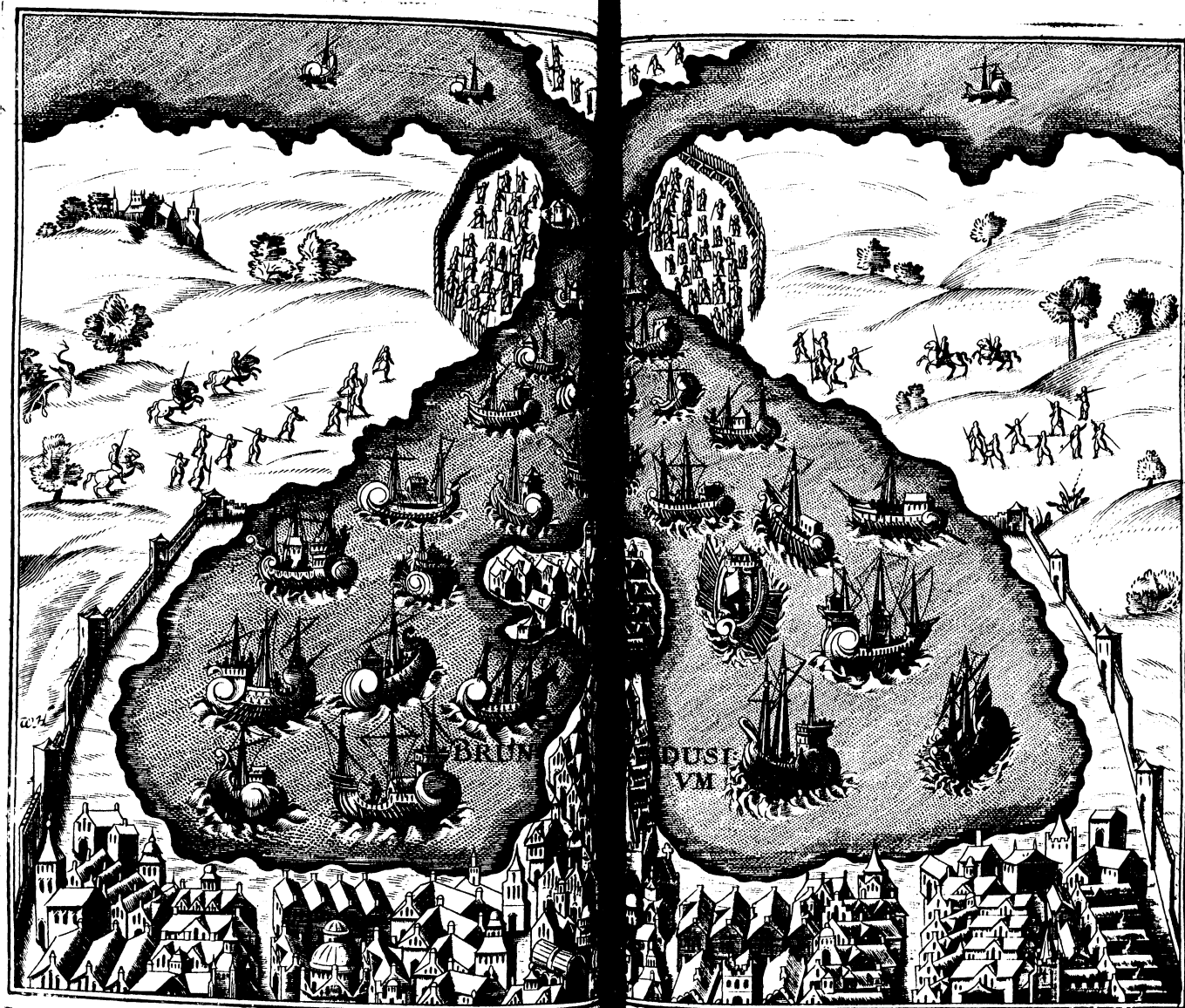
that made the pillars of his house of folide Marble, euen hewen out of the quarries of Cariftus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like courfe in fpendings; and howfoeuer fuch commings in may be clofe and fecret, yet the iffuing out will proclaime it in profufe and laifhing manner: and therefore, fuch as commaund in thefe places, and haue fuch meanes to enrich themfelues, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæfar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of fome note. *Cn. Magium, Pompei Præfectum deprehendiſcilicet, meo inſtituto uſus ſum, et eum ſtatim miſſum feci: iam duo Præfecti fabrum, in meam poteſtatem venerunt, et à me miſſi ſunt.* Concerning the vſe of theſe manuall Artes, and the prerogatiue they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without theſe, no Cittie can conveniently be built, fortified, or furniſhed with Armes. And therevpon ſuch Artizans, haue alwaies chalenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vliſſes ſcorned not *ſe fabrum profiteri.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE *Maxime proprium* of warre, is oppoſition; and that vniuerſall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no ſympathiſing condition betweene two enemie Armies, otherwiſe then by mutuall exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole courſe of their intendements; as may be here obſerued vpon Cæſars arriual at Brundufium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Conſuls, and not certainly informed of the reaſon of his ſtay; leaſt he ſhould think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæſar went about to thruſt him out headlong: or otherwiſe, if his purpoſe were to follow after the Conſuls to Dyrrachium, Cæſars deſigne then was to ſhut him in, and ſo to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which ſouldiers are directed in their archieuevements.

Concerning the ſite of Brundufium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiouſneſſe of the Hauen, and the vſuall port where the Romaines tooke ſhipping for Grece; being but a hundred Italian miles diſtant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne ſtandeth vpon a Langer of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninſule-like from the maine land, reſembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brundufium, of *βρουν*, which ſignifieth a Stagge: which Langer hath many crooked guts, or inlets of the Sea, capable of great ſhipping; beſides the two maine Ports on either ſide of the towne, which with the reſt of the Hauen, make the ſafeſt and faireſt roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Cæſar made his flottes, is very ſtraight; and oppoſite therevnto, ſome three miles diſtant into the Sea, ſtandeth a ſmall Iland, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to beſiege Brundufium, it was requiſite to take away the vſe and benefit of the Hauen: which Cæſar attempted with ſuch rare and artificiall works (of mounts where the Sea was ſhallowe, and of flottes where the

water



water was deepe; and thole made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discerne it, by the description, to bee a Maister-peece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IT is truly said of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderstood, when he bought it of the Romaines for twelue thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: Esteeming it as the foueraigne happinelle of mans fortune; and an extraordinary effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiaall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreing concord, and the sorte of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that such as are instruments of so great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confusion, haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæsar, perswading Libo to negotiate a celsation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disposition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeavour which brought backe peace into the Empire.

Liui. lib. 8.
Dec. 4.

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundisium, and shippeth
himselfe for Greece.



HE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour bestowed vpon it; the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundisium: and thereupon, Pompey beganne to fitt himselfe for a departure; Beeing induced thereunto, either by the workes which Cæsar had begunne, or by a resolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Cæsars prosecution (least vpon his issuing out, the souldiers should enter the towne) he mured up the gates, and stopt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies, & therein stuck sharp piles & stakes; and covering the same with slight hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went vnto the Hauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge sharpe Piles.

Cæsar.

These things beeing thus prepared, he commaunded the souldiers to get a ship-board, without noise or tumult; and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

warning signe, when the rest of the souldiers were all shipped; appointing Gallies to take them in, at an easie and safe place. The inhabitants of Brundisium, oppressed with the iniuries and contumelies of Pompeys souldiers, did fauor Cæsars partie; and understanding of this departure, whilst they were running up and downe, and busied about getting aboard, gaue notice thereof from the tops of their houses. Which beeing perceiued, Cæsar (not to omit any opportunitie of atchieuing his purpose) commaunded ladders to bee prepared, and the souldiers to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the souldiers keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called fro their stations, and by knowne passages repaired to the shippes. Cæsars souldiers with Ladders got vpon the wall: but beeing admonished by them of Brundisium, to take heed of the blind ditch, they stood still. At last, they were brought a great compasse about; and so came to the Hauens; and with skiffes and boates, joined two ships with souldiers, which stuck by chance vpon the Mounts which Cæsar had made.

OBSERVATIONS.

HOrasmuch as this manner of Pompeyes departure from Brundisium, and the slight he vied to imbarke himselfe and his Armie without danger of Cæsars entering the towne, is commended for one of the best stratagems of warre that euer he vied; Let vs a little consider the parts thereof, which present theselues of two sorts: the one consisting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Cæsars entrance, if happellie hee should haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie continuance of his men aboard, without noise or tumult; & the semblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three sorts. For, first hee mured and stopped vp the ends and enterances of streets and lanes, which might giue access to a pursuing enemy. And to that end also, hee sunk ditches, or trenches, crosse the waies and passages: which hee stuck full of sharp stakes and Galthrops, and couered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemy might not espy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a strong Palizado of huge sharp piles: And so vied both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to auoid the danger which might haue fallen vpon him, if Cæsar happely had found meanes to attache them, as they were incombred in getting to their ships, and disposing themselves to flie away. Which beeing an occasion that might haue giuen him great aduantage, was in this manner carefullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brundisium, is censured but for a faultie resolution handfomlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie; calling it a Themistocleean policie, to perswade his partie to forsake their Countrey, and to leaue the best of their pleasures, and the weakest of each sexe, to such miserie and desolation, as moued pittie in those that considered but the condition of the dogges, and brute beastes;

beastes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themistocles perswaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Countrey, and betake themselues wholly to sea, to fight against Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar dispatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie.
Catos endeouour to keepe Sicily for Pompey.



Albeit Cæsar well knew, that it much imported a speedy end of the business, to get shippes and passe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ioyne himselfe with the forces of the transmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the shipping he could get, and thereby left him for the present no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended shipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troublesome passage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Prouinces of Spaine, should be settled and assured; (one of them being deepe lie ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits) or that they should haue time to raise new troopes, especially of horse; or that Gallia or Italie should bee solicited or wrought from him in his absence: And therefore for the present, resolved to desist from making any further pursue after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duumviri of all the Municipall townes, to provide shipping, and send it to Brundisium. He sent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprator, into Sicily with three legions; commaunding him, after he had possessed Sicily, to transport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta gouerned Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero should by lotte haue held Affrica.

The Caralitani, understanding that Valerius was to be sent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thrust Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amused thereat, and perceiuing withall, that the whole Prouince gaue consent vnto it, fled presently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and prosecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, mustered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horse and foote from the townes in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almost accomplished, vnderstanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betrayed by Pompey; who, without any prouidence or preparation, had ingaged himselfe in an vnneccessary warre: and yet beeing demaun- ded

Cæsar.

Baileffes.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

see. Euseb. ad Atticum.

ded by himselfe, and the rest in the Senate, answered confidently, that hee was provided of all necessaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publicly complained, fled out of the Prouince. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, void of government, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriuing in Affrica, found Atius Varus commanding the Prouince: who (as wee haue formerly shewed) hauing lost his cohorts at Auximum, fled forth with into Affrica; and of his owne authorite, possessed himselfe of the Prouince, which he found without a Gouvernour. He got together by new inrolments, two compleat legions, which hee raised by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by whom hee had gouerned that Prouince as Pretor some few yeeres before. Tubero, arriuing with his fleet at Vtica, was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Hauen; neither would he suffer him to set his sonne ashore, which was sicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Chapter maketh the first period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of these Ciuill broiles, vnto Pompeys forsaking Italie, which was begun and ended in the space of 60 daies: and also openeth the gate to second resolutions, which are prosecuted, as the sequel of the Historie will manifest: Containing likewise the reasons, why Caesar made not present pursuit after Pompey, as the hinges of the succeeding war, and the true causes of the consequents of the same. In the consideration whereof, albeit Caesar vnderstood the advantage of him that prosecuted a receding enimie, and the hopes which might be thereby conceiued of a speedie end of that warre; yet hauing no ready meanes to accomplish his desire, thought it better to prevent such inconueniences as might happely haue fallen out vpon the same: and so to keepe his partie in a progresse of their actiue thoughts, by clearing and assuring that Westerne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leaue an enimie on his back, or to admit a cooling and languishment of their resolutions, through expectation of shipping, to follow that course which otherwise had bene without exception.

In the carriage whereof, we may obserue, that as vpon the first breaking out of these troubles, they scambled for the townes of Italie, & sought to strengthen their parties, by such as had no voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but onely inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; so now beeing parted asunder, and the contagion of this intestine euill spread abroad, and grown to more ripeness, they made like haste to fasten vpon the remoter Prouinces, wherein Caesar had the better portion. For, in his share, were contained Italia, Gallia, Britannia, Hispania, Sicilia; which beeing the prime Countreys of Europe, were consequently the flowre of that Empire, for that Europe hath ever been taken for the principall and chiefe part of the world.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Secondly, wee may obserue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or formal spirit, which are more valuable in the ensignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, how fouer hee made shew of bestirring himselfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Prouince, commanding more to be built, raising new troopes of horse & foote, and prosecuting his commands with purpose of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderstanding of Curio his coming, spent his furie in complaining of his friends, and laying the cause of those garboiles vpon him, whom by election and consent he had formerly set vp, to make head against such, as otherwise may be supposed would haue contained themselves in a better measure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Caesar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.



These things beeing ended, that the souldiers might for the residue of the time be a little eased and refreshed, Caesar brought them backe into the next Municipall townes; hee himselfe went directlie to the Cittie: and hauing called a Senate, hee laicth open the iniuries and wrongs offered vnto him by his Adversaries; sheweth them, that he neuer sought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to haue enioyed the full time of his Consulship, and there-with to haue been contented: which was no more then any Cittizen might stand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that consideration might be had of him in his absence, notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter resistance; spending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious speeches: which if Pompey (beeing Consul) had disliked, why did he suffer that to passe which was enacted? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reason had he to hinder him from inioying a benefit which the people of Rome had bestowed vpon him? From that, hee fell to speake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee moued that either party might quit their forces; which might haue bin very preiudiciall to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had bene the malice and bitterness of his Adversaries; who refused to doe that themselves, which they required of another man: choosing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State, then to forgoe the command of an Armie: spake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as also for their hard and insolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

F.

He

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

Tucri quæstia
difficilis est,
quam acquirere;
quoniam in ac-
quirendo, igna-
uia præsentis
capit plus consert
quâ propria vir-
tus: tueri autem
quæstia, sine pro-
pria virtute ne-
mo potest. D.
Tosile Zonaras.

Europa prima
et præstantissima
munda pars.
Appian.
Europa dicitur
propter communem
gentium populi
longaque terra
in pulcherrima.
Plin. lib. 5. c. 1.

He forgot not likewise to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he desired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praied and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the gouernment thereof. But, if they should vpon any doubt or mistrust, refuse to ioine with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commissioners bee sent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee respect what Pompey a little before had saide in the Senate (That to whom soeuer Embassadors were sent, to such seemed to be ascribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, such as sent the, manifested an apprehension of feare); for, these were arguments of pusillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; so would hee in like manner, endeavour to excell him in iustice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleased that Embassadors should be sent: but there was no man found that would go; euery man refusing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had saide in the Senate, That hee would hold him that staied at Rome, in the same condition with them that were in Cæsars Campe. So that three daies were spent in debate and excuses; L. Metellus, Tribune of the people, being drawne by Cæsars aduersaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Cæsar should propound vnto them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, wee may obserue, how irksome it is to humane nature, for him that hath tasted the sweetnesse of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of commaund, and againe to inrolle his name in the list of common dutie; descending from the throne of soueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to lose his eminencie in respectles equalitie: especially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that fasteneth on vs with a stronger hold, then any other power; being lesse capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of present and future ages. Whereby, men growe desperately ieaalous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themselves of that care, although they haue attained to the full time of their deliuerance: but to be supplanted in the midst of so glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the seate of Magistracie, by an abortiue miscarriage, is able to inrage an ambitious spirit, so farre beyond the bounds of modestie, that it will not spare any endeavour, to confound the greatest Empire, with irrecoverable calamities.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obserue the disposition of those Senators, that by their staying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refused either to take Cæsars commaundes, or to present themselves to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reasons why the Senators would vndertake no such matter of Commission as was required by Cæsar. The first is this which is heere expressed; euery man fearing the displeasure of Pompey, who at his departure from Rome, had protested to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Cæsar censured their forbearance with better advantage to himselfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becoming his followers. The other reason which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæsars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perswaded that his end was a cessation of Armes, or such a peace with Pompey as should haue kept on foot their auncient libertie; but sought rather pretexts of good meaning, to colour his designe of making Rome his seruant. Howsoeuer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betwene him and Metellus, more then hee himselfe speaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treasurie, hee was there stoutly resisted by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alleadging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in such times of extremitie as were therein expressed.

To which, Cæsar answered; That those Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other course of proceeding. Neuertheless, Metellus would not suffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæsar aduised him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was easier for him to dispatch him then to speake it: and so entered and caried away the Treasurie. Where-vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Censum et patrimonium populi Romani, ante rapuit quàm Imperium.*

And Appian, deriding the scrupulositie of the auncient Romaines, that would not touch that Treasurie but in extremitie of warre against the Celtes or Galles, saith; that Cæsar might lawfullie take it, for that hee had vanquished and subdued the Galles; vwhereby the Romaines had no further cause to feare them.

Denunciant Pompeio pro hostilius habiturum qui respublicam non respiciet, sed suos tantum; quos suosque partes, suorumque numerum, futuros pronunciant. Suetonius. 75. Cicero. 10. E. 1. ad Atticum. Plutarchus. Lucian. Appian. Florus.

Non nisi per nostrum robis permissa patebunt templi latius, nullasque ferres, sine sanguine sacro, sparsas, raptores opes. Lucian. lib. 2. Dignitate Caesaris ira, nullus honor facit. Idem eodem.

F 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia,
and treateth with the Mar-
sellians.



Cæsar, perceiuing their resolution, after hee had spent there some few daies (that he might not lose any more time, and leaue those things vndone which he purposedly intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arriuall there, hee vnderstood that Pompey had sent into Spaine, Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæsar had a little before taken at Corfinium and dismissed him: and that Domitian likewise was gone to take Marselleis, with eight Gallies, which he set out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with slaues, men infranchised, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as messengers before, certaine young noble men of Marselleis, with who Pompey vpon his departure from the City had earnestly dealt, that Cæsars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done vnto them. Those of Marselleis hauing receiued this message, shut their gates against Cæsar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hilles aboue Marselleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Castles into the towne; set up offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their nauie, and their gates.

Cæsar called out vnto him some fiftene of the chiefeft men of Marselleis and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who should rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themselves to the will of any one man: not omitting such other perswasions as hee thought pertinent to a sound resolution. These men reported at Marselleis what Cæsar had deliuered, and by the common consent of the towne, returned this answer, That they vnderstood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to iudge, or could they discern which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of these two factions, were Pompey and Cæsar, both speciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenues of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Arecomici, and the Heluij: The other, hauing conquered and subdued * Gallias, gaue it vnto them; whereby their tributarie In-comes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, so would they carie to both an equall respect, not ayding either of them against the other, or receiuing them within their gates.

Whilest these things were in handeling, Domitius arriued at Marselleis with his shipping; and beeing receiued in, was made Gouvernour of the Cittie, and

and had the whole direction of the warre committed vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was sent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other ships. What Corne soeuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reseruing the surplus of victuall and provision, for a sledge, as occasion should require.

Cæsar, prouoked with these iniuries, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and mantelets ready for an assault, and to builde twelue new Gallies at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the sledge.

OBSERVATION.



From the Marsellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, howsoeuer they were able to discern the truth, and to giue an answer to Cæsar, well-becoming the same and opinion of their literature and knowledge (beeing an Academie little inferiour to the best, and in latter times more frequented by the Romaines, for the studie of Oratorie and Philosophy, then Athens, or any other such chiefe seate of the Muses); yet in their actions they disauowed all: taking vpon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to shew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their errorr the more appeared, in that the partie griued was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by forcing them, and then by pardoning their rashness. And yet some VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to consist in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Gallies: for, hauing newes therof, and vnderstanding of the composition which was to bee made to raise the sledge from the Capitoll, they prouided all the gold & siluer they could get, & sent it to Rome for that seruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priuiledges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elsewhere in the Empire. Howsoeuer, their hap being to respect more an exact obseruance of what had passed, then the fatall succeeding course of things, drew vpon them a sharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by submitting themselves to his mercy whom they had reiected. And thus wee see verified that of the Poet;

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achiui.

VVhich implieth also how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their seruice is of great importance to gouernment, when it is attended with well qualified affections; so are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant passions:

F 3.

*Augusto duum
reiuuissima post
Mæstius boga-
rum artium sedes.
Tacit. 2. Annal.
Strabo. lib. 4.*

*Cumque alijs
mae populi, terro-
re paucorum,
Phocæ in du-
bii causa esset
uare inuentus.
Non Gratia le-
uitate fidei, sig-
nataque iura, et
causis non fata
sequi. Lucan. l. 3*

Horace.

passions: especially, considering the meanes they haue, either to misemploy the power of the State, or to giue way to such inconveniences, as may necessarily peruert all things but the ends they aime at: besides the aptnes of a high spirit, not to doubt the truth of that saying which is attributed to Cæsar, *Si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia violandum est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar hasteth into Spaine.



W^{hen} these things were prepared and put in order, he sent C. Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commaunding him with all speed and diligence to take the passage of the Pyrenean hills, which were kept at that time with the forces of L. Afranius: and gave order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haste, put the Garizon from the passage, and by great iourneys marched towards Afranius Armie.

Vpon the arrivall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was sent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro; Pompeys Legates (of whom the one gouerned the neerer Prouince of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * Forrest of Castile, to the riuer * Aua, with two legions; and the third commaunded the Vesciones and Lusitania, with the like number of legions) did so dispose and diuide their charges, that Petreius was appointed to bring his legions out of Lusitania, through the territories of the Vesciones, and ioyne himselfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, should keepe the further Prouince of Spaine. Which beeing so resolved & determined, Petreius hauing commaunded the Lusitanians to leuie horsemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewise hauing made the like leuie, in the territories of the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreius came speedily through the Vesciones to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall consent, resolved to keepe the warre on foote neere about Ilerda.

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath been shewed) three legions, besides Targettiers of the neerer Prouince, & Buckler-bearers of the further Prouince, some 80 cohorts, and of both Prouinces about 5000 horse. Cæsar had sent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with sixe thousand Auxiliarie forces, and three thousand horse, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Gallies at his request furnished him with the like number; besides the noblest and valiantest amongst them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To these were added the better sort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers vpon the Prouince in Gallia. Hee was aduertised that

Pompey

Pompey was on his iourney, coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and there vpon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, and gave it to his Armie; whereby he gained two points: for, first, he engaged the Capitaines by that lone to indure his good successe; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by largesse and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Citties neere about him: which he labored aswell by Letters as Messengers, & had already made two bridges ouer the riuer * Sicoris, distant one from another about foure miles, and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had spent all that was to be found on this side the riuer. The same thing, and vpon the same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Cavalry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had passed the riuer, the cariage & the Cavalry following after, vpon a sudden (by the ouerpestering of horses, and swelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Cavalry was secluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiuing, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riuer; Afranius, presently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Cavalry, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Vpon whose approche, L. Plancus that commaunded the legions, being constrained by necessity, tooke the upper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to stand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circūvented by the horsemen. And although the number were very farre vnequall, yet hee valiantly withstood very violent charges of the enemy. The Cavalry beeing thus engaged, the Ensignes of two legions were descried as far off, which Fabius had sent by way of the further bridge, to second these other two; suspecting that which was come to passe, that the Commanders of the aduerse Army, would take the occasion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whose approche, the battell ceased; and the legions on either side were brought backe into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



THE first obseruation may be taken, from this designe of Cæsars vpon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the gouernment and commaund of Pompey; The standing or falling whereof, did much import the successe of that warre; for which respect it was, that when Cæsar could not buckle with the person of his enemy, hee vsed all meanes to beat downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his essence and beeing, and most concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him those Prouinces, which the State had commaunded to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of such, whom he might in a fort challenge for his owne people; what assurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what could hee elswhere expect of that which these refused him?

The

Helperius inter,
Sicoris non vti-
mus Ammis,
Saxens ingenti,
quem ponit Am-
pl. Clit. arcu.
Fibernas passu-
rus aquat.
Lucan. lib.

Plancus sue
Plinius, a Pla-
nitie p'dam,
splayfooted.

Afranius.

Petreius.

Varro.

Cæsar.

Cæsar.

Cæsar.

Cæsar.

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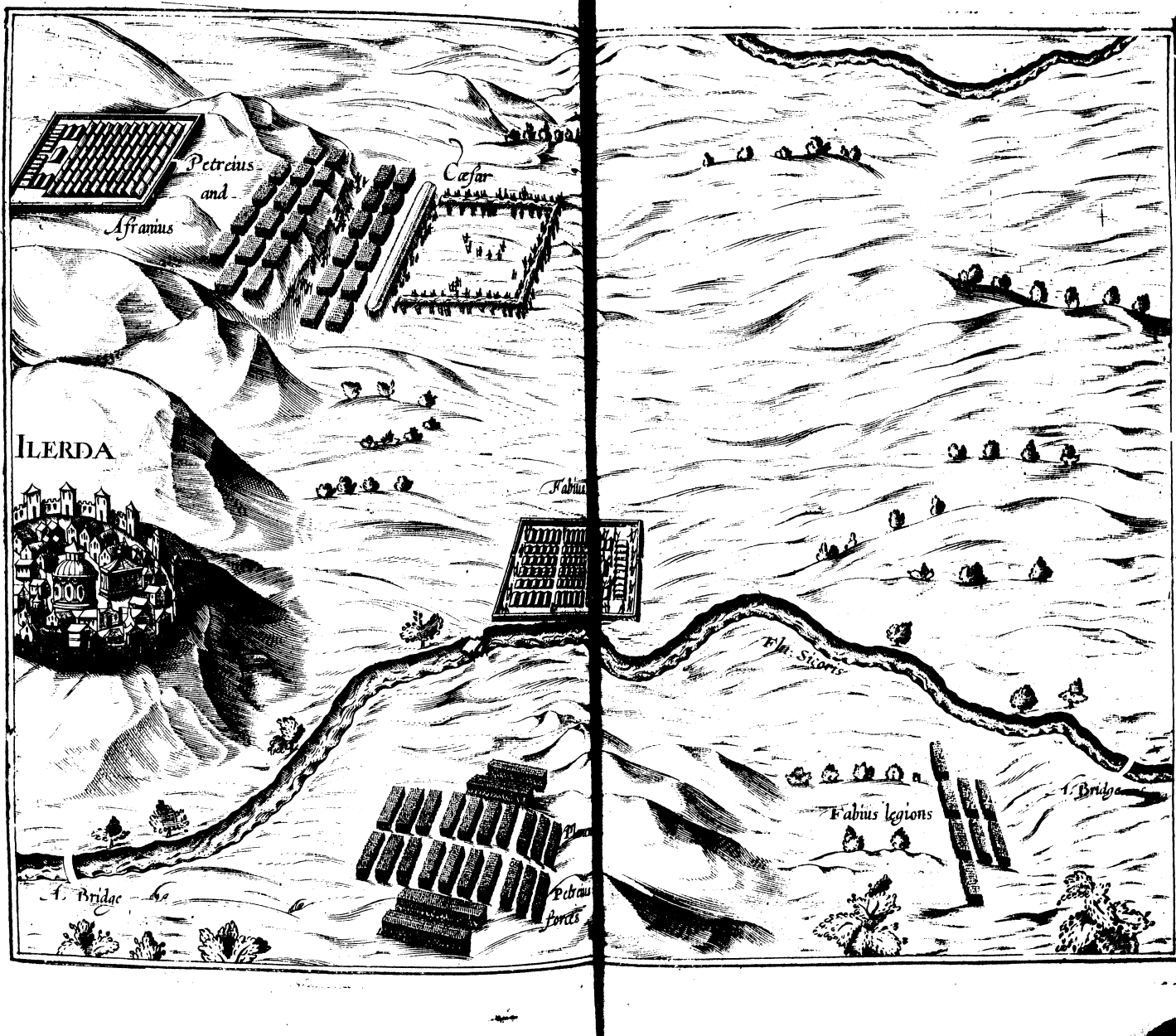
Cæsar.

The excellencie of a Generall, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Aristotle, inabling him to discerne, *quid primum*, or what is most materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conueniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and so consequentially to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

For the effectuall prosecuting of which designe, let vs take a short view of their forces on each side, according as we find them mustered in this chapter; that by the inequalitye of their troopes, we may iudge of the want or sufficiencie of their directions. Afranius, as it is said in the storie, had three legions, and Petreius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, supplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and so in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the vsuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horse; which came to seauentie thousand men, or thereabouts. To confront so great an enemy, Caesar had five legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Euocati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did rise to 35000, or 40000 men at the most. Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of strength, and yet failing in correspondencie of successe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in question, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Besides, the inequalitye of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly deuoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no small consequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, absolute in fauouring the enemye and confronting his purposes, had need of more forces then the aduerser partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to preuent such mischiefs as might grow by that advantage, sought all meanes to draw some of the townes to his faction; and to make himselfe friends for his better support and securitie, according to that which was said of old; That warre cannot be made without some peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, wee may obserue the meanes he vsed, to secure himselfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the soldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a speciall Tie of their affections to his seruice; forasmuch as no man wisheth ill to him, by vvhose welfare and prosperitie he hopeth to thrue; for, so (wounding himselfe through another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather desireth such an accomplishment of his hopes, as may make himselfe partaker thereof. And on the other side, the largesse he made vnto the souldiers, did so oblige their indeuour to his purposes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Lælius had promised in his owne person, on the behalfe



behalf of the rest.

*Pectore si fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viscera partu
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra:*

Lucan. li. 1.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, let vs consider the effects of diligence and prouident foresight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonourable overthrow; as may be learned from two circumstances in Fabius directions. First, in that he trusted not to one passage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two seuerall bridges, as well for the cōueniencie as the better securitie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occasion which the enemy might take by the breaking of the bridge, to distresse the legions on the other side of the water, hee presently sent out succours to preuent such a casualtie: which albeit might seeme to haue proceeded out of curious suspicion, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requisite and expedient. Which may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of possibilities; and to preuent contingencies, with the certaintie of industrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we most expect.

*Uni antro non
fidit mus.*

*Quicquid fieri
potest, quasi fu-
turum cogite-
mus. Senec.
Epist. 24.*

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Concerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at first diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Farther; or according to Strabo, the Vtter and the Inner; and were separated asunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence also they were called *Cis Iberum, et ultra Iberum*. The Neerer Prouince, beeing the lesser, continued without alteration during the Romaines gouernment, and was sometimes called *Tarraconensis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the same. But the Further, in proesse of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Lusitania*: and so the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was first entered by the Romaines, by occasion of the notable fiedge of of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, hauing subdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it gouerned by Proconsuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Stertinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprators, and sometimes by Prators, according as the Empire came to be enlarged; and had therby many gouernments, for the preferment of such as had supplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuerthelesse, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had alwaies Consularie power; as, in the warre against Sertorius, *Quintus Metellus*, Proconsull, et *Cn. Pompeius*, *Questor, cum Consulari potestate missi sunt*: And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching the

*Spaine.
Citerior, et P.
terior.
Exterior, et
Interior. lib. 3.*

Anno 8 C. 555.

Liue.

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo liketh it to an Ox hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which rise in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as some thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

*Pyrene celsa nimborum verticis arce
Diuisos Celtis, late prospectat Iberos;
Atque aeterna tenet magnis diuortia terris
Hospitis Alcida crimen: qui sorte laborum
Gerionis peteret cum longa tricornis arma
Possessus, Baccho, saeva Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam forma, sine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.
Defletumque tenent Montes per secula nomen.*

But according to the opinion more generally receiued, of the Greeke word *Pyg* for that Shepherds and Heardsmen set them once on fire, as witnesseth Diodorus Siculus. And Aristotle; *In Hiberia (inquit) combustis aliquando pastoribus Syluis, calenteque ignibus terra, manifestum argentum defluxisse: cumque postmodum terra motus suspenderit, eruptis hiatibus, magnam copiam argenti collectam; atque inde Massiliensibus proventus non vulgares obtigisse.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appeare by diuers Elogies: amongst which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a pensioner to the Kingdome.

*Quid dignum memorare tuis Hispania terris
Vox humana valet? primo lauat aquore solem
India: tu fessos, exacta luce, iugales
Proluis, inque tuo respirant sidera fluctu.
Dives equis, frugum facilis, pretiosa metallis,
Principibus sacunda pijs.*

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar, comming to his Armie, aduanceth forward, and incampeth neere vnto the Enemy.



Within two dayes after, Cæsar came into the Campe with nine hundred horse, which he had kept with him for a convoy. The bridge broken by the tempest, was almost reedified; and that which remained vndone, he commaunded to be finished in the night. And hauing seene the nature and situation of the place, he left sixe cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the cariages of the Armie. And the next day, putting

all his forces into a tripte battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there standing awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a stand in the midst of the hill, vnder his Campe. Cæsar, perceiuing that Afranius at that time was not disposed to fight, determined to incampe himselfe some 400 paces from the foot of the hill. And least the souldiers should be interrupted in their workes, by the sudden assaults and incursions of the enemy, he forbade them to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, which must necessarily be discovered and seene as farre off; but caused a ditch to be made of fiftene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next vnto the Enemy. The first and second battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them vnseene, before it was vnderstood by Afranius that Cæsar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finished, he drew his legions within the ditch, and so stood in Armes all night.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And forasmuch as the matter to make the Rampier was to be fetched farre off, hee kept the like course for the finishing of the rest; allotting each side of the Campe, to be fortified by a severall legion, with a ditch to be sunk about, of the same cantling: and in the meane time, made the other legions to stand ready in Armes against the enemy.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuse the souldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Cæsar intermitted not the worke, trusting to 11 legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemy not making any long stay, or aduancing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cæsar fortified his Campe with a Rampire; and commaunded the rest of the cohorts and the cariages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought vnto him.

OBSERVATION.



It may be obserued for Cæsars custome throughout the whole course of his warres, to approche as neere the enemy as conveniently he could; that so he might the better obserue his passages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduersary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and superlatiue knowledge in the vie of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improve his owne designses to the utmost of an honourable successe, but to returne the disgrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the same. For, otherwise, his accosting so neere an enemy, might haue turned to his owne losse; as beeing full of hazard, & subiect to more casualties then hee that standeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that desireth to sit neere his aduersarie, must be exceeding circumspect, and lute of some aduantage, either from

Prænotum Cæsar Olympo, in noctem subita circumdedit agmina fossa, dum prima præstant acies, hostiumque secessit. Luc. 1.4.

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or else out of his owne vertue, or by some other meanes, to ouer-sway the inconveniences which attend such ingagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus obserueth hence, touching the straight, wher-into Caesar was fallen; being either to giue battell, which the enemy refused: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retire but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night he stole the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himselfe within the same, stood in Armes all night, for his better safetie.

The vse of such ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extremities: and were so frequent vpon all occasions with the Romaines, that he that shall deny them to be good ditchers, shall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vse of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, being forced by them of Peloponessus, into a place that had but two out-lets of escape, sunke a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the passages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemy) and let his soldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponessians, thinking hee could no way escape by the passage where the trench was cut, applied themselves wholly to the other place, where the souldiers made shew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly provided) hee escaped ouer the ditch without resistance. Sometimes they added other helpees to these trenches, especially when they sought handsome meanes to get themselves away: whereof Sertorius may be an instance. VVho, hauing the enemy pressing him in the reare, and being to passe a Riuer, drew a ditch and a rampier at his backe, in the fashion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combustible matter; and so setting it on fire, kept off the enemy, and passed with ease ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculeius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing rashly entered with a small power into a long and narrow passage, between two hills; & finding himselfe pursued by great forces of the enemy, sunke a crosse trench betweene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, set it on fire, & so cut off the enemy.

CHAP. XVI.

Caesars attempt to possesse himselfe of a small hill:

what disadvantage he ran into, by misising of his purpose; what meanes he used to recouer himselfe.



Etweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred pases; in the midst whereof stood a little Mole, rising higher then the rest: which if Caesar could get and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from such victuals and provisions as were brought

brought to the towne: vwhereupon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and hauing put them into order of battell, hee commanded the Antesignani of one legion, to runne before and possesse the place. Which being perceiued, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but forasmuch as Afranius partie came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new supplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backs, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers used, was first to runne furiously vpon an enemy, to seize any place boldly and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or rankes, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed fashion. If they channet to be thoroughly charged, they thought it no shame to giue way and retire; accustomed there-vnto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the souldiers haue long lined, they get much of the vsage and condition of those places. Notwithstanding, our men were much troubled thereat, as vnaccustomed to that kind of fight: for, seeing enery man leaue his ranke, and runne vp and downe, they feared least they should be circumvented, and sette vpon in flanke, and on their bare & open side; vwhere-as themselves were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but vpon extraordinarie occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Antesignani, the legion that stood in the corner, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie being affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond enery mans opinion, contrarie to former vse.

Caesar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and shrewdly pursuing our men) to turne their backs, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand vnder the walles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endenour, and going about to repaire their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disadvantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne stood: and as they would haue made their retire, they were charged afresh from the upper ground. The front of the place had an vneasie broken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as would serue three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Cavalrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined easily from the towne about foure hundred pases in length: and that way our men had some conueniencie of retire, from the disadvantage to which their desire had vnadvisedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the straightnes thereof, as also for that they stood vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prowesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they receiued. The enemies forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were vwearied out. And the like vvas Caesar faine to doe, sending freshe Cohorts to that place to relieue the vwearied.

G.

After

After they had thus continually fought for the space of five houres together, and that our men were much ouer-charged with an vnequall multitude; having spent all their weapons, they drew their swords, and ascended vpon the hill, to charge and assault the enemy: and hauing slaine a few of them, the rest were drinen to make a retreat. The cohorts being thus put backe to the walles, and some of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an easie retreat. Our Cavalrie did from a lowe ground get vpon the toppe of the hill; and riding vp and downe betweene the two Armies, made our souldiers to retreat with better ease: and so the fight succeeded diuersly.

About scauentie of our men were slaine in the first onset. And amongst the was slaine Q. Fulginius, Capitaine of the first Hastate Centurie of the fourteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were slaine T. Caecilius, Centurion of a Primpile order, and foure Centurions more, besides two hundred souldiers. But such was the opinion of that daies business, that either side believed they left with the better.

Afranius party was so perswaded, for that they long stood to handy blowes, and resisted the violence of our souldiers, although in all mens iudgement they were the weaker: as also, for that they first tooke and held the place which gave occasion of that fight; & in the first encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for five houres together, in a place of disadvantage, & with an vnequall multitude: that they ascended vpon the hill with their swords drawne, and compelled their aduersarie to turne their back, & to retreat into the towne, manger the disadvantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this direction which Cæsar gaue, to take the little Hill betweene Ilerda and Afranius Campe, wee may obserue the danger depending vpon the mischieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpose, in seeking to obaine that which would prouoe of great aduantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in euery designe pretendeth gaine, so the meanes thereof doe giue way to hazard: from whence it consequently followeth; that such as are employed in execution, had neede to vse all induour, not to falsifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconsiderate carriage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by serious and warie prosecution of the same.

And the rather, for that it specially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handling of commandes; for, they first are like to feele the smart of anie errour committed therein; or otherwise, to haue the honour of anie fortunate successe, for as much as Vertue hath all her praise from Action.

Concer-

Concerning the vse of running, we are to vnderstand, that the Romanes (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as auailable in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they might charge the enemy with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might possesse themselves with speed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discouer, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And lastly, to prosecute a flying enemy, to better purpose and effect. And this, as Seneca saith, they practised in peace; that being accustomed to needlesse labour, they might be able to discharge necessarie duties. And Liue, amongst the militarie exercises vsed by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits which hee afterwards atchieued, saith; That the first day, the legions ran foure miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Prætorian cohorts, caried a Target listd vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, being suted of purpose to make himselfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himselfe running as fast as the Emperours Chariot, for twentie miles together.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



THE second thing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Cæsar's men, in charging the enemy with their swords drawne, against the Hill; and, making them to giue backe, had an easie and sure retreat from the danger wherein they were engaged. Whereby wee may obserue, that difficulties of extremitie, are neuer better cleered, then by aduenturous and desperate vndertakings: According to the condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which being light & easie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but being grievous and doubtfull, doe require sharpe and strong remedies. Which doth also in like manner appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in weights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not mooued, but with a counterpoise of greater force; no more can extremities of hazard bee auoided, but by like perillous enforcements.

And hence groweth the difference betwene true valour and foolle-hardy rashnesse; being but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subiect wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange aduentures, vpon no iust occasion, were to shew more leuitie then discretion: And againe, to vse the like boldnesse in cases of extremitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeavour. As is well obserued by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, saith he, considering the danger wherein wee are, to vse that prowesse and courage which we boast of.

And accordinglie, Diomedes censured Glaucus in the same place, for offering himselfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, saith he,

G 2.

or

Lib. 1. cap. 9.
The vie of
running.

Miles in media
pace decurrit,
sine vilo iussu, et
supernacuo labo-
re lassatur, vt
sufficere neces-
sario possit. Seneca
Epist. 18.
Lib. 26.

Medici leuit-
er curant; leui-
or curant: gra-
uioribus autem
morbis, pericu-
losas: curationes
et accipites ad-
hibere conantur.
Cicero. lib. 2. de offi-
cijs.

Iliad. 6.

Et victor sub-
ducto Marte pe-
pendit. Lucan.
lib. 4.

Omnis laus vir-
tutis in actione
constitit. Arist.
Eth.

or else but a lost and forlorne man. VVhich may serue to learne vs the true vie of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more shewed then in misemployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hauē already, in the obseruations of the second Commentary of the warres of Gallia, discoursed particularly of the partes of a legion: Where it appeareth, that in Cæsars time, a legion consisted of foure thousand men, or there-about; and according to the sufficiency and experience of the fouldiers, was diuided into three parts. The first and meanest of such as followed an Ensigne, were called *Haſtati*. The second, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe sort, *Triarij*: and according to this diuision, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againē, each of these three kindes, was diuided into tenne companies, which they called Maniples; and euery Maniple was subdiuided into two Centuries or Orders: and in euery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. These orders were distinguished, by the numbers of the first, second, third, and so consequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the last & lowest of each of these three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the first and prime order of the *Haſtati*: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the first order of the *Triarij*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the first companie of a legion.

Now, concerning their imbattelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuision of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*; vpon occasion of fight, they made a triple battell, one standing in front to another; which we call the vanguard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the *Haſtati* were called *Antesignani*: not for that they had no Ensignes of their owne; for, euery Maniple had an Ensigne: but because they stood imbattelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Ensignes of the legion. To which purpose is that of Liuiē, *Pugna orta est, non illa ordinata per Haſtatos, Principesque et Triarios, nec vt pro signis Antesignanus, post signa alia pugnaret Acies*. And againē; *Cadunt Antesignani: et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima Acies*. Whereby it appeareth, that most of the chiefeſt Ensignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subsignani*, as the *Triarij* *Postsignani*.

Amongst other benefites of these so particular diuisions of an Armie, that is not the least which is noted by Thucidides, *Vt inſſa imperatoris breui spacio ad singulos milites deferri poſſent*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæſar, brought into great extreamity by ouerflowing of two Riuer.



HE enemy fortified the Mount for which they contended, with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these things were in doing, there fell out vpon a suddaine a great inconuenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were neuer scene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so abundantly from the hills, that it over-flowed the bankes of the Riuer; and in one day, brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Cæſar into great extreamity. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betweene two Riuer, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuer were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped up in that straightnes; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselves with Cæsars partie, furniſh any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, being hindered by the riuer, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great conuoyes and reinforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neere about were all emptied; for, Afranius before Cæsars coming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Cæsars comming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieved this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remooued by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the riuer, forasmuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly provided and stored up; much was brought in from all the Prouinces round about, hauing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridle at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the riuer was whole and vntouched, which Cæſar could not come vnto by any meanes. The waters continued for many dayes together. Cæſar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the Riuer woulde permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemy, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easily hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riuer; the

G 3.

greatness

Cæſar.

Cinga rapidus
magis quam
magnus.The parts of a
Legion.

Antesignani.

Lib. 22.

Lib. 9.

Lib. 5.

greatness of the water; as also for that they might easily cast their weapons fro along the banke, vnto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the Riuer running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to shunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, we may obserue, that the strength of a multitude is not priuiledged from such casualties as betide the weakenesses of particular persons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extremities, which can neither by providence be preuented, nor remoued by industrie: & are such as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumstances of time and place; together with such accidents as are interlaced with the same. In respect whereof it was, that Cambises told Cyrus; That in the course of warre he should meet with some occasions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be overcome with lesse difficultie then an enemy; and are the more dangerous, according as they giue way to scarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is said in the same place; *Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, si committu exercitus careat.*

The remedies whereof, are first, Patience; which is as requisite in a souldier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in such cases keepeth an Army from discontentment and disorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And secondly, Good indeauour, which auailleth much in such chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæsar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from these inconueniences.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of passing a Riuer with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obserued, that as people exquisitely fashioned to a ciuill life, by a firme & settled policie of gouernment, are firme and reall in the whole course of their proceedings, and accordingly doe shew their punctualitie, as well in their solemnities and priuate cariages, as in their magnificent and stately buildings: so on the other side, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and slight lawes, are as slight and rude in their actions; as amongst other things, may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no scorn, to vie the help of bladders in passing ouer a Riuer, as a deuise comming next to hand: which the people of a wise and potent State, would not haue done, but by a sure and substantiall bridge.

The vie of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongst people of that nature, so it is continued in the same manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gron-

Sunt quidam in quibus non aduersus homines certamen est, sed cum ipsi rebus: quas superare perdifficile est. Zenoph. lib. 1. de Insi. Cyri.

Diligentia in omnibus rebus plurimum valet.

Bladders vsed by the Spaniards, in swimming ouer Ri- uers.

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the discoueries made of late by the Moscou Marchants, about the Northwest passage: fro whence such as are imployed in those voiaiges, haue brought great and large bladders or bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniously deuised to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their collar, to helpe themselves in swimming. And after the same easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as Iosephus Acofta writeth (in stead of wood and stone) made their bridges ouer great Riuers of plaited Reedes, which they fastened to the bankes on each side with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weedes, by which, men and beasts (if there be any credit in his storie) passe ouer with ease. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame insufficiencie; They would say he could neither reade nor swim: So Cæsar seemed of the same opinion, by commending the skill of swimming, as a thing of much consequence in the vie of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he cast himselfe into a small boate, for his better safetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to sinke, he leapt into the sea, and swam to his Fleet, which was 200 pases off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, about the water; and traying his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemy.

Lib. 6. ca. 14.

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a party. *The scarcitie of victuall in Cæsars Armie.*



It was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuoies that were comming to Cæsar, but were hindered by the waters, and a boate there by the Riuers side: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia, and Horsemen out of Gallia, with manie carres & cariages, according to the custome of the Galles. There were besides, of all sorts, about sixe thousand men, with their seruants and attendants; but without order, or any knowne command: for, euery man was at his owne libertie, traouelling the Countrey without feare, according to the former freedome & safetie of the waies. There were likewise many young men of good ranke, Senators sonnes, and Knights of Rome; besides Embassadors from sundry States, & diuers of Cæsars Legates. All these were kept backe by the Riuer.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horse, to cut off this partie; and sending his Canallrie before, sette vpon them vnawares. Howbeit, the Canallrie of the Galles, put themselves speedily in order, and buckled with them. And as long as it stood vpon indifferent rearmes, they, being but a few, did withstand a great number of the enemy: but as soone as they disco-

Cæsar.

uered

uered the Ensignes of the legions comming towards them, some few of them being slaine, the rest tooke themselves to the next billes.

This small time of encounter, was of great consequence for the safetie of our men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunitie to take the upper ground. There were lost that day 200 Archers, a few horsemen, and no great number of the souldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reason of all these things waxed very deere, as well in regard of the present want, as also for feare of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in such cases; in so much as a busshell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the souldiers grew weake for want of sustenance; and the inconueniences therof, daily more and more increased. For, so great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men were much afflicted with the extreame want of all necessary provisions: whereas they on the other side, hauing all things in abundance, were held for victors. Caesar sent vnto those States which were of his party, and in stead of Corne, gaue them order to furnish him with Cattell; dismissed souldiers boyes, and sent them to townes further off; relieuing the present scarcitie by all the meanes he could.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, enlarged these things in their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heerevnto; as that the warre was euen almost at an end. These Messengers and Letters beeing come to Rome, there was great concourse from all parts to Afranius house, much congratulation and reioicing for these things: and there-upon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, some to be the first messengers of the newes; others, that they might not seeme to expect the euent of the war, and so prooue the last that came to that partie.

When the matter was brought to these difficulties and extremities, and all the waies were kept by Afranius souldiers and horsemen; Caesar gaue order to the souldiers, to make such boates and Barks as hee had in former yeeres taught them the vse of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light stufte, and small timber, and the upper partes made with wicker, and covered with hides. Which beeing finished, he laded them vpon Carres, and carried them in the night some twentie two miles from the Campe. And in those Barks, transporting his souldiers ouer the riuer, vpon a suddaine possesse himselfe of a little hill, which lay continent vnto the water side: which hill he speedily fortified, before the enemy had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer a legion to that place, and made a bridge fro side to side in two daies space: and so the conuoyes, which had gone forth for provisions & forrage, returned backe in safetie; whereby he began to settle a course for provision of Corne.

The same day, he passed ouer the riuer a great part of his Cavalrie, who falling vnlooke for vpon the forragers (scattered heere and there without feare or suspicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-upon, the Enemy sending certaine Spanish troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to second and relieue the forragers, they diuided themselves of purpose into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to resist and beate backe the forces sent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had easilie runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, & cut off: the rest returned by the bridge into the Camp in safety with a great booty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hese Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodes now standeth: amongst whom Caesar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, being a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeareth in this place. Which, howsoever the course of time hath brought into vtter contempt, yet let vs not scorne to take notice, that anciently it hath been vsed by such as performed the greatest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two sorts of weapons to atchieue labours of so much variety; a Club for such monsters as would contest with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may bee believed) Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, hauing a stable of gallant Couriers, left them all at home, least hee should not find meanes at Troy, to giue them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with such reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a conflict, to resist the rage and extreame presures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieued the distressed Grecians from a hot and desperate pursute, by slaying with his boaw eight valiant Troians before he stirred his foote.

Concerning the vse of which weapon, howsoever it may seeme ridiculous (to such as vnderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yet they may remember, that the Gray-goose wing gaue our forefathers such aduantage, that they wrought wonders amongst all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as much hope of successe, if we could handle our boawes in any measure as they did. Of this I haue already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



It is a saying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but is alwaies attended with such consequents as will inforce other inconueniences; as may be obserued by this extremitie heere mentioned. For, the mischief was not bounded with the affliction which Caesar suffered for want of needfull prouision, notwithstanding the weight was such as could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy enlarged it to his further aduantage, vaunting of it as a helpelesse remedy, and making out dispatches to send victorie to Rome. Which gaue him yet further preiudice in the opinion of the world; and made thole his enemies, that formerlie shewed no dislike of his proceedings. And thus euery ill chauce hath a taile of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeuour may preuent, it shall much import a Commaunder to auoide them.

THE

Rutheni.
Soluntur flauis
longa statione
Rutheni. Luc.
lib. 1.

Symphalida.
Iliad. lib. 5.

Iliad. lib. 7.

An ill chauce
commeth not
alone.

Iam comes semper
magnum
prima malorum,
Sanae famae
derat: nulloque
obscuro ab hoste
miles eret, toto
conuulsi non pro-
dus erit exi-
guam Cerecra.
Lucan. lib. 4.

Primum cana
calix madefacta
vixine parum
Testitur in pup-
pum, caquo in-
duta iuuenio
victoris patiens
tumidum super-
natat amem.
Lucan. lib. 4.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Necessitie maketh men constant in their sufferings, so Custom giueth easines and meanes of deliuerance; according as may appeare by this direction of Caesar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, first the Boates heere prescribed, were such as he vfed in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were those he commaunded to be built for his second iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatnels of their bottomes, and not otherwise. For, it is not to be supposed, that those Barks were couered with skinnes; vnlesse peraduenture hee vfed some such as thes vpon occasion in that warre, not expressed in the storie.

Herodotus in his *Clio*, describeth the like; The boats (saith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphrates, are made by the Heardsmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round fashion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinnes, the hairie side inwarde; and in these they take their passage. Such as fish for Salmon in the Riuer of Seuerne, vse the like boates in all respects, which they call *Corraeles* of *Corium*: beeing all couered with horse-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the means he vfed to passe ouer without impeachement from the Enemy, by carying those boates in the night time vpon the Riuer to a place of securitie, was such, the like whereof he had formerly practised in Gallia, to passe the Riuer Loier, beeing then guarded on the other side by the Enemy. Whereby we see, how much vse and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of smaller experience: according to that, *Dies Diem docet*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Mafsilians encounter with Brutus at Sea,
and are beaten.

Caesar.



*V*nile these things were done at Ilerda, the Mafsilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and set out 17 Gallies, whereof eleuen were couered; besides many lesser vessels which went along with them, to make the Nauie seeme the greater for the astonishment of the Enemy. In these they put a great number of Archers, and many Albickes, of whom wee haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promises. Domitius required certaine shippes for himselfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus furnished, set forward with great confidence towards our shipping, whereof D. Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an Iland right ouer against Marsellies. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shipping; but Caesar hauing pickt the chiefest and valiantest men out of all the legions, as well of the Antesignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themselves requiring to bee imployed in that seruice. These men had prepared hookes, and grapples of Iron, and had likewise furnished themselves with many Piles and Darts, and other sorts of weapons: and vnderstanding of the Enemies comming, put to sea, and encountered with the Mafsilians. They fought on either side very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Albickes much inferiour to our men in prowesse, beeing rough mountainous people, exercised in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off from the Mafsilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and vntamed kind of people, stirred up with hope of liberty) did strue to shew their valour in the presence of their Maister.

The Mafsilians, trusting to the nimbleness of their shipping, and in the skill and dexteritie of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the shooke of our shippes, when they came violently to stemme them. And, forasmuch as they had sea-room enough, they drew out their Nauie at length, to compasse and inclose our men about: And sometimes, they would single out one of our ships, and set vpon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a side of their oars in their passage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leauing aside the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themselves to the stoutness and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to vse worse oare-men, and more vnskilfull Pilots; who beeing lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tackling, and were much troubled with the heauiness and sluggishness of the shipping, which beeing made in haste of vnseasoned timber, was not so nimble or ready for vse. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, euery single shippe did willingly vnder-take two at once; and hauing grappled with either of them, fought on each side, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Highlanders and Shepheards. Part of the ships they sunke, some they tooke with the men, & the rest they beate backe into the Hauens. That day the Mafsilians lost nine shippes, with those that were taken. This newes was brought to Caesar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



*H*auue formerlie obserued the manner of their sea-fight, consisting of three parts; The first was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their shippes, either forceably to assault, or to lauire and beate off, as might fall for their best aduantage: wherein the Mafsilians, by reason of the skilfulness of their Pilots, had great confidence. The second, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, such as were their Balista and Catapulta, casting stones and logs of wood one against another, as also with slings, arrowes and darts, resembling our great artillerie, and

Sea-fight.

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-catties & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, forasmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie fouldier carried the cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land: beeing fitted by the discipline of their Militarie exercises, to vndertake any seruice subiect to humane industrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were instructed.

Neither is it seene at any time, but that such kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of absolute and complete cariage, both for desingement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Hauē a little before shewed out of Liuiē, that the *Antesignani* were ordinarilie taken for the *Haſtati*; which, beeing the easiest sort of fouldiers, according to the generall diuision of a legion, doth seeme to contradict the passage in this Chapter, *sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Caesar ei classi attribuerat*. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Haſtati*, or first battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the *Antesignani* (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefeſt Ensignes, which were alwaies amongst the *Principes* or second battell); so euery Maniple, hauing an Ensigne in the middelt of the troope, the fouldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called *Antesignani*, and were the best fouldiers in the Companie: for, the Centurion, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men; the rest, filling vp the reare, comforted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Terti-du-For*.

Whence wee may admire the temperature and disposition of a Romaine Armie; beeing first generally diuided into three battels, whereof the meanest were in the vauntguard, to make triall of their strength, and to spend the heat of their young blood in the first affront of an enemy: The *Veterani*, or olde fouldiers, beeing left in the reareward, to repaire any losse, which either force or casualtie should cast vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoise themselves in such a manner as the weakest might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were so ordered, that the best men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made such an exquisite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full strength.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemy resolueth to transferre the warre into Celtiberia.



Vpon the making of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Cavalrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do; Sometimes seeking forrage within a small distance of the Camp, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreat if occasion required: Sometimes fetching a great compasse about to avoid the guardes & stations of our horsemen. And if they had receiued but the least check, or had but deseried the Cavalrie as farre off, they would haue cast downe their burdens, and fledde away.

At last, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was neuer vſe by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of Osca and Caliguris, beeing in league together, sent Embassadors to Caesar, with offer of their seruice, in such sort as he should please to commaund it. Within a few daies, the Tarraconenses, Lacetani, and Ausetani, together with the Illurganoneses, which border vpon the Riuer Ebrus, followed after. Of all these hee desired supplies of Corne, and provision: which they promised to furnish, and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graiue into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the Illurganoneses, vnderstanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and suddenly a great alteration of things appeared.

The bridge beeing perfected, great Citties and States beeing come in vnto him, a course settled for prouision of Corne, and the ramour blowne ouer of the succours and legions, which Pompey was said to come withall, by the way of Mauritania; many other townes further off, revolted from Afranius, and claue to Caesars partie.

The Enemy, beeing much affrighted and abashed at these things, Caesar (to auoide the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) hauing got a conuenient place, resolued to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the riuer Sicoris, and make it passable by a foord. These trenches beeing almost made, Afranius and Petreus did therevpon conceiue a great feare, least they should be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; forasmuch as Caesar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leaue that place, and transferre the warre into Celtiberia: being the rather there-vnto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Faſtions, which in the former warre had stood for L. Sertorius, such Citties as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:

H.

and

Caſar.

Osca.
Caliguris.

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-castles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, forasmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie souldier carried the cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land: beeing fitted by the discipline of their Militarie exercises, to vndertake any seruice subiect to humane industrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were instructed.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Have a little before shewed out of Liuius, that the *Antesignani* were ordinarily taken for the *Hastati*; which, beeing the easiest sort of souldiers, according to the generall diuision of a legion, doth seeme to contradict the passage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Caesar ei classi attribuerat*. For the better clearing whereof, we are to note, that as the *Hastati*, or first battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the *Antesignani* (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefeft Ensignes, which were alwaies amongst the *Principes* or second battell); so euery Maniple, hauing an Ensigne in the midst of the troope, the souldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called *Antesignani*, and were the best souldiers in the Companie: for, the Centurion, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men; the rest, filling vp the reare, consoorted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Tergi-du-for*.

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CHAP.

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H. and

Caesar.

Osca.
Caliguris.

and that such, as from the beginning had continued firme vnto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had receiued from him; amongst whom Cæsars name was not knowne. There they expected great succours both of horse and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote untill winter.

This aduice beeing agreed vpon, they gaue order to take vp all the boates that were on the riuer Iberus, and to bring them to Ofogesa; a towne sited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and transporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which beeing known by the Discoverers, Caesar by the extreame labour of the souldiers, continued day and night in turning the course of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that passe, that the horsemen (with some difficulty) durst aduenture ouer: but the foot troopes, hauing nothing aboue the water but their heads, were so hindered as well by the depth of the Riuer, as the swiftness of the streame, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithstanding, at the same instant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuer Iberus, and a foord was found in the river Sicoris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Inst, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now known by the name of Lerida) standeth vpon the Riuer Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and beeing sited vpon a hill, is inclosed round with a wall of hewen stone, in a pleasant and fertile Countrey, both for Come, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphically described by Lucan;

*Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum
Pingue solum tumulo, super hunc fundata vetusta
Surgit Ilerda manu; placidis prelabitur undis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnes:
Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas passurus aquas.*

It was formerly a Vniuersitie, and at all times famous for salt meates & pickled fish. Where-vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it so fell out that no man would regard it, neuerthelesse, it might serue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fish in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut vñctus mittèris Ilerdam.

Ofca, now called Huesca, a towne likewise of Catalonia, in former time surnamed *Victrix*; where Sertorius kept the sonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyaltie; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there caused to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

In this towne his hap was to be laine by Perpenna, as Paterculus recordeth the storie; *Tum M. Perpenna pratorius, è proscriptis, generis clarioris quàm animi, Sertorinm inter cænam Actosca interemit; Romanisque certâ victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem, pessimo auctoris facinore: Which Actosca, is by all men taken for this Ofca.*

The inhabitants boast of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated vpon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulness to their Commanders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; *Quò perseuerantius interempti Sertorij cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei frustrantes, fidem præstarent, quia nullam aliud in urbe eorum supererat animal, uxores suas, natoque, ad vsum nefaria dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata iuuentus, viscera sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadauerum reliquias salire non dubitauit.*

Neuerthelesse, Afranius tooke the in the end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. ESSE.
EO. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HÆC. LEGIS.
ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelitie, Augustus Cæsar tooke a band of these people for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Nero his time, was the first that taught a publique Schoole for salarie: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Romæ publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico clarnit.*

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuer Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where-vpon Lucan saith;

H 2

prosa-

Lib. 2.

Calaguris.

Lib. 7. cap. 6.

Suetonius in
Augusto.
Colors Calagu-
ritanorum.
Ad Eusebii
Chronicon.

Celtiberia.

— *profugique à Gente vetusta*
Gallorum Celta, miscentes nomen Iberis.

Florus calleth them *Hispania Robur*. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miserable and shamefull end.

His pugna cecidisse decus, corpusque cremari
Tale nefas: cælo credunt, superisque referri,
Impastus carpat si membra iacentia vultur.

Their Armes and weapons were of singular raritie: for, besides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had also a peculiar fashion of working them, as witnessth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their plates of Iron in the earth, vntill the worst and weakeſt part were eaten out with rust, and of that which remained, they made very hard swords.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE suddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon small accidents; which are so forceable to shake our resolutions, as made a great Philosopher, to describe a man by the propertie of *mutabile Animal*. And is notable ſcene in this; That Afranius, in the compaſſe of a few daies, triumphed of Cæſars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage coming to a partie, when they ſhake off any eminent diſtreſſe: for, as the extremitie thereof threatneth ruine and deſtruction, ſo the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And ſurely, ſuch is the condition of all ſorts of Miſerie, that when the ſtorme is ouer, and the bitterneſſe of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the vicifſitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaunder, knowing the aduantage of ſuch an opportunitie, muſt indeuour to improve the ſame, as may beſt ſerue to a ſpedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy ſetteth forward, and is ſtaied
 by Cæſar.



HE Enemy, ther-vpon, thought it expedient for him to make the more haſte; and therefore leauing two Auxiliary cohorts for the ſafe keeping of Ilerda, hee transported all his forces ouer the Riuer Sicoris, and incamped himſelfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæſar to doe, but with his Cavalrie to impeache and

and trouble the enemy in their march. And ſo farre as it was a great compaſſe about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to paſſe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee paſſed ouer his horſemen by the ſoord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raiſed their Camp; vpon a ſuddaine, the Cavalrie ſhewed themſelves in the reare; and ſwarming about them in great multitudes, began to ſtay and hinder their paſſage. As ſoone as it beganne to bee day light; from the vpper ground where Cæſar lay incamped, it was perceiued, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Cavalrie, and how ſometimes they turned head againe, and were neuertheleſſe broken and rowted: ſometimes their Enſignes ſtood ſuddenly ſtill, and all their ſome troopes charged our horſe, and forc't them to giue way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The ſouldiers walking vp and down the Camp, were grieved that the enemy ſhould ſo eſcape their handes, whereby the matter would conſequently be ſpun out into a long warre: and went vnto the Centurions and Tribunes of the ſouldiers, praying them to beſeech Cæſar not to ſpare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to paſſe the Riuer where the horſe went ouer. Cæſar, mooued through their deſire and importunity, albeit he feared to expoſe his Army to a riuer of that greatneſſe, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakeſt ſouldiers of all the Centuries ſhould be taken out, whoſe courage or ſtrength ſhewed a diſabilitie to vnder-take that ſeruiſe: and theſe he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the ſame, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and hauing ſet a great number of horſes & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuer, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the ſouldiers, being caried away with the ſtreame, were ſuccoured and taken vp by the horſemen; inſomuch as not one man periſhed.

The Army caried thus ouer in ſafetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeuour of the ſouldiour, that albeit they had ſet circuit of ſixe miles to the ſoord, and had ſpent much time in paſſing the riuer; yet by the ninth houre, they did ouertake the enemy that roſe about the third watch of the night.

Aſſoone as Afranius and Petreius had diſcovered the legions aſſe off (being terrified with the neweltie of that purſuit) they betooke themſelues to the vpper ground, and there imbattelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cæſar reſreſhed his Armie in the field, and would not ſuffer them (beeing wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and ſtaied them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe ſooner then was purpoſed: for, there were hilles a little before them; and for ſixe miles together, the paſſages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduanced betwene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæſars Cavalrie; and by keeping the paſſages, to hinder the Armie from following after; to the end they themſelues, might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuer Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuertheleſſe, beeing wearied with trauieling and fighting all day, they put off the buſineſſe to the next morning.

H 2.

Caſar

Three of the
 clock in the afternoon.

Cæsar also incamped himselfe on the next hill; and about midnight, some of their partie being gone out from the Campe, some-what far off, to fetch water, were taken by the horsemen. By them, Cæsar was advertised, that the Enemy with silence began to remoue, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Whereupon, he commaunded the signe of rising to be giuen, and the cry (dislodging and trusing up their baggage) to be taken up, according to the discipline and vse of souldiers.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing least they should bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be shutte up in those straight passages by Cæsars horsemen, staied their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



His passage ouer Sicoris, was in the same manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the Riuer Loier, in the seauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; *Vado per Equites inuento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, vt Brachia modò atque Humeri, ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum transduxit.*

The horse that stood about, brake the force of the water, & those that were belowe, tooke vp such as were ouercome with the streame; and withall, gaue courage to the souldier to venture with better assurance, seeing the passage impaled in, on each side, to keepe them frō miscarrying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the swelling pride of that Riuer, by diuiding it into many streames, was in imitation of the first Cyrus; who taking displeasure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greatest Riuer of Asyria, drew it into three hundred and threescore chanel.

Croesus, not finding the Riuer Halis passable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, sunke a great trench behind the Campe, from the vpper part of the Riuer, and so drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegetius hath a particular discourse of pasing an Armie ouer a Riuer, whether it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or swimming, or any other way: to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

*Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuen-
ted by Cæsar.*

(..)



HE next day folowing, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discover the Countrey; and for the same purpose, some went likewise out of Cæsars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was sent with a small troope to view the site of the Place, and either party returned with the same report: that for siue miles, the way was open and champain, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and whosoever first tooke those straights, might easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their setting forward, was debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for, by that means, they might com to those straights before it were perceived. Others were of opinion, that it was not possible to steale out in the night; as appeared by the cry of rising, taken up the night before in Cæsars Campe, vpon their remouing: and Cæsars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and passages were kept & shut up. Neither were they to giue occasion of night fights, but to auoid the same by all the meanes they could; forasmuch as in ciuill dissension, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee ouer-mastered by feare, then continue firme in the allegiance which he had sworne vnto: whereas, in the day time, euery man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be undertaken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet neuerthelesse, the body of the Armiemight passe in safetie, and possesse that place which they sought for.

This opinion preuailling in their consultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to sette forward. Cæsar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey; as soone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Oetogesa, were taken up with the Enemies Campe; insomuch as they were to passe ouer great and difficult valleis: And in many places, broken Rocks and stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarilie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the souldiers lifting up one another, and so they passed most part of the way. Howsoeuer, no man thought much of the labour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their trauell, if they could keep the enemy from passing ouer the Riuer Iberus, and cut off his victualls.

*Attollunt campo
gemine iuge
saxa rupei, val-
le caua media:
cellus huius ardua
cellos continuat
colles, tuta quos
inter opaco au-
fractu latuere
via: quibus ho-
ste posito fauci-
bus, emitti ter-
rarum in densa
Martem, inque
feras gentes Cæ-
sar videt?*
Lucan. lib. 4.

*Isse sine illo ob-
dine, ais, rapiti-
que fuga cõuer-
sio bellum, ex-
faciem pugna-
runt inq, confusa
minacci. Lucan.
lib. 4.*

At the first, Afranius souldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe to see the Armie, casting out words of derision & reproche, that for want of victuall, they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended. whereby they seemed to goe backe againe: and the Commanders themselves, did much approoue their owne counsell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed the in their opinion, was, that they perceived they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, necessity would not suffer them to continue long there. But when they saw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceived, how those that were in front, had fallē backward beyond their Camp, there was no man so dull, but thought it expedient presently to march out, and make head against them. Whereupon, they cried to Arms; and all their forces, excepting some few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Ibernus.

The whole business consisted in speed and celeritie, which of the two should first take the straights, and possesse the hilles. Casars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Casars Cavalry. The matter was come to that vpbott, that if Afranius party did first get the hils, they might happely quit themselves of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be saued: for, beeing intercepted & secluded by Casars Armie, there was no meanes to relieue them.

It fell out, that Casar first attained the place; and beeing come out from among those great Rocks into a plaine champaine, put his Army in order of battell against the enemy.

Afranius, seeing the enemy in front; and his reareward hardly charged by Casars Cavalry, got the aduantage of a smal hill, & there made their stand: and from thence sent a cohorts bearing round bucklers, vnto a Mountaine, which in all mens sight was higher then the rest; commaunding them to runne as fast as they could; and possesse that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces; and altering his course; to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaine to Octogesa.

As the cohorts were aduanced forward by an oblique circuit, Casars Cavalrie perceiuing their intendment, sette vpon them with such violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the sight of both Armies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Peticius and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, resolved by all meanes to shun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertaintie, and apt for looseness and disobedience: for, the night, beeing neither a discoverer of errors, nor yet a distinguisher either of

of actions or persons; but wrapping vp both the vertuous & the faultie in her Mantle of obscuritie, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or to help a mistaking: but rather giuing way to Impunitie and licentious confusion, leaueth no hope of what is wished: VVhereas the light is a witness of euery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie respected.

For which causes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that vntimely expedition against king Iuba, reiected their aduice that would haue had him set forward in the night; *At etiam vt media nocte profisciscamur addunt: quò maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huiusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus nox maximè aduersaria est.*

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by discourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespasian, and the Vitellian legions neere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this description; *Pralium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisu iuuabant.* &c. And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Have already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vse of exact and particular discoverie of the Countrey, where a partie is engaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happie issue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not onely able to iudge of any motion which the enemy shall offer, and to giue sure directions to frustrate and make voide the same; but also to dispose himselfe, according as shall seeme expedient for his safetie. VVherein, if a place of such consequence as is heere mentioned shall by designe be aymed at, this historie sheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Casar had reason to make his passage through Valleys and Rocks, rather then to lose victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vncasie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this discoverie, was afterward aduanced by Casar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was so much offended. How can I omit (saith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furthest end of the world: whom we see Tribune of the people, before we euer saw him a Citizen.

Neque in victoria decus, nec in fuga flagitium. Tacit. Hist. lib. 2.

2. Historie.

Oratio. 13 Philippi.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

**Cæsar refused to fight vpon an aduantage offered;
contrary to the opinion and desire of
all men.**



Here was an opportunitie then offered of doing something to purpose; neither was Cæsar ignorant thereof. Such an ouerthrowe giuen before their faces, did consequentlie so discourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: especially, beeing compassed about with the Causalrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all sides instantly desired at Cæsars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, desiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the souldiers were very ready, and forward there vnto: whereas the contrary partie had shewed many arguments of feare and discouragement. First, in that they did not succour their fellowes. Secondly, in as much as they had not bouged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreat. Neither had they withstood the charge and incursion of the Causalrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confusedly mingled their Ensignes one with another, no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and disadvantage of the Place, they might haue taken some other of more indifference; for, certainly they could not long stay where they were, but must depart from thence for want of water.

Cæsar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; forasmuch as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then should he lose a man, although it were to gaine a victory? Why should he suffer his valiant and well-deseruing souldiers, to be so much as hurt or wounded? Or why should he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? especially, when it nolesse concerned the honour and reputation of a Commander, to vanquish an enemy by direction and aduice, then to subdue them by force of Armes: being moued, withall, with a tender commiseration of such Cittizens of Rome, as were consequently to be hazarded or slaine in the fight; where-as hee desired to worke out his owne Ends with their safety.

This opinion of Cæsars, was disallowed by most men: and the souldiers would not sticke to speake plainly amongst themselves; forasmuch as such an occasion of victorie was overslipped, that when Cæsar would haue the, they would not fight. Hee, notwithstanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to lessen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, vpon the opportunity giuen them, with-drew themselves into their Camp. Cæsar, hauing possesst the Hilles with guarisons of souldiers, and shut vp all the passages leading to Iberus, incamped himselfe as neere as he could to the enemy.

The

The Commanders of the aduerse partie, beeing much afflicted that they had absolutely lost all meanes of provision of victuall, and of gaining the Riuer Iberus, consulted together of other courses. There were two waies left open; the one to returne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were considering of these things, it was told them, that such as went out for water, were very much pressed by our Causalrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horse, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongst them; and began also to raise a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the souldiers might safely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius diuided betweene themselves; and for the perfecting of the same, had occasion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whose absence, the souldiers taking libertie of free speech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they sought him out. And first, they all gaue thanks to all our party, that they had spared them when they were terrified and amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their liues by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might safely yeeld themselves to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and so haue ioyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinsmen.

And hauing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require assurance for the liues of Afranius and Petreius; least they should seeme to conceiue mischief against their Generalls, or betray them in seeking their owne safetie. Which things beeing agreed vpon, they promised to come with their Ensignes to Cæsars Campe; and ther-vpon, sent to Cæsar some of the Centurions of the first Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they invited their friendes on either side into the Camps; inasmuch, as both their lodgings seemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæsar, recommending themselves to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; who they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as Hostages and Pledges. These inquired after their old acquaintances & auuncient hostes, by whom each man might haue acceffe to Cæsar with some commendation. In like manner, Afranius his sonne dealt with Cæsar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All things sounded of ioy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had escaped such eminent dangers: and of vs, that seemed to haue effected such great matters without bloodshed. Inasmuch as Cæsar (in all mens iudgement) reaped great fruit of his accustomed clemencie and mildnes: and his counsell was generally approoued of all men.

Et quamuis nullo maculatus sanguine miles, quæ potuit fecisse, timet. Lucan. lib. 4.

Hospiti ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinqui: admonet hunc studiis, consors puerilibus aras: nec Romanus erat qui non agnoverat hostem. Lucan. lib. 4.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.



His Chapter containeth a passage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie storie. For, if we search the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where else appeare, that a Generall spared any advantage to purchase a victorious name, by the bloodshed and ruine of his enemies: and that contrary to the will and desire of his Armie, that had vndergon such difficulties and hazards, to giue an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experience of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the surest rule of warre; *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?* And contrary to the vse of Armes, which are alwaies bent against an enemy to subdue him.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no lesse concerning the honour of a Commander; *Consilio, superare quam gladio*, and was a maine stepp to raise him to the Empire. For, how soeuer the souldier (to preuent further labour) stood hard for blood, not respecting that of the Comick, *Omnia prius experiri verbis, quam armis sapientem decet*: yet if Caesar had beene so iniurious to Nature, as to haue left them to their owne desires, and suffered their furie to haue violated the law of humanitie, more then was requisite for victorie; they would afterwards haue loathed themselves, and cursed their swords for such vnreasonable execution: and may be doubted, would haue reuenged it vpon his head, before the time came to strike the fittall stroke of the euersion of that State. Esteeming it also a part of diuine power, to saue men by troopes, according to that of Seneca; *Hac diuina potentia est, gregatim, ac publice seruare*. And therefore, hee chose rather to displease the souldier for the present, then to lose that honour which attendeth the sparing of home-bred blood. Whereof forraine enemies are not altogether so capable.

CHAP. XXIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new sweareth the Souldiers to the Partie.



Franius, being aduertised of these passages, left the worke which hee had begunne, and with-drew himselfe into the Campe; prepared (as it seemed) to take patiently whatsoever should befall him. But Petreius was no way dismayed thereat; for, hauing armed his household familie, hee went flying with them, & a Pratorian cohort of Buckler-bearers, together

together with some few stipendarie horse of the barbarous people, whom he was wont to keepe about him, as a guard to his person: and came suddainly and vnllooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the souldiers treaty; thrust our men off from the Campe; killing such as he could apprehend. The rest got together, & affrighted at the suddaineness of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their swords drawne, defended themselves from the Buckler-bearers and Horsemen: and trusting to the neerenesse and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got safely thither, being protected by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

This being done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the souldiers, and beseeching them not to leaue and forsake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was absent: nor to deliuer them ouer to the crueltie of their aduersaries. Presently there-vpon, a great concourse of souldiers was about the Pratory, requiring that euery man might take an oath; not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into priuate consultation thereof without consent of the rest. He himselfe first tooke an oath to this effect, & caused Afranius to take the same. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, followed in order: and after them, the souldiers were brought out according to their Centuries, and were sworne the same oath.

They caused it also to be proclaimed, that who soeuer had any of Caesars souldiers, should cause them to be brought out; and being brought forth, they slew them publicly before the Pratorian Pavilion: But most men concealed such as were with them, and in the night time, sent them out ouer the Rampire. Whereby it came to passe, that the terrour where-with the Generalls had affrighted them, the cruelty they had shewed in punishment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the present: and quite changing the souldiers mindes, had reduced the matter to the former course of warre.

Caesar, for his part, caused diligent inquiry to bee made, of such souldiers as came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and sent them away in safety. But of the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarie accord remained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduanced the Centurions, and such Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignity of Tribunes.

The Afranians were sorely laid vnto in their forraging, and watered likewise with great difficultie. Many of the leginarie souldiers had store of Corne, being commaunded to take provision with them from Ilerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, hauing also but small meanes to provide and furnish themselves; for which cause, a great number starved daily to Caesar.

Inter hos amplexus esse, separant, et multo distulbat sanguine pacem. Luc.

Inter manusque torosque, quos modo complexu fouerunt pectora cadunt. Lucan. lib. 4.

Hoc siquidē solo cinis crimine belli dux causa melioribus eris. Lucan. lib. 4.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

In Har every man is the maker of his owne fortune, is evidently seene in the feuerall cariages of these two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the souldiers treatie, and resolued to suffer whatsoever that transaction should cast vpon him. But Petreius, opposing himselfe to their desires, raised new troubles, had further designes, and another fortune. Wherein, forasmuch as the euent of things riseth according as they are first directed, either by weake or strong resolutions; it better sutheth the temper of a souldier (howsoever the successe fall out with our desires) rather to be stiffe in what he wisheth; then to make his owne easines, the ready meanes of his aduersaries happines.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Vertue at all times hath had this priuiledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equall to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogative, auouching euery mans promise for the strictnesse of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollement for a war, gaue but their promise to the Tribune of the souldiers, to keepe such ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (falsifying the simplicitie & truth of words) did inforce them to giue an oath, as the surest bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Liuius at large; The souldiers (saith hee) which was neuer before that time practised, were sworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon summons from the Consuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a solemne promise (which the horsemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leaue their Colours by flight, or through feare, nor to forsake their rank, vnlesse it were either to assault an enemy, to take vp an offensiu weapon, or to saue a Citizen; & being at first but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

The forme of this oath was diuersly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more specially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the souldiers oath; That they should hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his sisters. Concerning the respect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, hauing charge of the Prouince of Macedonia, had (amongst other Romaine youtnes) Catos son, a young souldier in his Armie; and being occasioned to dismiss a legion, discharged likewise young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, desirous to beare Armes in that war, continued still in the Armie; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he suffered his sonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes sweare him againe: for, beeing discharged of his first oath, hee could not lawfullie fight against the Enemy.

Euer

Ever since Constantine the great, the souldiers were sworne by a Christian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour should command them; not to leaue their warfare without licence, nor to shun death for the seruice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amongst other Nations, an oath is giuen to the souldier vpon his inrollement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to serue the King, towards all men, and against all, without exception of persons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his seruice, to reueale the same incontinentlie; not to leaue their Colours, without leaue either of the General, or his Lieutenant.

The auncient Romaines did charge their solemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vsed in ratifying Treaties & Transactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that first falsified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romains & Carthaginians sware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordinary manner: The parties invoking their Iupiter, to grant all prosperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (saith hee that tooke the oath) I shall either doe, or purpose otherwise; all the rest beeing safe and sound, let me alone (in the midst of the lawes and iustice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) perish most vnfortunatly, euen as this stone flieth out of my hand: and (as he spake those words) cast away a stone.

I doe not find the vse of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the common forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and significant as any other whatsoever: which may be obserued by the three parts it containeth, as I haue scene them alligorized in some Antiquities. For, first, the booke beeing alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promises therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be successfull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kissing of the booke, importeth a vaine mispending of our vowes and praiers, if wee falsifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeavour which Afranius vsed to returne to *Ilerda*; but failed in his designe.



HE matter beeing in this extremitie, of two meanes which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to *Ilerda*. For, hauing left there behind the a little Corne, they hoped to take some good course for the sequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby subiect to more casualties concerning their passage. In regard whereof, they

I 2.

resolved

Lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lib. 3. Histo.

Cesar.

resolved of their former course, and so dislodged themselves.

Cæsar, hauing sent his Cavalrie before, to incumber and retard the reare-guard, followed after (himselfe) with the legions. The hindmost troopes of their Armie, were constrained (without any intermission of time) to fight with our horsemen. And their manner of fight was thus; Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of cariages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaigne places, many of these Cohorts made a stand, to confront our Cavalrie. If they were to ascend up a Hill, the nature of the place did easily repell the danger wherewith they were threatned; forasmuch as such as went before, might easily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or descent, that those that were in the former ranks, could not helpe them in the reare; the horsemen from the upper ground, did cast their weapons with great ease and facility vpon the Enemy. And then continually they were in great hazard and danger: and still as they approached neere vnto such places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a stand with their Ensignes, and so by great force and violence, expelled our Cavalrie.

Who being retired backe, they would suddainly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And presently againe, being to ascende into higher ground, they would there make a stand: for, they were so farre from hauing help of their owne Cavalry (whereof they had great number) that they were gladd to take them betwene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former encounters) and so to shelter and protect them: of whom, if any chanced vpon occasion to stray aside out of the rout the Army held, they were presently attached by Cæsars horsemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded slowly on their way, and aduanced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, stood still to succour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, hauing gone but foure miles on their way (being very hardly laide to, and much pressed by our Cavalrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themselves into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their cariages laden vpon their horses. As soone as they perceived that Cæsars Campe was sette, and that the tents were vp, and their horses put to graesse; they rose suddainly about mid-day, vpon hope of some respite, by reason of our horse put out to feeding, and went on their journey.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, rose and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the cariages: and about the tenth houre, commanding the forragers and horsemen to be called backe, and to follow after; Instantly the Cavalrie returned, and betooke themselves to their accustomed charge.

The fight was very sharpe in the reare, inasmuch as they were ready to turne their backs. Many souldiers, and some of the Centurions were slaine. Cæsars troopes preaced hard vpon them, and threatned the ouerthrowe of their whole Armie; inasmuch, as they had neither meanes to choose a fit place to incampe in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were necessarilie enforced to make a stande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any water, in an vnequall and disaduantageous place: but Cæsar forbore to meddle with them, for

for the same reasons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set up their Tents, that they might bee the readier to solow after, at what time soeuer by night or by day they shold offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obserued the defect of our Campe, imployed all that night in aduancing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one euil with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæsar, finding them oppressed with manie inconueniences, chose rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.



N this troublesome and confused retreat, which these Commaunders vndertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Ilerda, we may obserue the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselves from the pressures of a strong confronting enemy. For, the frailtie of humane fortune, is alwaies so yoked with incombrances, and hath so many lets from the native weakneses of it owne indeuour; that if the opposition of forraine malice, shall therewithall unhappilie concurre, to stoppe the current of our desires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extremitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in seeking to auoide the smart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee haue to shunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherewith further note the aduantage which a Commaunder hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maister the Enemy in Cavalrie: for, the horsemen, seruing an Armie Roiall, by making discoueries, by forraging, by giuing rescue vpon a sudden, by doing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Cavalry of the Enemy) they cannot performe these seruices as is requisite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar went about to inclose the Enemy,
and be to hinder Cæsar.



Howbeit, Cæsar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease hinder their suddaine sallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would necessarily betake themselves.

Cæsar.

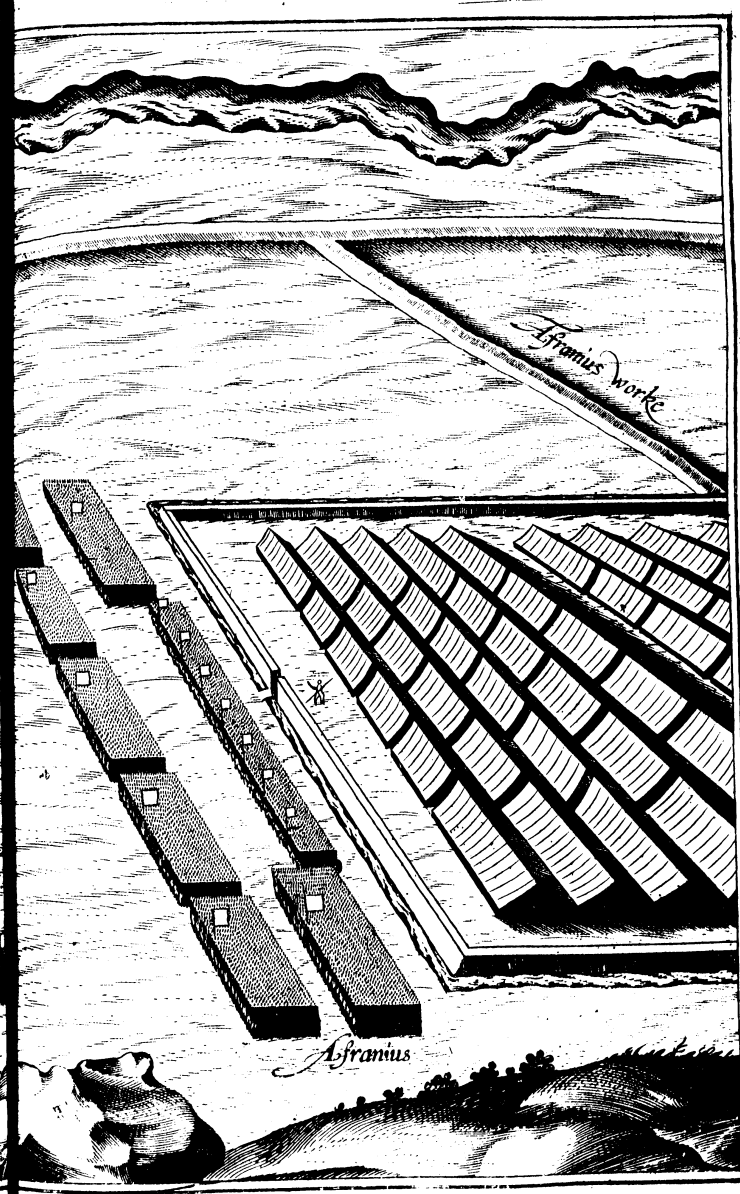
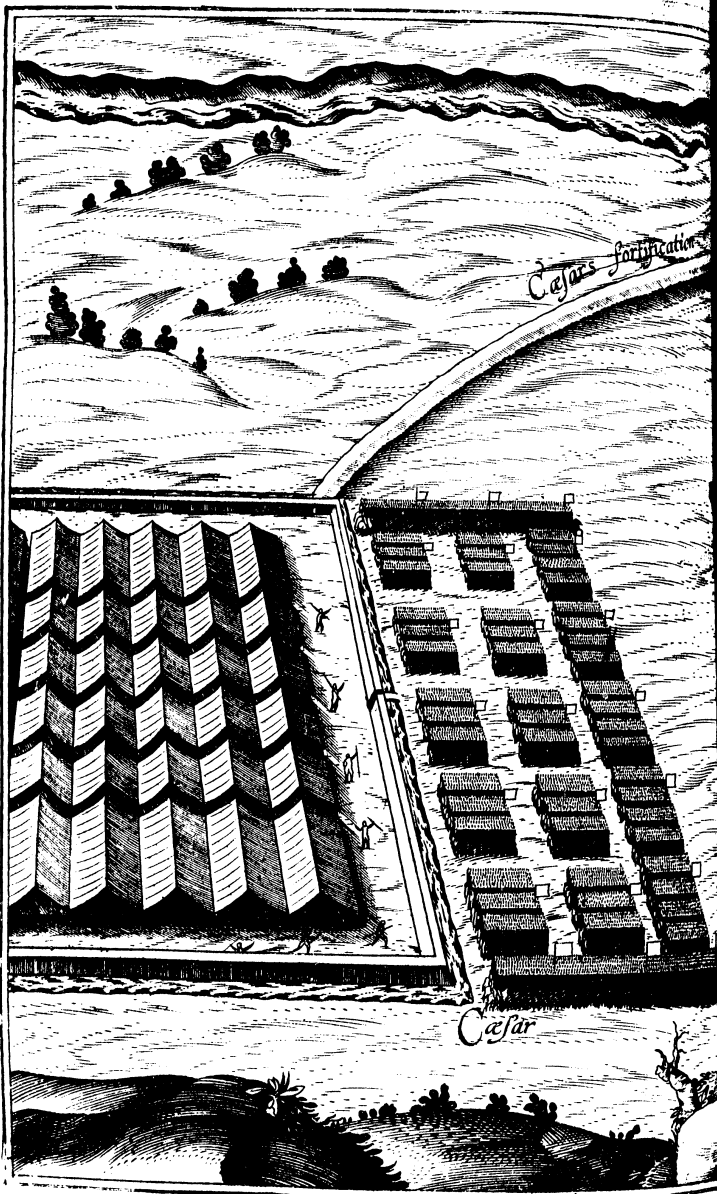
The Enemy beeing straightned for want of forrage, and to the end also they might be the readier to escape away, caused all their horses of cariage to be killed: and in these workes and consultations were two daies spent. The third day, a great part of Casars workes being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the business intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbattelled themselves vnder their Campe. Caesar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commaunding all his horse to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, hauing made such a shew of unwillingness to buckle with the enemy, against the will of the souldier and opinion of all men, he found himselfe subiect therevpon to much inconuenience: howbeit, he was resolued (for the reasons already specified) not to strike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the space betweene his Campe and the enemies, was so little, that if he had put the to flight, it could not haue much auailed him, for the gaining of a perfect and absolute victorie. For, their Campes were not aboue 2000 foote asunder; whereof the Armies tooke up two parts, and the third was left for incurison and assault. So that if hee had giuen battell in that neereness of the Campe, they would haue found a speedy retreit vpon their ouerthrow. For which cause, hee resolued to stand vpon his defence, and not to giue the onset and charge them first.

Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the first, consisting of five legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which vsually serued in the winges, were now placed for succours, and made the second battell.

Casars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the first was of foure cohorts, a peece of the five legions: the second, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midst, & the Cavalrie on the sides. Beeing thus both imbattelled, they seemed to obtaine their seuerall ends; Caesar, not to fight vnlesse he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Casars fortification. But the matter beeing drawn out in length, they stood imbattelled vntill sunne setting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Qontra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri praelio diffugisse, magnū detrimentū afferebat, saith the historic. Whence we may obserue two points; First, that a Commaunder in striking a field, must partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight against the liking of the souldier, nor with-hold them frō fighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumstances doe indifferentlie concur there-withall. For, when men are cōmaunded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vnderaken; and the issue is commonlie answerable to the readines of their desires: but, being restrained in their affections, and put besides their aptness of their voluntarie disposition, there groweth such



such a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the souldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into distaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which he had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commaunder runneth into, who sildome or neuer gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceiued by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especiallie to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which he meaneth not. For, albeit the more iudicious sort of men are not so well satisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet forasmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of priuate persons, requireth such a direction of busines, as may rather sure with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behooueth them to vse such glosses, as may take away all petulant and sinister interpretations, howsoeuer their courses may aime at other purposes. And certainly, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with truth; according as Machauell hath obserued. But concerning Cæsar, that which Ephicrates said of himself, hauing imbattelled his Army to fight; That he feared nothing more, then that his enemy knew not his valour: may more properly be said heere. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or made them take vp so many Brauados, or vse so much delay before they came to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword steeled, to make way through all resistance.

Ceteris mortalibus in eo stant consilia quid sibi conducere possint. Principum diuersa fors est, quibus precipua rerum ad famam dirigenda. Tacit.

L'vniuersale, degli huomini si pasce, così di quello che paie, come di quello, che è anzi: molte volte si muouono più per le cose che paiono, che per quelle che sono. Lib. 1. Sop. Tit. Liv. cap. 25. Omnis aier Aquila penetrabilis.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the next place, the manner of their imbattelling commeth to be obserued: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidijs locum alaria cohortis obtinebat: Cæsaris triplex sed primam aciem quaterna cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidiaria, terna, et rursus alia totidem sua cuiusque legionis subsequebantur: sagittarij funditoresq; media cõtinebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat:* And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it haue answerable sense to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we vnderstand those wordes, *Acies Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidijs?* Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other stood for succours behind? Or shall we take it with *Faernus*; *Acies Afraniana duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidijs locum alaria cohortes obtinebant?* But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expresse mention of fise, besides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to *Lipsius* correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legionum quinque: et in subsidijs locum alaria cohortes, obtinebant.*

Their manner of imbattelling

Lib. 4. de militia Romana.

The

The first battell consisted of five legions; and the second, of the Spanish and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe must be sent to Cæsar; for, otherwise, the text doth afford him but few cohorts: standing thus, *Primam aciem quaterna cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has terna, et rursus alia &c.* For, undoubtedly, Cæsar had five legions equall to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driven to a more artificiall diuision, to helpe his weakenes in that point. And therefore, as the same Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quaterna cohortes ex quinque legionibus*: vvhich bringeth forth this sense; In the first battell were five times foure cohorts; in the second, five times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *sua cuiusque legionis*, it appeareth, that euery legion was so diuided into three parts, that it had foure cohorts in the first battell, three in the second, and three in the last.

Concerning the space which their Armies imbatelled tooke vp, it appeareth, that the whole distance betweene their Campes, contained two thousand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing 666 foote, 111 paces, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or lesse, as place and occasion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.



HE next day, Cæsar went about to finish and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the Riuer Sicoris, and so get over. Which beeing perceiued, Cæsar caried over the light armed Germanes, and part of the Cavalrie, and disposed them in guard along the Riuer banke. At length, beeing besieged & shut vp on all sides, and hauing kept their horses without meate foure daies together, besides their extreame want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in some place out of the presence of the souldier. Which Cæsar denied, vnesse it were in publike. Wherevpon, Afranius his sonne was giuen in hostage to Cæsar; and so they presented themselves in a place of Cæsars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius spake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the souldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made sufficient prooue of their dutie, they had also thoroughly suffered for the same, hauing indured the extremitie of want in all necessarie prouisions: Inasmuch as now they were shut vp as women, kept from water, kept from going out, oppressed with a greater waight of griefe in bodie, and of dishonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confesse themselves to be vanquished and

and overcome: praying and beseeching, that if there were any mercylest, they might not vndergoe the extremitie of Fortune. And this hee deliuered as humbly and demissiuely as was possible.

To which, Cæsar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compassion, could be used to no man more vnproperly then himselfe: for, where-as euery man else did his duty; he onely, vpon fit conditions of time and place, refused to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong, in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preserved such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to moue a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the safety of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceeding with them, consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commanders themselves, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and laine, that were deceived by a shew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons, to seeke and earnestly to desire that which a little before they had foolishly contemned.

Neither would he take the aduantage of this their submission, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine, nor the seauenth inrolled there, nor so many and so great Nauies prepared, nor such experienced and skilfull Commanders selected and appointed (for none of these needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vse and behoofe of the Prouince, which (by reason of their long continuance of peace) needed not any such assistance. All these things were long agoe provided in a readinesse against him: New formes of government were made and ordained against him; That one and the same man, should be resiant at the gates of Rome, haue the vvhole superintendencie and direction of the Cittie business: and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Prouinces for so many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Against him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Customs of Magistracie, in sending men at the end of their Pretorship or Consulship, to the government of Prouinces, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen some that were allowed & authorized by a few. Against him the prerogative of age did nothing preuaile: but, whosoever they were that in former warres had made good prooue of their valour, were now called out to command Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought things to an end, they might dismiss their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the least, without dishonour.

All which things, hee notwithstanding both had and would suffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himselfe, which hee might easily doe: but that they should not haue

At nunc sola
mili est oranda
causa salutis,
vixit donanda
Cæsare credere
vita.

meanes to make head against him. And therefore, as it was said before, they should goe out of the Prouinces, and discharge their Army; if they did so, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and last meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here is not any one vertue, that can challenge a greater measure of honour, or hath more prerogative either amongst friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cause it is, that men are more strict in matters committed to their trust, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the same things concerned themselves. And yet neuertheless, there is a *Quatenus* in all indeuours, and seemeth to be limitted with such apparencie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Cæsar for a pardon; *Non esse aut ipsi aut militibus succensendum, quod fides erga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conseruare voluerint; sed satis iam fecisse officio, satisque supplicij tulisse.* &c. which hee deliuered in a stile futing his fortune. For, as Cominæus hath obserued; Men in feare, giue reuerent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chiefeft witness of our fortune.

On the other side, Cæsar produced nothing for his part, but such wrongs as might seeme valuable to make good those courses which he prosecuted: as first, iniuries done by them, and that in the highest degree of blame against his souldiers, that went but to seeke for peace. Iniuries done by their Generall, in such a fashion, as spared not to euert the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confusion. Whereby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature tieth euery man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam*: and hauing brought it to these rearmes wherein it now stood, he would giue assurance to the world, by the reuenge he there tooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might liue in peace: and so required no more but that the Armie should be dismissed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

THE conditions propounded, were most acceptable & pleasing to the souldiers; as might appeare by them: for, being in the condition of vanquished persons, and thereupon expecting a hard measure of Fortune; to be rewarded with libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: inasmuch, as where there grew a controuersie of the time and place of their dismissal, they all generally standing

standing vpon the rampier, signified both by their speeches and by their handes, that their desire was it might be done instantly; for, it could not bee provided by any assurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After some dispute on each side, the matter was in the end brought to this issue; that such as had houses & possessions in Spaine, should be discharged presently, and the rest at the Riuer Varus. It was conditioned, that no man should be iniured, that no man should be forced against his wil, to be sworne vnder Cæsars command.

Cæsar promised to furnish the with Corne, vntill they came to the riuer Varus: adding withal, that whatsoeuer any one had lost in the time of the warre, which should be found with any of his souldiers, should be restored to such as lost it, or if it were not to be had, he paid the value thereof in mony. If any controuersie afterward grew amongst the souldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cæsar. As, when the Souldiers grew almost into a mutiny for want of pay, the Commanders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cæsar might vnderstand the cause, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army beeing dismissed in those two daies, hee commanded two legions to march before their Army, and the rest to follow after, and continually to incampe themselves not farre from them: and appointed *L. Fufius Calenus*, a Legate, to take the charge of that business. This course beeing taken, they marched out of Spaine to the Riuer Varus, and there dismissed the rest of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonensis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to discharge the Armie, whereby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man desire to see a parallell drawne, betweene Cæsar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it shall suffice to take the issue for a square of their directions; beeing drawne to this head within fortie daies after Cæsar came within sight of the Enemy, as Curio noteth in his speech to the souldiers.

Cato, seeing the prosperous successe of Cæsar against Pompey, said there was a great vncertainie in the government of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee saith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne persons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the same; the world taking a course quite contrarie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan spake from a surer ground, where hee saith;

Victrix causa Dijs placuit, sed victa Catoni.

And thus endeth the first Commentarie.

Varus flumina.
Hoc petimus,
victos ne recum
vincere cogas.
Luc.

Rerum ab euen-
tu, facta notan-
da putes.
Lib. 2. Ciuil.

THE SECOND COMMENTA- rie of the Ciuill Warres. (..)

THE ARGUMENT.

His Commentarie hath three speciall parts; The first, containing the siege of Marselleis: the strange vworks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The second expresth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Licutenant, vndertooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæsars power and commaund. And the third part consisteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the siege, aswell within as without the Towne.



*W*hilst these things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to besiege Marselleis, had begunne in two places to raise Mounts, to make Mantilets and Towres against the Towne: One, next vnto the Port where the Shippes lay; and the other, in the vvay leading from Gallia and Spaine into the towne, iust vpon the creeke of the sea, neere vnto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marselleis are in a manner washed with the sea: and the fourth is that which giueth passage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Castle (by reason of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult siege. For the perfecting of those workes, Trebonius had commaunded out of all the Prouince, great store of horses for cariage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materials for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raised a Mount of fourescore foote high.

Caesar.

K.

But

But such was the provision, which of ancient time they had stored up in the towne, of all equipage and necessities for the warre, with such provision of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of rodde or Osiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Balista, they shot beames of twelue foote long, pointed with Iron, with such force, as they would pearce through foure courses of Hurdles, and sticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roofo their Gallery, with timber of a foote square, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the Mount, a Testudo of sixtie foote in length was alwaies caried before, for the lenelling of the ground, made of mighty strong timber, covered and armed with all things which might defend it from stones, or what else should be cast vpon it. But the greatness of the worke, the height of the wall, together with the multitude of Engins, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.

Moreover, the Albici did make often sallies out of the towne, setting fire to the mounts and to the turrets; which were kept by our souldiers with great facilitie and ease, forcing such as salied out to returne with great losse.

OBSERVATIONS.



Hauing described in the former Commentaries these Engines & workes heere mentioned, the Reader may please (for his better satisfaction) to review those places; as also further to note, that the word Artillery, was brought downe to these ages from the vse of ancient Engins, which consisted of those two primitiues, Arcum and Telum. And, according as diuersitie of Art & wit found meanes to fit these to vse and occasions, so had they severall and distinct names; whereof I find chiefly these, Balista, Catapulte, Tolenones, Scorpiones, Onagri: Of each of which, there are diuers and severall sorts; as first, of the Balista, some were called Centenaria: others, Talentaria, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they shot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruuius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate description. Againe, some were made to shoote stones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, Magnitudine eximia, quartadecima legionis Balista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem prouebat; and others, to shoote darts and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifested by this place. Moreover, the maner of bending of these Engines made a difference, some being drawne vp with a winch or scrue, and some with a wheele, some hauing long armes, and others hauing short; but the strings were generally either all of sinowes or of womens haire, as strongest & surest of any other kind. Of these, Vegetius preferreth the Balista, and the Onagri, as vnresistable when they were skillfully handled. The word Onagri, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later stamp, and imposed vpon those Engines which former time called Scorpiones; and was taken from the nature of wilde Asse, that are said to cast stones backward with their seere at the Hunters, with such violence, that oftentimes they dashed out their braines.

In

In the time of Barbarisme, all these Engines were generally called Mangonella: as appeareth by Viginierus, in his Annotations vpon Onofander. Which is likewise shewed, by that which Maister Camden hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was present; *Ex parte orientali fuit vna Petrarica, et duo Mangonella, qua quotidie turrim infestabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, qua turrim veterem contriuerunt, et vnum Mangonellum ex parte Australi, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all these out of vse, it were to no purpose to insitt longer vpon them.

And of Mangonellum, a batterer or breaker, commeth our English word Mangler.

CHAP. II.

The Marcellians prepare themselves for a Sea-fight.



In the meane time, L. Nasidius beeing sent by Cn. Pompeius with a Nauie of sixteene shippes (amongst which, some few had their beake-head of Iron) to the succour and supply of L. Domitius and the Marcellians, he passed the straights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into Messana, by reason of the suddaine terrour of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themselves to flight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marcellies. And, hauing sent a small Barke before, he certified Domitius and the rest, of his comming; exhorting them by all meanes, that ioyning their forces with his supplies, they would once againe giue fight to Brutus Nauie.

Caesar.

Messina.

The Marcellians, since their former ouertrowe, had taken the like number of shippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and with great industrie furnished and manned them for that service: for, they wanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpose. To these they added certaine Fisher-boates, and fenced them with fights and coverings, that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled with Archers and Engines. The Nauie beeing thus furnished and prepared, the Marcellians (incited and stirred vp with the prayers and teares of old men, women and maides, to giue help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no lesse courage and confidence then formerly they had accustomed) went all aboard with great courage, as it commeth to passe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnseene and vnknowne, or otherwise are more troubled thereat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of Nasidius had filled the Cittie full of assured hope and courage: and ther vpon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found Nasidius at Taurenta (a Castle belonging to the Marcellians) & there fitted themselves for a fight; encouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that seruice, and consulting how it might be best performed.

Tolous.

K 2.

The

The right /quadron was given to the Marsellians, and the left to Nasidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, having increased the number of his Shippes; for, those sixe which he tooke from the Marsellians, he had added vnto the other which Caesar had caused to be made at Arleate, and had mended them since the last fight, and fitted them with all necessaries for men of warre. And thereupon, exhorting his souldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquished partie, hauing already foiled and ouerthrowne them when they were in their strength, they set forward against them with great assurance.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all those higher places they might easily perceiue and see in the Cittie, how all the youth which remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wiues and children, did from the publike places of guard, and from the towne walles, stretch out their hands towards heauen: or otherwise runne to their Churches and Temples; and there prostrating themselves before their Images, did desire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the event of all their fortunes to consist in that daies seruice: for, the chiefe of all their able men, and the best of all sorts and degrees, were by name called out, and intreated to goe aboard, to the end if any disaster or mischaunce should happen, they might see nothing further to be indeauoured for their safetie; and if they ouercame, they might rest in hope to save their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraigne helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Communi sit vitio natura, ut inuisis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur, ut tum accidit. In cases of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuse our iudgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to distrust, then any matter present can mooue or inforce: for, these perturbations attending vpon our will, are enlarged more according to the qualitie of our desires, then as they are directed by discourse of reason; and so draw men either easily to belieue what their wishes doe require, or otherwise to reiect all as vtterly lost.

*The vncertainty whereof, and the disappointment ensuing those deceivable apprehensions, hath brought the hope of this life into very slight account, beeing reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a charitable delusion, to support vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, euery mans helpe is hope; which neuer affordeth present reliefe, but asswageth the bitterneffe of extremities, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marsellians
ouerthrowne.

THE fight beeing begun, the Marsellians were wanting in no point of valour: but beeing in mind such exhortation as a little before had beene giuen them by their friends, they fought so resolutely as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one should chaunce to miscarie in that battell, he should make account that he did but anticipate for a small moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpon taking of the towne, were to vndergoe the same fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to giue way to the nimbleness and mobility of their shipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their shippes, they presently came on all sides to their reskew. Neither did the Albici shew themselves backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferiour to our men in courage or valour. Moreover, out of the lesser Ships were cast infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wherewith our men busied in fight were suddainely wounded.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, hauing spied Brutus shippe (which by her flaggemight easily be discerned) came violently against him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreseene, Brutus did so preuaile through the swiftnesse of his Ship, that he a little out-stript them; whereby they coming with their full swinge, did so encounter one another, that they were very much shaken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one beeing broken off, the water was ready to come in on all sides. Which beeing obserued by some of Brutus partie that were neere about, they set vpon them (beeing thus distressed) and quicklie sunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Nasidius, were found of no vse; for, there was not offered there vnto them, either the sight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and praiers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motives to hazard their liues in that quarrell: so that of them there was none wanting. Of the Ships that came out from Marsellies, sixe were sunke, and foure taken. One escaped with Nasidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was sent before to Marsellies; who comming as a messenger before the rest, and approaching neere vnto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which beeing once knowne, there was such a generall mourning and desolation, as though the towne were instantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithstanding, they left not off to make ready such necessaries, as were requisite for defence of the same.

Caesar.

OBSERVATIONS.



His was the second fight the Marsellians made, to keep the sea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; beeing otherwise straightlie besieged by land, and yet not so tenderly cared as their shutting vp by sea: the free passage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their succours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the successe of that enterprise, with as much deuotion, as teares, voves and prayers could expresse.

The benefit a Towne besieged receiueth from an open inlet by sea, cannot be better manifested, then by the siege of Oatend; for, by that occasion specially, it indured the most famous siege that was in Christendome these many yeeres. This L. Narsidius, was rather a constant friend to the cause, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refused not to take the like ouerthrow for Pompey the sonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And surely it falleth out (whither it be through the vncertainty of sea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at sea, to auoid occasions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pauca digna nascuntur in Mari*, according to the proverbe, or for what other cause I knowe not) that there are few of those which sought honor in this kind, who haue attained the least part of their desires. And yet neuertheless, some there are of famous memorie: as * Barbarussa, a terror of the Leuant seas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great exploits vpon the Turke: together with diuers of our owne Nation; as namelie, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at sea, is held matchable with anie other whatsoeuer: Besides, M. Candish, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbisher, for discoueries to the North.

Howbeit, these latter times haue aduantage without comparison of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compass with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeres agoe, by one Flauus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no shippe can shape a course in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers made against the Towne.

(* *)



I was obserued by the legionarie souldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them against the often eruptions and sallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke vnder the towne wall, in stead of a Hold or receptacle: which at first they made lowe and little, onely for the repelling of suddaine assaults. Thither they usually retreated: and from thence, if they were ouer-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or prosecuting an Enemie. This towre was thirtie foote square, and the walles thereof fine foote thicke: but afterwards (as vse and experience is the maister of all things) it was found by insight and industrie of men, that this towre might be of great vse, if it were raised to any height, and was accordingly performed in this fashion.

When it was raised to the height of a storie, they so framed the floore, that the ends of the ioystes did not yttie out beyond the sides of the towre; least any thing might be thrust out, on which the fire which the enemy should cast might take hold: and then paved that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelers and Gabions would suffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarras thus made, they laide crosse beames along the sides, as a foundation to an upper storie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And vpon these beames they raised crosse timbers, thwarting each other for the sides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with side beames.

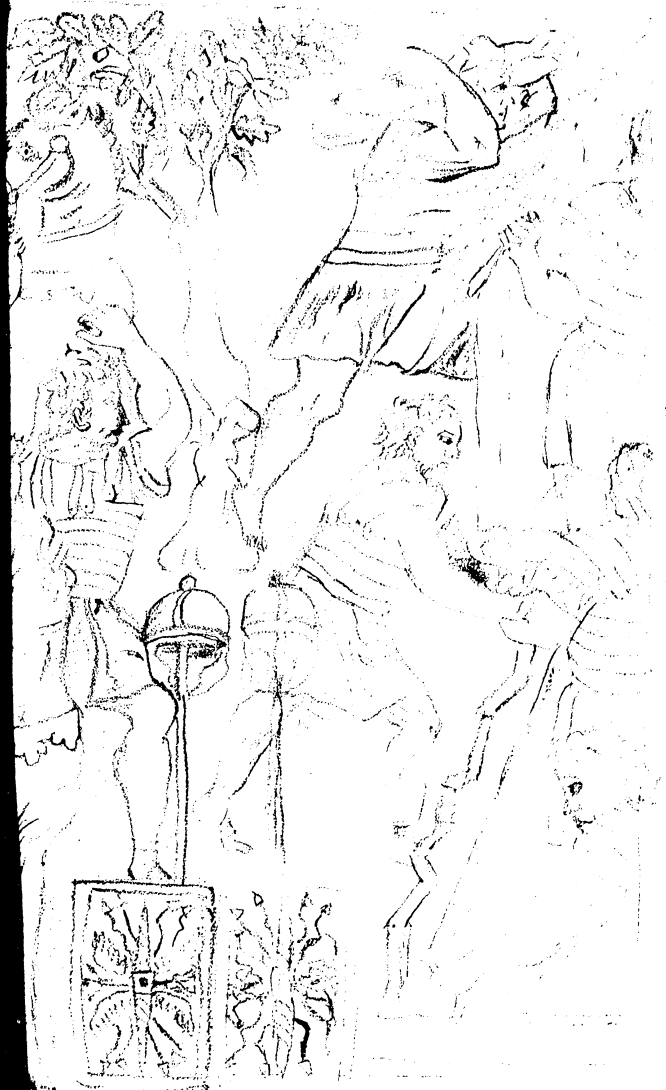
These crosse timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the square of the towre; that there might be beames to fasten coverings and defences, against the blowes and darte of the Enemy, whilst the workemen were finishing the walles and sides of that building. The toppe or upper storie of this towre, they likewise paved with bricke and clay, that no fire might fasten on it; and laid Matteresses on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons shot out of Engines, nor the pavement shiuered in peeces with stones cast out of Catapults.

Moreover, they made three nettings or mats of Hawfers, equall in length to the sides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon those three sides which confronted the Enemie, they fastened them vpon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of prooffe, & not to be perced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be covered, finished, and fortified, against any violence of the enemy, they carried their

Casar.

their Mantelets and defences to the rest vnfinisbed. The top of which towre, they framed vpon the first storie, and then raised it vp with wrinches or serues, as farre as the close netting would serue them for a defence. And so covered with these shelters and safeguards, they built vp the sides with bricke; and then againe scruiing vp the toppre higher, they fitted the place to build the sides higher; and as they came to the height of a story, they laid the ioyntes of the floore in such sort, as the ends thereof were hid and covered with the wall or sides that were of bricke; and so from that story, they proceeded to another, by scruiing vp the top, and raising their netting. By which meanes, they built very safely sixe stories, without any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the sides, for the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought convenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Musculum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber square, to conuay them safely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: wherof this was the forme; They cut two side ground sils of equall length, and made the space betweene them to containe foure foote; vpon them they erected little columnes of fine foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distances, as the fasteners were to be placed to beare vp the rooffe: and vpon those braces they laid rafters of two foote square, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the ewings, with plates and bolts of Iron. They lathed the rooffe with lath of foure fingers breadth, and so the building beeing made with a gable ridge hand somly fashioned, the top was laid all ouer with clay, to keepe the Mouse from burning; and then covered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be washed away with pipes or gutters of water, which might bee laid to fall vpon them. And least those hides should be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid Matteresses vpon them.

This worke being whollie finished neere vnto the towre, through the help and meanes of defensue mantelets and gabions; suddenly before the enemy was aware, with a shippe-engine and rollers put vnder it, they brought it so neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vvall thereof. The townesmen, beeing vpon a suddaine appalled thereat, brought the greatest stones they could get, and with leauers, tumbled them downe from the vvall vpon the mouse: but the strength of the worke did not shrinke at the blowes, and whatsoener fell vpon it, slid downe the sloping of the rooffe. Which when they perceined, they altered their purpose, and got pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire, threw them downe vpon the Mouse; which tumbling downe from the rooffe, vvereremooued away with long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the soldiers that were within the Mouse, pulled out the lower stones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouse or Mantilet, was defended by our men out of the bricke towre, with vveapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the Enemy was put from the vvall and the turrets, so that they could not well defend the same. Many of the stones beeing sapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof suddenly fell, & the rest leaned, as though it would not stand long after.





OBSERVATIONS.

WOrasmuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadow out the effects of Industrie; I will onely produce the euidence of these workes, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the force of so great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practise maketh ouerture to maisteries: For, our vnderstanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitiue facultie to discerne perfection, but by little and little worketh out exactnes; making euery Morrow, yetterdaies scholler, as reason findeth meanes of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes.

And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreat of defence, gaue occasion to let them see the like, or better vse thereof in the offensive part, if it were raised to a height conuenient for the same: vvhich they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vse in such a worke. For, hauing made the first storie, they then made the roofo, for the shelter and safetie of the souldier: and scruing it vp by little and litle, they built the sides, hauing fenced the open space with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay against fire, and with Mattresses against stones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Musculum, which gaue them passage to the wall; building it with strong or rather strange timber, of two foote square, framed so artificially with braces, and ridging rafters, and those so fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with immeasurable indeauour.

Discipulus prioris posterior discipulus Gellius.

CHAP. V.

The Marfellians got a truce of the Romaines, and brake it deceitfully.



HE Enemy, heeing then much appalled at the suddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at so vnexpected a mischiese; and withall, strooke with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the sack & spoile of their Cittie, they came all vnarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire upon their heads, and stretching out their submissiue hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which noueltie, all hostilitie ceased for the time, & the souldiers with drawing themselves from the assault, were caried with a desire of hearing and vnderstanding what would passe at that time.

Caesar.

Inermes cum insulis.

When



When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they cast themselves all downe at their feete, praying and beseeching that things might be suspended vntill Caesars arriual. They saw plainly that their towne was already taken, their works were perfited, their owne towne demolished; and therefore they desisted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from present spoile and sacking, if vpon Caesars arriual they should refuse to obey his mandates. They shewed further, that if their towne were absolutely ouerthrowne, the souldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a small destruction.

These, and many the like things, were uttered by them very movingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: where the Legates (mooued with commiseration) with-drew the souldiers from the fortifications, put off the assault, and left a small guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pittie and commiseration thus made and concluded, Caesars coming was expected; no weapon was cast, either from the towne wall, or from our side: in so much, as euery man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Caesar had by Letters giuen straight charge to Trebonius, not to suffer the towne to be taken by assault, least the souldiers (mooued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had sustained) should put all above foureteeen yeeres of age to the sword: which they threatned to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne; taking the matter very grieuouly, that Trebonius seemed to hinder them from effecting their purposes. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onelie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is a saying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, so it doth vncouer the nakednes of the mind. Wherevpon it is, that men haue found meanes to fute themselves vpon occasion, according to the disposition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with sorrow, lifted vp with weale, or humbled with affliction. And accordingly, these Marcellians, in token of their humilitie & submission, came out, wearing an attire here called *Insula*; which Seruius describeth to be a kind of Coife, made after the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each side, called *Vitta*.

Those which the Romans vsed of this kind, were fashioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did signifie the * Elements, ascending vpwards in such a pointed fashion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Festus writeth; *Insula sunt filamenta lanæ, quibus Sacerdotes, hostie, et templa velabantur*: to shew humbleness and simplicitie, whereof wooll is a Hieroglyphick. For, no kind of beasts haue more need of ayde and succour then Sheepe: and there-vpon it was, that all Suppliants were attired with tresses of wooll. Or otherwise, as some will haue

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-beseeming those that haue power and meanes to giue helpe and reliefe: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherein their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the mildnes and easines which vpon deuote supplications was founde in diuine Powers; whereof wooll was a *Symbolum*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Marcellians, beeing an ancient progeny of the Greekes, notwithstanding the long descent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in such straines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them about other people, as in subtilltie and duplicities of dealing. Which passage of the Marcellians, is obserued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praises of Eloquence, and the vse it hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetnes of a well tuned tongue, above that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. VWherein, if we should goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue discourse, & set a souldier Parallel to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been thought to fauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true iudgement; *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingua*: Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plutarchs two VVratelers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuertheless perswade the other that he cast him; and so, howfoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more easily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficacissime vires perfidia, mentiri et fallere*. But, as it is obserued by Philip de Commines, The example of one sole accident, is sufficient to make manie men wise: so this may serue to teach succeeding times, not to trust to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratifie such compositions with irreuocable performances.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may note, how farre the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*, to the slaying of all the males about foureteeen yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, that had assaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertie to weare mans appartell: which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their histories make so often mention.

But

Macro. lib. 1.
Saturn. ca. 8.

Gracia fide omnia agere.
Oratio pro Flacco.
co.
Aequalis est et
tremque dignitas, nisi
sensu necessitas
minus conditione
mobilitate efficiat.
Tum cum in
praesentibus, quæ
praesentia magni
surgent, sicut
Valentis et
Pulchri statuerunt
L. in ciuitibus
et C. de offic.
Piscar. Pr. in ci-
uilibus causis ri-
carum comitibus
militum antequam
rentur, in mili-
tariis negotijs
comites vicarijs.
En los casos va-
ros vn solo ex-
plo, haze experi-
encia. Anto.
Perec.

Macro. lib. 1.
Saturn. cap. 6.

ritus, et de
corpus, ita
regit animu.

Aeneid.

The fire and
ayre.

But to define precisely heereof, were to mistake the furie of the souldier: for, howsoever the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cause can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate should haue a boundlesse reuenges yet occasion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who sometimes saued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) saued none at all, but such as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hostilitie in this kind; for, they neuer saue any out of commiseration, but for priuate vse: and doe rather chuse to destroy mankind, then suffer it to liue for any other purpose then their owne.

CHAP. VI.

The Marsellians, taking aduantage of the Truce,
consumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which
were afterwards reedified.



After a few daies, when our men were growne weary & carelessse, suddainly about high noone, as some were gone one way some another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen themselves to rest, the weapons beeing cased and laid up; they rushed out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they set our workes on fire: which was so caried and disperfed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantilets, the Testudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and consumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, astonished at so suddaine and vnthought-of an accident, caught up such weapons as were next at hand; and others, running speedily from the Camp, set vpon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrows from the towne wall. They, on the other side, beeing retired vnder the protection of the wall, did at their ease burne downe the Mount and the brick towre: and so, many moneths labour, was through the perfidiousnesse of the Enemy, and the force of the tempest; consumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marsellians attempted the like the next day after, hauing opportunitie of the like tempest; and with greater confidence sallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing lesse then to be surprised in that sort) had neglected more then ordinary their vjvall guards, beeing now made wiser by that which had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which means, hauing slaine a great number, they draue the rest backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie such workes as were ruinated and consumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the souldier then before.

For,

For, when they saw their great labours and indeauours sort to no better success, beeing ruinated by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall vnto them to haue their valour thus derided. And, forasmuch as there was nothing left in all the Countrey for the raising of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe, and brought farre and neere to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a strange and vheard-of fashion, raised with two side-valles of bricke, beeing sixe foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floores. The valls were of equall distance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide matter: and where the space betweene the walles, or the weakenesse of the work did require it, there were piles driuen betweene, and beames and planks laid athwart for the strengthening thereof. The floores, made betweene those valls, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were covered with clay.

The souldiers beeing thus sheltered, on both sides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did safely, without danger, bring whatsoeuer was necessary for that building; wherby the worke was caried on with great speed: and the losse of their former continuall labour, was in a short time recovered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the souldier. To conclude, they left gates in the valls, in such places as were fittest for sallies.

When the enemy perceiued, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished (wherby there was no place left to practise deceit, or to fallie out with aduantage; neither was there any means left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to consume our workes; and vnderstanding likewise, that by the same manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had passage and access to the firme land, might be encompassed with a vvall and with towres; that their souldiers should not be able to stand vpon their workes; and perceiuing withall, that our Army had raised a countermure, against the wall of their towne; and that weapons might be cast by hand vnto them; that the vse of their Engines (wherewith they much trusted) was by the neerenesse of space quite taken away; and lastlie, that they were not able to confront our men (vpon equall tearmes) from their valls, and from their turrets; they depended to the same Articles of rendry and submission, as were formerly agreed vpon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hence wee may obserue, that a Generall cannot bee too secure of an Enemy, that standes vpon tearmes to render vp a place. For, the action beeing but voluntarie by constraint; if happen the constraining force be remooued, then that doth cease (which is voluntarie: and so it commeth by consequent to a refusal. As appeareth by this passage of the Marsellians; who being brought into hard tearmes, as well by their two ouer-throws at Sea (whence they expected

L.

expected

Est ita natura
edparati, ut ho-
mines moleste,
supra quam dici
possit, ferant, si
videant reru e-
uentus virtuti
non respondere.
Paus. in Messie.

expected no further succour) as also by the siege laid so close by land (where they were so violently assaulted, that their towers of defence made passage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuertheless (vpon cessation of those inforcements) alter their purpose, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that saying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, we may obserue, that a will, forward to vndergoe labour, doth neuer stick at any difficultie, nor is at all dismayed with the losse of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and industrie; especially beeing edged on with a desire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans strength; as appeared by Diomedes, beeing hurt in the shoulder with one of Pindarus arrows: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himselfe in a *sesquiterce* proportion of valour, and slew more Troianes by a third part then otherwise he could.

Howsoeuer, as there is nothing so hard, but is subiect to the endeavour of the minde: so there is nothing so easie, as to dispossesse our selues of that intent care, which is requisite in these employments. For, these Romaines, that through the greatnes of their spirits had made such first and second workes, as the memorie thereof will last with the world, were surprised when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbeent, in as great remissness and neglect (how-so-euer drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doe no such matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behooueth a Commaunder, to keepe his Armie alwaies seasoned with labour; forasmuch as *Exercitus labore proficit, otio consenescit.*

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiseth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpose.



Marcus Varro, in the farther Prouince of Spaine, hauing from the beginning vnderstood how things had passed in Italie, & distrusting how matters would succeed with Pompey, did oftentimes giue out very friendly speeches of Caesar; that Pompey had by way of preuention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenantie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular disposition, he stood no les affected to Caesar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whose trust and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Prouince was left, as in depositio,

upon

upon condition to be rendred up at all times and seasons, as hee that comm. vndered in chief should require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards Caesar.

This was the subiect of all his speeches, without any shew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Caesar was ingaged at Marselleis, that Petreius forces were ioyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come vnto them, that euery man was in great hope and expectation of good successe; and that all the hither Prouince had agreed together, to undertake Pompeis cause, as also what had after happened concerning the want of victualls at Ilerda (all which things were writ with aduantage, vnto him by Afranius) he then vpon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied souldiers in all parts of the Prouince: and hauing raised two compleat legions, he added vnto them some thirty cohorts of the Countrey souldiers, to serue for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the supplie of the Marsellians, as for the prouision of Petreius and Afranius.

Moreover, he commaunded them of Gades to build and provide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other should be made at Hispalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Prouince to keepe the temple. He made Gaius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and sent by him thither to recover some matter of inheritance) Gouvernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publike) were brought into Gallions house. He himselfe made many bitter inuectiues against Caesar; affirming, that a great number of the souldiers were revolted from him, and were come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approved Messengers.

The Romaine Cittizens, residing in that Prouince, beeing much perplexed & affrighted thereat, were therevpon constrained to promise him 190 thousand sesterces in ready money, for the seruice of the Common-weale, besides twentie thousand waight of siluer, together with one hundred and twentie thousand bushels of Wheate. Vpon those Citties and States which fauoured Caesars partie, hee laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselves against the Common-weale, hee confiscated all their goods, and put a Garriзон vpon them; giuing iudgement himselfe vpon priuate persons, & constraining all the Prouince, to sweare allegiance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end aduertised what had happened in the hither Prouince, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner; His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, with all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the vvhole Prouince did intirely affect Caesars Cause, he thought it best for him (hauing made good prouision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the island.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Besue first, how dangerous it is, for such as stand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themselves, vpon such apparances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their iudgement faile as Varro did, they are then forced to redeeme their errour, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excused; and so runne into a further degree of enmitie, then the party for whom they suffer. And certainly, whether it bee that newtrallitie refuseth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuersie must needs stand on one side) or whether it sauoureth of an ill nature, to shew no sympathizing affections, with such as otherwise haue correspondence with them; or for what other cause I knowe not: but sure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne aduantage, are of no better esteeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demaunded tribute, would alwaies ranke himselfe amongst the Fish: and when the King of Fishes required his seruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vse then *Indicare regnantem*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE Island of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tartessus;

Hic Gadis vrbs est dicta Tartessus prius.

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witnesseth, by Iulius Caesar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; *Oppidum habet Cuium Romanoru, quod appellatur Augusta vrbs Iulia Gaditana*. It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious sute, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Festus noteth, in his Description of the Sea-coast.

*At vis in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate prisca, sub fide rerum fuit:
Rex ut superbus omniumque prapotens
Quos gens habebat fortitum daurusia,
Octauiano principi acceptissimus
Et literarum semper in studio Iuba,
Interfusoque separatus Aequare
Illustriorem semet, vrbs istius
Duumviro ratu crederet.*

10

In this Island stood Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes vpon atchieuements of deedes of Armes: which solemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongst other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie and Art: signifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & subdued Monsters. Those of Asia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Island to be the furthest end of nauigation: for, the Atlantick sea admitted no further passage, for want of a load-stone to direct them in that vastness. And therefore Pindarus saith, That it is not lawfull for wise men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the straight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence *per Pede*; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that writ so excellently *De re Rustica*.

Et mea quam generat Tartessus litore Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was sacked by our English, 1596.

Hispalis, furnamed Romulenſis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is seated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleasant and fertile Countrey, and especially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the West Indies, and a very Nurserie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

Iosephus Acoſta hath obserued, that the sea hath no part aboute one thousand leagues from the land.

Hispalis. Senill.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Concerning these CX C thousand Selterces, the learned cannot fastisie themselves with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x (hillings apeece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Masculine, it will rise not to about 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *H-S centies nonagies*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Authour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro.
Cæsar settleth Spaine, and returneth to Marsellies.



Abest Caesar was called backe into Italie for many great and important causes, yet he was resolved to leaue no sparke or apparance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeis deserts to bee such, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing sent two legions into the further Spaine, vnder the

Cæsar.

L 3

conduct

conduct of *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the people, he himselfe made forward by great journeys, with sixe hundred horse; sending an *Edict* before him, to summon the Magistrates, and chiefe men of the Citties and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which *Edict*, there was no Cittie in all that Province, that sent not some of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that presented not himselfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing assembled, of their owne accord they shut the gates against Varro, set watch and ward vpon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of *Colonica* (which came thither by chaunce) for the safe keeping of the towne. At the selfe same time, the Inhabitants of Carmona (which is the strongest towne of all the Province) cast out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and shut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make haste to Gades with his legions, least hee should bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his passage ouer from the Continent: such and so fauourable was the generall affection of the whole Province towards Caesar. And being some-what aduanced on his journey, he received Letters from Gades, that as soone as it was knowne there of the *Edict* which Caesar had published, the chiefe of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the souldiers which were in Guarizon, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the land for Caesar. Which beeing resolved vpon, they sent him word to leaue the towne of his owne accord, while hee might doe it without danger; and if he refused, they would then take such further order as they should finde expedient. Gallionius, moued with feare, dislodged himselfe and went out of Gades.

These things beeing divulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of *Vernacula*, tooke vp their Ensignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himselfe standing by and looking on) and retired themselves to *Hispalis*; and there safe downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, without hurting any man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there assembled, did so well like of, that euery man was very desirous to entertaine them in their houses. Whereat Varro, beeing much astonished, altered his journey, towards *Ilipa Italica*, as hee gaue it out; but soone after was aduertised by some of his friends, that the gates were shut against him. Wherevpon, being circumvented and fore-closed from all other addresses, he sent to Caesar, to aduertise him that he was ready to deliuer up the legion, to whomsoever he should please to appoint. To which purpose, he sent him *Sex. Caesar*, commaunding the legion to be deliuered to him.

Varro, hauing giuen vp his charge, came to Caesar at Corduba, & there gaue him a true account of the carriage of his office. The moneys remaining in his hands he deliuered vp, and gaue an Inuenty of the Corne and shipping which were in any place provided. Caesar, by a publique Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as first, to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they used to be Maisters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driuing out the Guarizons; to them of Gades, that they trauesed and preuented the proiects of the aduersaries, & had restored themselves to libertie, to the Tribunes of the souldiers,

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keep the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the resolution of the townsmen was assured and confirmed. He remitted such leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promised Varro for the publique seruice. He restored the goods confiscated, of such as had spoken more freely then was pleasing; and gaue diuers rewards, both publique and private: the rest he satisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing staid there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the monies and monuments, which were transferred from Hercules temple to a priuate house, should be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made *Q. Cassius* Gouvernour of the Province, & left with him foure legions. He himselfe, in a few daies space, with those ships which *M. Varro*, and those of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embassadors of almost all the hither Province, did attend his coming: and hauing receiued them with priuate and publique honour, in the same fashion as formerly hee had used, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to Marsellies: where he receiued first aduertisement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himselfe was named thereunto, by *M. Lepidus*, Prator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is one of Caesars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any sparke or suspicion of warre, least it might be said hee did not thoroughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a business to halle, hath as much more to doe before it bee done: and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which first gaue occasion of Armes; like fire, which is smothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therefore, that he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then subdue him, hee neglected all occasions how important soeuer, which might draw him into Italie; to the end he might settle Spaine in a peace, answerable to an absolute victorie: Which he easily effected, hauing ouer-maistered the chiefe of the party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether mistaken in the matter. The same whereof so preuailed with the rest, that rather then they would stand out, they forooke their Commaunders. And hauing thus remoued all occasions of force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtfulness, which might accompanie a new reconciliation, by shewing such respects as well becomen ancient desert.

For, first, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular seruices, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted such as were oppressed by the aduerser partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to shew the difference betweene his and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promises, are powreful instruments to work out whatsoeuer is desired. And to hee tooke a little more time

time to settle those Prouinces without further trouble: as belieuing in the pro-
uerbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

M. Varro heere mentioned, made more profefion of knowledge and Atties, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon stiled by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the iudgement of learned Philosophers, was fitter to perswade then to teach. Tully, beeing deprived of publike offices, handled Philosophy a little in his owne language: Pliny and Seneca, lesse then Varro or Tully. But what are these to Aristotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Romaine Generall? whose knowledge consisted in their Militarie discipline, and in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeauour. Wherein Varro was as ignorant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleuenth King of Arragon, in managing of Armes; who taking his sword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held the horse bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were a good excuse, it were fitting to make him blamelesse, that deserued so well of learning aboue all others of that Empire. But forasmuch as his actions appeare so farre inferiour to that which is conceiued of his vnderstanding, let that be acknowledged which is true, that *Consideratè agere plaris est, quam cogitare prudentè*.

This Ilpa Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to stand ouer against Seuill.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipio his planting, whereof the Prouince taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie witnesseth) from Caralonia to Nauarre, and Castile, along the Alpes. Blaise de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeere 516, there was a Councell held at Tarraco, by tenne Bishops; wherein it was decreed, that Sunday should alwaies beginne presentlie after Euening prayer (or their Vespers) on the Saturday. From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and dee eate vpon Saturdaies at supper, the head, the feet and the entralls of such flesh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they call *Morsulas*) without prohibition or scruple of conscience. In this towne of Tarraco, was borne Paulus Oforius, that noble Orator.

Corduba, otherwise called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth & dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred aboue all the townes of Spaine; for, heere first were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetorician, and the sonne the Philosopher: together with their kinsman, Annaeus Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writeth;

*Duosque Senecas vnicuique Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.*

Besides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent a Philosopher, as the other was a Physitian: of whose workes

Fama

Fama loquetur Anus.

And from hence come thole Cordouan skinnes, so much in request.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

C Concerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæsar was named by the Prætor Lepidus, we are to obserue, that the Dictatorshippe was the greatest place of dignitie in their gouernment, as Polibius noteth. The Consuls, saith hee, hauing each of them but twelue Listors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as ensignes of Magistracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power diuided betweene the two Consuls, was then reduced to one sole command. The occasions of establishing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extraordinary, and required the command of one man. And as it is in the fastes or records of the Capitoll; either *Respub: regend: causa*, as was this first Dictatorship of Cæsars: or otherwise, *M. Fabius, Ambustus Dict: seditionis sedanda causa*: And at another time, *Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, clauisigendicau:sa*: which was one of the superstitions they vled in time of pestilence, and so diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; *Si quando duellū grauius, discordiæ Ciuium crescunt vnus ne amplius sex menses, nisi senatus creuerit, idem iuris quod duo Consules teneto, isque aue sinistra dictus Magister Populi esto*.

But, forasmuch as *Magister Populi* was a harsh and odious name to the people, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth this reason; *Dictator quod à Consule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes essent*. And as none could name a Dictator but the Consull (for Cæsar was named by the Prætor in an extraordinarie time) so none could be named to that place, but such as were or had been Consulls; *Consulares legere ita lex iubebat de Dictatore creando lata*. To which may bee added the circumstance of time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde silentio vt mos est Papyrium Dictatorem dixit*. The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a time: which was commonly fixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distinguished from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiudgeth Sillas Dictatorship to be a meere tyranny, and so doth Plutarch Cæsars; because both were prorogued beyond the time prescribed by the law. Cæsar held this Dictators place but eleuen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and so came to be stiled *Dictator perpetuus*.

CHAP.

Lib. 3.

De legibus.

Linie. lib. 2.

1. Philip.

CHAP. IX.

The Marsellians giue vp the Towne.

Caesar.



HE Marsellians beeing much oppressed, and almost worne out with all sorts of inconueniences, & brought to an extreme exigent of victuall, defeated and ouerthrowne in two fights at sea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their sallies out, afflicted with a grievous pestilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they liued of nothing but

Petere Panico.

of old rancie and mustie Barley, which was long before laid up in publique for this purpose) their towne beeing ouerthrowne, and a great part of their wall downe; out of hope of any succours fro the Prouinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Caesar, they seriously determined (without fraude) to giue up the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, vnderstanding their resolution, hauing got three shippes (vvhich of two hee assigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himselfe, and taking the oportunitie of a troublesome storme) put to sea: vvhich beeing perceived by the shippes that by Brutus commandment did continually guard the mouth of the Hauen, they vvaied their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithstanding, that, vvherein Domitius was, held on her course, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of sight. The other two, beeing afraid of our shippes, returned back into the Hauen.

The Marsellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their shipping, both out of their Hauens and their Arcenalls, and deliuered vp their publique treasure: which things beeing accomplished and performed, Caesar, willing to saue them, rather for the Nauie and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and sent the rest into Italie. He himselfe tooke his way towards Rome.

OBSERVATIONS.



ENCE wee may obserue, that when men refuse to be led by reason, as the best meanes to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly constrained by the commaunding warrant of Necessitie, to vnder-goe the same thing vpon harder conditions. As it happened to the Marsellians, who not regarding the Armie then present, and ready to take a strict account of their answers (which with good excuse doth commaund a newtrall State) chose rather to be shut vp with a siege; that of all miseries is accounted the worst: and therein so caried themselves, as they left no stone vnremoued to make good their refusall; but for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater

disaduan-

disaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happellie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or other motiues wanted, there *nomen et vetustas* was sufficient to make Caesar constant to his owne ends: which, as neere as the course wherein he was ingaged would afford him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselfe into the soueraintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happy successe; which are euer more restrained then lesfer fortunes. Howsoeuer, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: which Caesar shewed in sauing the towne.

In maxima fortuna, minima licentia est. Salust.

Seruare propriam est excellentis fortuna. Seneca de clement. lib. 1.

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into Affricke.



Bout the same time, C. Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affricke: and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the foure which were deliuered him by Caesar, together with five hundred horse. And after he had bene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arrived at a place called Aquilaria, distant twenty two miles from Clupea; vvhich there is a very commodious Roade for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side vwith two large and eminent Promontories. L. Caesar, the sonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; vvhich being taken from the Pirats in the late vvarres, and laid aground at Vitica, were repaired and new trimmed by Varus: and beeing afraid of the great number of his shippes, forsooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leauing her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Confinius Longus, hauing one legion onely in guarizon.

Caesar.

The rest of Caesars Nauie, seeing their Admirall flie away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelue shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to vvaist the shippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the sand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Nauie. Curio sent Marcus before with the shippes, to Vitica: and he himselfe set forward thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies iourney came to the Riuer Bragada; vvhich he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, and went himselfe before vwith the Cavalry, to view a place called Cornelius Campe: vvhich was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, steepe and broken on each side, and yet sheluing by a little more gentle descent, on that side which was next Vitica; beeing distant from thence (if the neereest way were taken) a little more then a mile. But in that shortest cut, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest off

--- quae Bragada lentius agit sicca sulcor arena. Luc. lib. 4.

mihi et dum teum, affit.

mihi maxime terribile, claudis, affit.

off from the sea, and so made a marish or bogge: which whosoever would avoid, must fetch a compass of sixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld afarre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruailously fortified through the strong situation of the place, hauing the towne on the one side, and a theater which stood before the towne on the other: and by reason of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult passage to the Campe. Hee obserued, further, great store of cariages, which by reason of this suddaine alarm, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he sent the Cavalry. And at the same instant, Varus likewise had sent out of the towne, D.C. Numidian horse, and C.C.C. foote, which King Iuba (a few daies before) had sent to Utica, for the strengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance with Pompey, by reason that his father lodged with him, and bare a spleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiscation of Iuba his kingdome. The Cavalry on either side met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but some one hundred and twenty beeing slaine, therest be- took themselves backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arrivall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that such Victuallers, and shippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Utica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not presentlie come to the Cornelian Campe, should be held and taken for enemies. At which Proclamation, vpon an instant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place whither they were commaunded: whereby the Army abounded with all necessarie provisions. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and, by the acclamation of the whole Army, was saluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, containing Curio his passage into Affrick: concerning whom, it is to be obserued, that in the beginning of these broiles, no man was more enemy to Cæsar, nor made more bitter inuectiues to the people against him, then he did in his Tribune-ship; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge mass of money which Cæsar sent him. Whereupon, he plaid the turn-coate, and with might and maine assisited that Partie; preuailing much with the Comunalitie, by his eloquent and perswasive speeches: the liuely force whereof, is able to stirre vp affection in stones. For which cause it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of those Ciuill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an excellent discourse, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, subtle, ingenious, extreame vitious, and alwaies well spoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which sweetnesse of words came vnto him by inheritance,

Eleganti oratione, capuntur iudices: ornata enim oratio vel lapidem mouere possit. Epist. Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Lib. 2.

as Plinie witnesseth: *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores extiterunt.* Of whose monstrous prodigallitie, the same Authour hath made a very large account. And out of these ouer-weening humors it was, that he became so vvarie as to diuide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variableness of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape whereby it may be known. Concerning the dismembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedlesse rashnes, Cyrus giueth graue aduice, in the beginning of the sixt booke of Zenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader:

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie; *Oppidum liberum*, & sited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it was so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called Aspis:

In Clupea speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

This Promontorie, which Curio chose to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antæus the Giant dwelt, which Hercules slew, by strangling him in his Armes: that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is said, he receiued fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that subdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Curio made, to lose two legions, and himselfe withall; as vnwilling to see the morrow, after such a losse: for *Vitæ est audis, quisquis non vult, mûdo se cum pereunte, mori.*

Sil. Ital.

Semeca Trag.

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to Utica: his Cavalry put to flight
great troopes comming from king Iuba. His
Armie was strangely possessed with
an idle feare.



HE next day, hee brought his Army to Utica, and incamped himselfe nere vnto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote, coming towards Utica, from king Iuba: and at the same time, a great dust was seene rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began to come in sight. Curio, astonished at the novelty of the thing, sent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock, and to stay them: he himselfe, calling the legions with all speed from their worke, imbattelled his Army. The Cavalry, encountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well vnfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or order; and slew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horse, making haste, got almost

Cæsar.

24.

all

all ſafe into the towne, by the way of the ſea-ſhore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marſi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their ſouldiers, to Atius Varus.

Theſe Centurions, whether it were to pleaſe Varus, or otherwiſe ſpeaking as they thought (for, what men wiſh, they eaſily belieue; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the ſame) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies ſhould come in ſight, and find meanes to ſpeake together. Varus, being perſwaded to that opinion, the next day, early in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a ſmall Valley which lay betweene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) was at Corfinium; and being let goe by Caſar, went into Affricke. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer thoſe legions, which Caſar had formerly taken at Corfinium: ſo that a few Centurions being ſlaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the ſame. This occaſion being ſo fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beſeech the ſouldiers, that they would not forget the firſt oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treafurer: nor beare Armes againſt them, that had runne the ſame fortune, and endured the ſame ſiege; nor fight for thoſe, who (by way of reproche) had called them fugitiues. To theſe hee added ſome promiſes, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they would follow him and Atius.

Hauiug deliuered this vnto them, Curio his Army ſtood mute, and declared not themſelves by any ſigne, either one way or other: notwithstanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards poſſeſſed with a great feare and ſuſpicion: which was quickly augmented, by diuers reports raiſed vpon the ſame. For, euery man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added ſome thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was ſpred from one anothor to many, and one had received it from another, it ſeemed there were many authors of the ſame thing. For, Ciuill warre is alwaies compounded of ſuch men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they pleaſe.

Thoſe legions, which a little before were in the ſeruiſe of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace what was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget what benefites Caſar had lately beſtowed on them: being alſo of diuer Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marſi or Peligni, as thoſe the night before, which were their Cabin-mates and fellow ſouldiers: where-vpon, they tooke occaſion, to publiſh abroad in worſe tearmes, that which others had vaine-ly giuen out; and ſome things were coined by thoſe, that would ſeeme moſt diligent in dooing their duty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Obeſerue firſt, from the reuolt of theſe Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and faſhion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine eaſie credit to their aduertilements, by averring any thing which the Enemy deſireth. Whence it is, that ſo much as fugitiues can little otherwiſe auaille (one man being but as no man) they ſeek ſauour and reputation with the Partie they ſlie vnto, by their aduiſe and diſcouerie; and conſequently, the remuneration of ſpeciall, which according to the preſident made by Fabius to the Spies of Cluſine, is worth a mans labour.

And herein, Reuolters (ſpecially thoſe of iudgement) are very dangerous inſtruments; not onely in weakening or making fruſtrate ſuch deſignes as may be contriued againſt an Aduerſarie: but alſo in diſcouering the ſecrets of their owne Partie, and diſcloſing of that which is abſolute and well, vntill it be made knowne. For, there is no ſubſiſting thing ſo perfect, but hath alwaies ſome part or other open, to giue an eaſie paſſage to deſtruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia ſunt hominum tenui pendencia filo.

And therefore, it is no ſmall meanes of preſeruing each thing in being, to make ſhew of ſtrength, and conceale weakenesſe, as the registers of aſſured ruine: for which cauſe it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane ſocietie; and perfidious treachery, diuulging the ſecret imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the ſame.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



AS there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare: ſo there is nothing ſooner bredde to diſturbe a multitude, then this paſſion; which metamorphoſeth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Therſites is able to leuine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of ſome Treſcantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cauſe of diſtruſt throughout all the Party: which, as it ſpreadeth abroad, is ſo deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not belieuing what he telleth) addeth alwaies ſome-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himſelfe. And ſo weak minds doe multiply the vaine apprehenſion of idle humours, in ſuch a faſhion, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared.

Epaminondas was more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, while hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commaunder, they were neuer taken vvith any ſuddaine affrightment, nor poſſeſt with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their ſenſes, or falſifie the truth of their vnderſtanding;

M 2.

being

Livie. lib. 10.

Fides fundamē-
tum ſocietatis
humane: perſi-
dia vero eiusdē
peſtis. Plate, l. 5.
de legib.

The Spartanes
called all cow-
ards Treſcantas.
Plutarch.

Plus in metuen-
do eſt mali, quā
in illo ipſo quod
timeatur. Cic. ad
Torquatum.

Plutarch.

illa fides pie-
que viris qui-
tra ſequitur:
ualſque ma-
ior: ibi ſas, ubi
xima merces:
can.

beeing all (as it seemed) of the same mind with the Generall; who accounted no death so honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, such is the frailtie of humane nature, & so strange are the convulsions of the mind, that a Commaunder must expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will stand in danger of nothing so much as their owne infirmities; beeing troubled rather with strong apprehensions, then for any danger of the thing feared.

CHAP. XII.

Curio disputeth the matter in a Councell of Warre.

FOR which causes, a Councell of warre beeing called, they beganne to deliberate what course was to be taken. There were some opinions which thought, that it was very expedient to assault and take Varus Campe, for that there was nothing more dangerous then idleness, for the breeding and increase of such imaginations as the souldiers had conceived. Others said, it were better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themselves by valorous indeavour, rather then to be forsaken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to vnder-goe most grievous and extreame torments. There were others which thought it fit, to returne about the third watch of the night to Cornelius Campe; that by interposing some respite of time, the souldiers might be better settled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any mischance further happened, they might (by reason of their store of shipping) with more ease and safety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, misliking both the one and the other, said; That there wanted as much good resolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, these entered into a consideration of a dishonourable and vnseeming flight: and those were of an opinion to fight, in an vnequall and disadvantageous place. For, with what hope (saith he) can wee assault a Campe so fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or what haue we gained, if with great losse and damage, wee shall goe away and give it ouer? As though things well & happily atchieued, did not get to the Commaunder, great good will from the souldier; and things ill carried, as much hate. Concerning the removing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a shamefull retreat, a despaire in all men, and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to give occasion to the prudent and well-advised, to imagine that they are distrustful: nor on the other side, to the ill disposed, that they are redoubted or feared; and the rather, because feare in this kind, will give them more liberty to do ill, and abate the indeavour of good men in well-deserving. And if (saith he) these things are well knowne vnto vs already, that are spoken of the revolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether false, or at least, lesse then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to dissemble and hide them, then that they should be strengthened and confirmed by vs?

Ought

Ought we not, as we doe hide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the inconueniences of an Armie, least we should minister hope or courage to the Adversarie? But some there are that aduise to set forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that such as are desirous to offend, may performe it with more scope and licentiousnesse. For, such disorders are repressed and reformed, either with shame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be assaulted; so on the other side, I am not so fearefull, as to be wanting in that which is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before we yeeld to that; and doe assure my selfe, that for the most part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN matter of Geometry, Rectum est Index sui, et obliqui; bee- ing equal to all the parts of rectitude, and vnequall to obliquity: so is it in reason and discourse. For, a direct and well grounded speech, carrieth such a native equalitie with all its parts, as it doth not onely approue it selfe to be leueled at that which is most fitting, but sheweth also what is indirect and crooked; concerning the same matter; and is of that consequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and so hardly hit vpon, in the lame discourse of common reason, that Plato thoughte it a peece of diuine power, to direct a path free from the crookednes of error, which might lead the straight and ready way to happie ends. And the rather, forasmuch as in matter of debate, there are no words to waighy, but do seeme balanced with others of equall consideration: as heere it happened, first those that pointing at the cause of this distemperature, conuicted Idleness for the Authour of their variable and vnsettled mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obserued, very hard to be indured in one man, much worse in a whole familie, but no way sufferable in an Army; which the Romaines called *Exercitus ab exercitio*. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & such seruice as could bring forth nothing but losse. Others, preferring securitie before all other courses (as beleeuing with Liuius, that Captaines should neuer trust Fortune further then necessitie constrained them) perswaded a retreat to a place of safetie, but vpon dishonourable termes. Which vneuenness of opinions, Curio made straight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it conuenient to hold such a course, as might neither give honest men cause of distrust, nor wicked men to thinke they were feared. For, so he should be sure (in good termes of honor) neither to discourage the better sort, nor give occasion to the ill affected to doe worse. And thus winding himselfe out of the labyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Annius the Prætor, that it more importeth occasions to do then to say; being an easie matter to fit words to things vnfolded and resolved vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

M 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall assembly of the souldiers,
and speaketh vnto them, concerning their
feare, and retraction.



THE Councell beeing risen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie, and there called to remembrance what they had done for Caesar, at Corfinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greatest part of Italie, to bee on his side. For, by you (saith hee) and by your indeauour, all the rest of the Municipall townes, were drawne to follow Caesar: and therefore, not without iust cause did hee at that time repose great assurance in your affections towards him; and the aduerse partie conceived as great indignation and spight against you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing prejudiced by your act hee quitted Italy. Caesar hath recommended me, whom he held neer vnto himselfe, together with the Provinces of Sicily and Affricke (without which he cannot defend the Citty and Italy) to your trust and fidelitie. There are some which sollicite and perswade you to revolt from my commaund: for, what can they wish or desire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrowe, and to ingage you in a most detestable wickednes? Or what worse opinion can they conceiue of you, then that you should betray them, that professe themselves wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, who take themselves vndone by your meanes?

Haue you not vnderstood what Caesar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Provinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Those, whose forces were not able to make resistance when they were whole & entire, how is it possible they should hold out, beeing beaten and discomfited? You that followed Caesar when the victory stood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adjudged the Cause, and determined of the issue of the Warre, will you follow the vanquished Partie? They gaue out, that they were forsaken and betrayed by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you forsake L. Domitius, or did he forsake you? Did not he thrust you out, and expose you to all extremity of fortune? Did hee not seeke to saue himselfe by flight, without your knowledge or prinitie? Were you not perswaded and kept aliue by Caesars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betrayed by him?

How could he tie you with the oath of alleageance, when (having cast away his sheafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himselfe was made a private person, and became captiuated to the commaund of another mans power? It were a strange and new religion, that you should neglect that oath, wherein you stand now ingaged; and respect the other, which was taken away by the rendring

of your Generall, and the losse of your libertie. But I beleue you thinke youell of Caesar, and are offended at mee, that am not to preach of my merits towards you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are unworthy your expectation: & yet souldiers haue alwaies vsed to seeke reward vpon the shutting up of a warre; which what euent it will haue, make you no doubt. And why should I omit the diligence which I haue already vsed, and how the business hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, without losse of any one shippe? That at my coming, I beat and disperfed at the first onset the whole flecte of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, I ouercame them onely with the Canallrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extremity, that they can be supplied by prouision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commanders reiected and forsaken which will rather embrace the ignominie you receiued at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering up of Spaine, or the preiudiciall successe of the warre of Affricke. Truly, for mine owne part, I was desirous and content to be called Caesars souldier: but you haue stiled me with the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, restore mee to my name againe; least you should seeme to giue me honour which might turne to my reproche.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be observed, betwene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuocation of the souldiers. The first was more particular, consulting of some choice men, and those the most eminent in the parties: *Is qui non vniuersum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed concilium edicere debet.* Their conuocation or preaching was more generall, the whole Armie beeing conuented together, to bee fitted by perswasion and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called *Adlocutio*, and sometimes *Conuentus*: *Cicero perleſtam Epistolam Caesaris in conuentu militum recitat.* The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely consulted; and now and then the Centurions of the first Orders, together with the Captaines of horse, were called to their assistance: and oftentimes, all the Centurions. But howsoever, Curio resolved out of his owne iudgement, as great Commanders commonly doe; and is specially obserued by Pierre Matthien, of the French King: who euert loueth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

THE

* Capitū dimi-
nutione.

Diminutus cap-
ite appellatur,
qui ciuitate mu-
natus est, aut ex
familia in aliam
adoptatus: et
qui liber alteri
mancipio datus
est: et qui in ho-
stium potestate
venit: et cui a-
qua ignique in-
terdictum. Liv.
In summo Im-
peratore qua-
tuor he virtutes
iussu debent:
scientia rei mi-
litari, virtus,
authoritas, felici-
tatis. Cicero pro
leg. Manilia.

Aulus Gell. lib.
15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. l. 11.
Gallia.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

Caesar.

emo is ami-
esse potest,
ibus malum
quod exper-
Demosth.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AMongst other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not stand without Sicilie; and the reason was, for the plenty of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, rather then in the sunne: by means whereof, it yieldeth so exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; especially, for that it will keepe long in their Vautres and Caues vnder the earth, and sildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it selfe so hard and dry.

The gluttonous vse of flesh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderstood; for, their legions neuer fedde on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopia subsidium*, saith Cæsar. And in another place; *Plurimæ dies milites frumento caruerint, Pecore è longinquis vicis ad alio extremam famem sustentarent*. And in the same place, *Quo minor erat frumentum copia, Pecus imperabat*. And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant*. *Pecus verò, cuius rei summa erat in Epirocopia, magno in honore habebant*.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtlesse a firmer nutriment, lesse excrementall, & of better strength, then any other foode what-so-euer; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vita*, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Wraftlers of a grosse and heauie constitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine souldier stood in need of an effectuall and sinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heare then belieue, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of flesh; making no difference between a man & a beast, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruit before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tendernes and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Caniballs, vpon the first discouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, so friand, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monstrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betweene the sobrietie of the auncient Romaine souldier, and the gluttony of these times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, from this elaborated and well-couched speech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commanders; besides the vse it hath, to leade a multitude to such ends as is wished: for, smooth words preuaile where force booteth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cum populum persuaderi posse diffidimus, cogi fas esse non arbitremur*.

Eloquentia principibus maxime ornamento est.
Cic. 4. de finibus

Lib. 1. famul. Epist.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth Varus Army to flight.



HHE souldiers, mooned vvith this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his speech; signifying vvith what griefe they did indure the suspicion of infidelitie. And as hee departed from the Assembly, euery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giuing battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolved (out of a generall consent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to giue battell.

Cæsar.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbattled them in the same place where he stood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, vvether it were to solícite the souldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be afforded in an indifferent place. There vvvas a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betweene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expected vvho should first come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a suddaine, all Varus Caulry that stood in the left Corner of the Armie, together vvith the light armed souldiers that stood mingled amongst them, vvvere sene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Caulry, together vvith two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horsemen vvvere not able to indure the first incounter of our men; but hauing lost their horses, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out vvith them, being left and forsaken, vvvere all slaine by our men in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebellius, Cæsars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of warre, had brought vvith him out of Sicily) said; Curio, thou seest the Enemy: vvhy makest thou doubt to vse the opportunitie of time? Curio, vvithout making any other aunswere, then vvilling the souldiers to remember vvhat they had assured vvto him the day before, commaunded them to follow him, & vvran forme vvith himselfe. The Valley vvvas so cumber some and difficult, that in gaining the

1. ciuilib.
Lib. 3.

li. Mariani.

rietas, quasi ebrietate.

mer. Iliad. 1.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AMongst other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not stand without Sicilie; and the reason was, for the plenty of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Citie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, rather then in the sunne: by means whereof, it yieldeth so exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; especially, for that it will keepe long in their Voutes and Caues vnder the earth, and sildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it selfe so hard and dry.

The gluttonous vse of flesh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderstood; for, their legions neuer fedde on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopia subsidium*, saith Cæsar. And in another place; *Plurimæ dies milites frumento caruerunt, Pecore è longinquiribus vicis ad alio extremam famem sustentarent*. And in the same place, *Quo minor erat frumenti copia, Pecus imperabat*. And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur non legumina recusabant*. *Pecus vero, cuius rei summa erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant*.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtlesse a firmer nutriment, lesse excrementall, & of better strength, then any other foode what-so-euer; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vita*, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Vvraftlers of a grosse and heauie constitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine souldier stood in need of an effectuall and sinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heate then belieue, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of flesh; making no difference between a man & beast, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruit before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tendernes and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Caniballs, vpon the first discouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, so friand, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monstrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betwene the sobrietie of the auncient Romaine souldier, and the gluttony of these times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, from this elaborated and well-couched speech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commanders; besides the vse it hath, to leade a multitude to such ends as is wished: for, smooth words preuaile where force booreth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cum populum persuaderi posse diffidimus, cogi fas esse non arbitremur*.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth
Varus Army to flight.



HE souldiers, mooued with this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his speech; signifying with what griefe they did indure the suspicion of infidelitie. And as hee departed from the Assembly, euery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giuing battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolved (out of a generall consent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to giue battell.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbattled them in the same place where he stood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, whether it were to sollicite the souldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be afforded in an indifferent place. There was a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betwene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expected who should first come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a suddaine, all Varus Cauldry that stood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together with the light armed souldiers that stood mingled amongst them, were scene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Cauldry, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horsemen were not able to indure the first incounter of our men; but hauing lost their horses, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out with them, being left and forsaken, were all slaine by our men in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilinus, Cæsars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of warre, had brought with him out of Sicily) said, Curio, thou seest the Enemy: why makest thou doubt to vse the opportunitie of time? Curio, without making any other aunswere, then willing the souldiers to remember what they had assured vnto him the day before, commaunded them to follow him, & ran formeost himselfe. The Valley was so comber some and difficult, that in gaining the

Eloquentia principibus maxime ornamento est.
Cic. 4. de finibus

Lib. 1. famul.
Epist.

Cæsar.

1. ciuili. bel.
Lib. 3.

li. Mariam.

rietas, quasi
ebrietas.

mer. Iliad. 1.

the ascent of the hill, the foremost could hardly get up, unlesse they were lifted up by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was so possessed with feare, for the sight & slaughter of their fellows, that they did not so much as think of resisting; for, they tooke themselves all to be already surprised by the Cavalrie: so that before any weapon could be cast, or that our men could approche neere vnto them, all Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine souldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) hauing overtaken the first troope of them that fledde, sought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had been one of his owne souldiers, and would either aduise him, or say some-thing else to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and stood still (inquiring vnto hee was, & what he would?) he made at Varus (shoulder (which was unarmed) with his sword, and was very neere killing him; howbeit, he auoided the danger, by receiuing the blowe vpon his target. Fabius was instantly inclosed about, by such souldiers as were neere at hand, and slaine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe were pestered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of such as fledde away; and the passage was so stopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then perished either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither wanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running vntil they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their acceffe: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted such necessities as were of use for the taking of the Campe. And therefore Curio caried backe his Army, with the losse of no one man but Fabius. Of the Aduersaries were slaine and wounded about sixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, besides many other that fained themselves hurt, left the Campe for feare, and went into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing also the astonishment of the Armie, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for shew, about the third watch, he caried his Armie with silence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.



It is a part of wisdom, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies rashnes, and to see if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vse: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, vntill the Cavalrie of the Aduersarie were loosely fallen into the Valley; and then set vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The sight whereof, masked the whole Armie, & kept Curio in safetie, vpon the like disaduantage, in the comberfome passage of the same Vale: by meanes whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great slaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that trick of a Romaine spirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to posteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the sacrifice for both the Hostes. Whence we may obserue, that when a battell is ioyned pell-mell, no

man can be assured in his owne valour, nor share out his torture by the length of his sword; but is often-times subiect to weaknesse of contempt, and vanquished by such as cannot be compared vnto him but in scorn.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Eutoux, *Maturine* (that known woman in France) tooke prisoner & disarmed a Caualeto of Spaine: Who beeing brought before the King, and by him demanded whose prisoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Answered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Where-at the king smiled: and the Gentleman, vnderstanding what fortune he had run, was as much dismayed as a man possible could be, that considered, *Quod ferrum aequat in bello, robustioribus imbecilliores.*

Zenoph. lib. 7. Cyropa.

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king Juba: his Cavalrie ouerthroweth the forces led by Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.



HE next day, Curio prepared to besiege Vtica, inclosing it about with a ditch and a rampier. There were in the towne, a multitude of people vnacquainted with warre, through the long peace they had inioyed: and the inhabitants stood very affectionate to Caesar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The rest of the multitude consisted of diuers sorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former encounters: where-vpon, euery man spake plainly of giuing up the towne; and dealt with Pub. Attius, that their fortunes and lines might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and vniuersality.

While these things were adooing, there came messengers from King Juba, signifying the King was at hand with great forces, and willed them to keepe and defend the towne: which newes, did much incourage and confirme the vvaue- ring and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The same was also reported to Curio: where-vnto for a while he gaue no credit; such was his confidence in the successe of things. And now withall, came Letters and Messengers into Affrick, of that which Caesar had so fortunately atchieued in Spaine: and being absolutely assured with all these things, he was perswaded the king durst attempt nothing against him. But when he found by assured discovery, that his forces were within twenty five miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he with-drew himselfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortifie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouisions, and to furnish it with all necessities materiall for a defence: and sent presently a dispatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the rest of the Cavalry might be sent vnto him.

The

The Campe where he lay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the warre, as well by reason of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof; the nearness of the sea, and the plenty of water and salt; whereof there was great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No stoffe could be wanting, through the great store of wood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cōfining felde: and there-upon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio resolved to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

These things beeing thus disposed, by the consent & liking of all men, he heard by some that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occasion of a warre happened vpon the confines: and that by reason of the controuersies and dissensions of the Lepitani, he was detained at home in his kingdom; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was sent with some competent forces, and was not farre from Vtica. To which reports, giuing too light and easie credit, he altered his purpose, and resolved to put the matter to triall of battell: where-vnto his youthfull heate, the greatness of his courage, the successe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that warre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with these inducements, he sent the first night all the Cavalry to the River Bragada, where the Enemy lay incamped vnder the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within sixe miles, or thereabouts.

The horsemen sent before, and making their iourney in the night, set vpon the Enemy at vnawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, scattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any government or order. And surprising them thus, oppressed with sleepe, and scattered vpon the ground, they slew a great number of them: the rest, in great terror & amasement, escaped by flight. Which seruice, beeing thus executed, the Cavalry returned to Curio, and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, hauing left few cohorts for a guarizon to his Campe: and hauing marched sixe miles, he met with the Canalic, vnderstood what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadam? They answered, Sabura. Omitting for haste of his way to informe himselfe of the rest: but turning himselfe to the next Ensignes, said; You see souldiers that the confession of the captiues doe agree, with that which was reported by the fugitiues. For, the king is not come, but hath sent some small forces, which cannot make their partie good with a few horsemen: and therefore, hasten to take the spoile with honour and renoune; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is obserued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his spirit groweth so dull and benumbed, as his senses seeme to be dismissed of their charges. Which appeared heere in Curio: who, hauing taken a proud and fure course, such as was approoued in euery mans iudgement, and beleeued well the wiledome of a Commaunder, did neuertheless, contrarie to all sense and discretion, forgoe the same; and cast himselfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainely reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that Incredulitie is hurtfull onely to the vnbelieuer; so this passage proueth, that for a Commaunder to bee too light of beliefe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Cæsar, in the relation heereof, noteth three speciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this disaster, and may serue as markes to auoid the like Syrtes.

The first, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with strong affections, futing the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of strength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth slowly and coldly forward, and is alwaies surer in vndertaking, then hot-spurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold blood could better aduize then Curio, or fore-see with better prouidence: yet his youthfull boldnesse, ouer-thwaied his discourse; and drew all to a mischiefe, in despiht of his wiledome.

The second, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy issue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be suspected, and needeth Gods assistance more then any other fortune; for that no man sooner erreth, or is more vncaple of order, then such as are in prosperitie. And therefore, Plato refused to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happinesse. And doubtles, such is the exorbitancie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then crosses; which are as instructions and warnings, for the preuenting of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to cast him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, she had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue giuen him much good to gether, and reserue an irrecoverable disgrace for the vp-shor.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerenda*: which fauoureth more of follie then any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to assure himselfe of good fortune: for, Presumption, beeing euer accompanied with Negligence, is subiect to as many casualties, as those that goe vnarmed vpon extremitie of danger. And these were the three things that miscaried Curio. Out of which we may obserue with Xenophon, that *Ingens et arduum opus est rectè imperare*.

Videmus ipsi quoties, manus incipientibus facis, hebetari sensus hominum et obtundi. Amm. Marcell.

Solis incredulis moxia res incredulitas. Philo. de vit. Mosi.

Hebetiores quid acutiores re plurimum melius rempuls. administrant. Thucydides.

Rebus secundis maxime deus impiorandus. Lib. 1. Cyr. spe. Felicitatus et moderatissimi diuidiū contubernium. Sen.

quem blanda virtus, Deceps mala belli fortuna re cepit. Luc. lib. 4.

Imprudens fiducia est fortunam sibi spondere. Seneca de beneficijs. Incerta semper nimia presumptio et sui negligens. Epist. Lib. 1. de insti Cyri.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio pursueth the Enemy, with more
haste then good successe.

That which the Cavalrie had exploited, was certaine a matter of great service; especially the small number of them, being compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithstanding, they spake of these things, with greater ostentation then the truth would beare; as men are willing to divulge their owne praises. Besides, they shewed much spoile which they had taken: Captiues and horses were brought out, that what soeuer time was omitted, seemed to be a let and hinderance to the victory; by which meanes, the desires and indevours of the Souldiers, were no way short of the hope which Curio had conceiued. Who, commaunding the Cavalry to follow him, marched forward with as much haste as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy distracted and astonished, at the sight and overthrow of their fellows: but the horsemen, hauing trauelled all night, could by no meanes follow after. Whereby it happened, that some staid in one place, some in another: yet this did not hinder or discourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, being aduertised by Sabura of the conflict in the night, sent instantlie two thousand Spanisb and French horse, which he kept about him for the safetie of his Person, and such of the foote-troopes as he most trusted to succour and relieue him: hee himselfe, with the rest of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed softly after. Sabura, suspecting by the horsemen comming before, that Curio himselfe was at hand, imbatteled all his forces; commaunding them, that under a pretence of counterfait feare, they should retreit by little and little: himselfe, when occasion serued, would giue them the signe of battell; with such other directions as should be expedient.

Curio was strengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the present occasion. For, supposing the Enemy had fled, hee drew his forces from the upper ground into the Plaine; wherein, after he had marched a good space (the Army hauing trauielled sixteene mile) hee made a stand. Sabura gaue the signe to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, went about his troopes, to exhort and courage his souldiers: Howbeit, he used his foot-men onely for a shew a farre off, and sent the Cavalrie to giue the charge. Curio was not wanting to his men; but wished them to set all their confidence in their valour. The souldiers, howsoeuer harried and wearied, and the horsemen (although but a verie few, and those spent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or desire to fight. But these being but two hundred in number (for, the rest staid by the way) what part of the Army soeuer they charged, they forced the Enemy to giue way: but they could neither follow them farre as they fledde, nor put their horses to any round or long carriere.

At

At length, the Cavalrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumuent our Army, and to mall them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesse) did easily auoid the shooke; and againe, as they turned backe to their rankes, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselves out, and under-goe the hazard of aduerture.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euerie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distracted: for, so there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despaire and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shall be so spent with labour, as they are altogether unfitte for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disaduantage, to incounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-throw the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarre, to be directed to an overthrow: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor; *Satis celeriter fit, quicquid commode geritur.*

Thucid. lib. 7.

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine; Some few of the Armie get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld themselves to Varus.

THE Enemy was oftentimes reinforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainted through weariness: such as were wounded, could neither leaue the battell, nor be conuaid into a place of safetie. The whole Army, being incompassed about with the Cavalrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safety, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented their owne death, or recommended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation.

Cesar.

N 2.

Curio,

Curio, when he perceived the souldiers to be so affrighted, that they gaue care neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the last hope they had of safety) that they should all flie vnto the next hills, and thither hee commanded the Ensignes to be caried. But the Cavalrie, sent by Sabura, had also preoccupied that place; whereby our men began to fall into utter despair, and partly were slaine as they fled by the horsemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horse, standing with a few horsemen about him, perswaded Curio to saue himselfe by flight, and to get the Campe; promising not to leaue or forsake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would neuer come in Cæsars fight, hauing lost the Army committed vnto him; and thereupon, fighting valiantly, was slaine.

A few horsemen saued themselves from the furie of the battell; but such of the Rereward, as staied by the way to refresh their horses, perceiuing a farre off, the rout and flight of the vvhole Army, returned safe into the Campe. The footmen were all slaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treasurer, beeing left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be discouraged. They praised and besought him, they might be transported into Sicily. Hee promised thē they should; and to that end gaue order to the Maisters of shippes, that the next euening they should bring all the Skiffes to the shore. But such was the astonishment and terror of all men, that some gaue out, that Iuba his forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand vwith the legions; and that they saw the dust of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no such matter at all. Others, suspected the Enemies Naue would speedily make to them; insomuch as euery man shifted for himselfe: such as were already on ship-board, made haste to be gone. Their departure, gaue occasion to the shipps of burthen to follow after.

A few small Barks were obedient to the command: but the shore being thronged vwith souldiers, such was the contention, which of all that multitude should get aboard, that some of the Barkes were sunke with preace of people, & the rest, for feare of the like casualtie, durst not come neere them. Whereby it happened, that a few souldiers, and Maisters of families (that through fauour or pittie preuailed, or could swim vnto the shippes) were caried backe, safe, into Sicily. The rest of the forces, sending by night some of the Centurions as Embassadors to Varus, rendered themselves vnto him.

The next day after, Iuba seeing the Cohorts of these souldiers before the towne, cried out presently, that they were part of his booty: and thereupon gaue order, that a great number of thē should be slaine; and, selecting a few out of the rest, sent them into his kingdome: Varus complaining in the meane while, that his faith and promise was violated, and yet durst not resist it. The King rode into the towne, attended with many Senators, amongst whō was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Damasippus: and remaining there a few daies, gaue such order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



ND this was the period which Diuine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's designe vpon Africk; & happened so suddenlie, as they were lost ere they were aware: Like a tempest at Sea; that swalloweth vp vessels in the same place, where a little before they swam most proudly, and in the like irrecoverable manner. For, warre is not capable of a second error; one fault beeing enough to ruine an Armie, and to disable Curio for cuer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

*Haud aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent rest a sequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spolijs et Cæsaris Auro.*

His bodie lay vnburied, as a witness of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreme, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confiscat his kingdome.

To conclude this Commentary; The losse either Partie sustained vnto this stage of the Warre, was in these particulars: Pompey was driuen out of Italie, lost Marseilleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Cæsar receiued this losse in Africk, besides that in the Adriatick sea, where Antonius miscaried, whereof he maketh no mention in these Cōmentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; so the fortune of these Parties beeing weighed, by the relation made thereof, it falleth plainly out, that Pompey had the worke.

And thus endeth the second Commentarie.



N 3.

THE

Latu hunc muna rebus crescenti posuerim modum. Lucan. Eodem vbi iusserunt nauigia ferbentur. Seneca Epist. 4. Non est in bello bis peccare. Plutarch.

Nulla connectitur Curio busto.

Homer. Iliad. 8.

THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuill Warres.

(. . .)

THE ARGUMENT.

THE former Bookes, containe the drifts and designs which these famous Cheefes attempted, and prosecuted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the iudgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Cæsars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit and Usury, and other things.



CÆSAR the Dictator, holding the assembly for election of Magistrates; Iulius Cæsar, and Pub. Servilius were created Consuls: for in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen there-vnto. These things being ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit was very scant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon trust, was not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they were valued before the vwarre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as well for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon vwarres and ciuill broiles) as also for the keeping and preserving of the Debtors credit.

In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appeale, made by the Prætors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses used, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away, by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewise reformed such iudgements in suites and trialls of law, as were giuen in Cases, when the matter in controuersie was heard by one Iudge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Iudge. Last of all, where-as diuers stood condemned, for offering their seruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuill vwarre, if he should thinke it fit to accept thereof:

thereof: and holding himselfe as much obliged vnto them, as if he had vsed it; he thought it best expedient for the, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandement & authority: least he should either seeme vngratefull, in not acknowledging their deserts; or arrogant in assuming to himselfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Cæsar, as he was Dictator holding the assembly for the choice of Magistrates; himselfe, with P. Seruilius Iscauricus, were made Consuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iust tenne yeeres after his first Consulshippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law published by Sylla; wherein it was provided, That no man should be chosen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had supplied the same. In this yeere, happened all these things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Paternulus noteth in these words:

C. Cæsar, and P. Seruilius beeing Consuls, Pompey was miserably massacred, after three Consulships, and three Triumphes; and was slaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regulatlie the first of Ianuary: and the Assembly was called *Comitium Centuriatum*.

Touching the difference of these Assemblies, the parties present thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumstances appertaining, the Reader may receiue information at large, by Roscius. Onely it is to be remembred, that *Comitia Centuriata* were neuer holden without consent of the Senate. And forasmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

— *maerentia testā*
Cæsar habet, vacuūque domos, legēque silentes:
Clausaque iustitio tristifera. Curia solos
Illa videt Patres, plena quos vrbes fugauit.

The Persons, that were suters for the Consulshippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes vsed extraordinarie meanes to attaine the same: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man should sue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courtes, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the same was set on foote, Anno Vrb. 395, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, Anno 572: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as banishment concerned the partie. Coponius was so condemned, hauing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very strict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witnesses, the Process should end in a day, giuing the Accuser two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make aunswere: and the Iudgement instantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæsar here reformed.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing I obserue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæsar expresth in these tearmes; *Cum fides tota Italia esset angustior*. The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a real performance of any promise or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iustice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum*. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipsum videtur habere cum fit, quod dicitur*. And for that Men commonly are couenant keepers, not so much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictness of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and consequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because *Silent leges inter arma*.

Cæsar, to provide for this inconuenience, appointed Commissioners to rate euery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, and to satisfie the Creditors with the same. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the reuenue of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselves: and that the Debtors should haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a president in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Lioie; *Novi Consules senebrem quoque rem lenare aggressi, solutionem aris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creatis, quos mensarios, ab dispensatione pecunie appellauerunt*.

This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called *Noua Tabula*: In this respect, as Cælius Rodiginus hath it, *Quod cum pecunia credit a obratis condonantur, noua mox cooruntur Tabula, quibus nomina continentur noua*: and is nothing else, then what is ordinarie amongst our Bankrupts, compounding for so much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new assurance, and other securitie, which they called *Noua Tabula*; agreeing to that of Tullie: *Tabula verò noua quid habent argumenti, nisi ut emas mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam*.

Concerning matter of Vsurie, which was the ground of this mischief, Tacitus noteth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the cause of many seditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aspicke; which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie slumber; and in a short time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And there-vpon, it is called *Fænus à fætu*, from the fertile and ample increase of money. For, as Basill noteth, The Labourer loseth the seed, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increase: but the Vsurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not lose the seede. Whereby there must needs growe great increase. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vnciario senore amplius exerceat*.

And is vnderstood for one in the hundred. The highest rate was *Centesima vjura*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Lib. 1. offic.
Dicit enim vlla
res vehementius
tempus, cōtinet
quā fides.
Lib. 2. offic.

In the life of
Iulius Cæsar.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7.

2. Offic.

Vetus vrbis sen-
ebrem malum, et
seditionum dis-
ordinarumque
rebellium cau-
sa. Annal. 6.

6. de Co-

Lib. 5.

no Vrb. 701

v. lib. 7.

v. lib. 9.

oure gillon
la halle.

v. li. 35. c. 12

Lib. 39.

Creditor, and was twelue *per Cent*. The next was *usura deunx*, when the Debtor paid eleuen in the hundred for a yeere. The third *Dextans*, which was *x. per Cent*. *Dodrans ix. Bes viij. Septunx usura viij. Semis vi. Quincunce v. Triens iiij. Quadrans iij. Sextans ij. Fenciaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Ca- to condemned all kind of vsury: for, being demanded, *Quid maxime in resu- miliari expediret? respondit bene pascere: quid secundum? satis bene pascere? quid tertium? bene vestire: quid quartū? arare: et cum ille qui quaesierat dix- isset, Quid fenerari? Quid hominē inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it seemeth) no meanes of getting mony, but those which Aristotle tooke to be most agree- ing to Nature: which is from the fruites of the earth, and the increale of our cattell; with such other courtes as are aunswerable therevnto.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.



IN the accomplishing of these things, as also celebrating the Latine Holidiaes, and holding the Assemblies of the people, hauing spent eleuen daies, he gaue ouer his Dictatorship, left the Cittie, and came to Brundisium. For, he had command- ed seauen legions, and all his Cavalrie to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more shipping ready, then would hard- ly transport fiftene thousand legionary souldiers, and siue hundred horse; the want whercof, seemed to hinder him from bringing the warre to a speedy end. Moreouer, those forces which were shipped, were but weak; in regard that ma- ny of them were lost in the warres of Galia, and lessened likewise by their long iourney out of Spaine: besides that, the vnwholsome Autumne in Apulia, and a- bout Brundisium, had made the whole Army ill disposed; beeing newly come out of the sweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, hauing had a yeeres space to provide himselfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Nauy out of Asia, from the Cyclad Iles, Coreyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and had caused another as great a fleet to bee built in all places fit for that purpose; had raised great summes of money out of Asia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Dynastes, Tetrarches, and free States of Achaia; and had likewise compelled the Corporations of those Provinces to contribute the like sum. He had inrolled nine legions of Romaine Cittizens, siue which he had trans- ported out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which beeing compounded and made of two, he called the Twin) one out of Creet and Macedonia, old souldiers, who beeing discharged by former Generalls, had resided in those Provinces; two out of Asia, which Lentulus the Consull had caused to be inrolled: besides, he had distributed amongst those legions, under the name of a supply, a great number of Thessaly, Bœotia, Achaia, and Epyrus.

Amongst

Amongst these, he had mingled Anthonies souldiers: and besides these, he ex- pected to be brought by Scipio, out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Cre- ta, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the rest of the Citties, he had three thou- sand sixe cohorts of Slingers; two Mercenary, & seauen thousand horse. Where- of Deiotarnus had brought sixe hundred Galls; Ariobarzenes siue hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had sent the like number, vnder the lea- ding of his sonne Sasalis. From Macedonia came two hundred, commaunded by Rasipolis; a Captaine of great fame and vertue. From Alexandria came siue hundred, part Galls, & part Germanes; which A. Gabinus had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the sonne, had brought with the Nauie, eight hundred of his shepheards and seruaunts. Tarcondarius, Cassor, & Donilaus, had sent three hundred out of Gallogracia; of whom, one came him- selfe, and the other sent his sonne. Two hundred were sent out of Syria, by Co- magenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had presented with great gifts: most of which were Arbalestriers on horsebacke.

To these were added Dardanes, Besis; partly for pay and entertainment, and partly got by command or fauour; besides Macedonians, Thessalians, & diuers other Nations and Citties: insomuch as he filled vp the number formerly spoken of. He provided great quantity of Corne out of Thessaly, Asia, Creta, Cyrenia, & the rest of those Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the maritime townes, to keepe Caesar from passing the Sea: and to that end, he had laid and disposed his Nauie all along the Sea-coast. Pompey, the son, was Admirall of the Egyptian shippes; and Lelius Triarius, of those that came out of Asia. Cassius commaunded them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the shippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octavius, had charge of the A- chaian Nauie: Howbeit, M. Bibulus commaunded in chiefe in all sea causes; and to him was left the superintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



CONCERNING these Latine Ferie, it is to be noted, that the Romaines had two sorts of Ferie, or Holy-daies; the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and there-vpon were called *Anniuersarij*. The other, *Conceptina*; which were ar- bitrarie, and solemnized vpon such daies, as the Magistrates & Priests thought most expedient, whereof these Latine Ferie were chiefe; and were kept on Mount Albane, to Iupiter Lator, for the health and preferuation of all the La- tine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome, and were solemnized in remembrance of the truce betwene those two Nations: during which feast, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The sacrifice was a white Bull, kild and offered by the Consulls, and the flesh distributed to the inhabitants of Latium: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance be- tween them; engrauen for a perpetuall memory, in a Columne of brasle. The particulars whereof, are expressed at large, by Dionisius Halicarnassus.

Latine Ferie.

Lib. 4. de An- tiquis. Roma.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE second thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, besides the supplies heere particularly mentioned, sent from such as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-score thousand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the stroke of VVarre.

In which Muster, were the souldiers of C. Antonius; whose misfortune these Commentaries haue either willingly forgot, or some other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæsar hauing sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-sea, the one tooke hold of the coast of Slauonia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a suddaine came Octavius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their shippes) surprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was constrained to yeeld vp fiftene Companies, which were these souldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Rascipolis, or Rascupolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Rascus tooke himselfe to Cæsar, vpon an appointment made betweene themselues: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in opposition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themselues; as the best approued part of Neutralitie: And held likewise the same course, in the warre betweene Brutus and Octavius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the issue whereof, Rascus demanded no other reward for his seruice, then the life of his brother: which was easilie graunted.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Consull with Cæsar, in the yeer of Rome 694: but Cæsar so out-stript him in the managing of things, that he much suspected himselfe, as insufficient for the place: which made him keepe his house all that yeere. Whereupon came this Distich;

*Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum:
Nam Bibulo siers Consule nil memini.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth ouer into Greece, returneth his shipping to Brundisium. Octavius bessegeth Salones.



Cæsar, vpon his arriuall at Brundisium, called the souldiers together; and shewed them, that forasmuch as they were almost come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leaue willingly behind them their seruants and cariages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of those incumberments; so

Cæsar.

the

the end, the greater number of souldiers might be taken in; and that they should expect the supply of all these things, from victorie, & his liberality. Every man cried out, That he should commaund what he would, and they would willingly obey it.

The second of the Nones of Ianuary, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly shewed) shipped seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceraunium, hauing got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (vvhich he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrasalus: and there arriuing in safetie vvvith all his ships, he landed his souldiers.

At the same time, Lucretius Vispillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from La-lus) were at Orick, with eigheteen shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durst come out of the Port, although Cæsar had not in all aboute twelue shippes of vvarre, to wast him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarcked. Neither could Bibulus come soone enough, his shippes beeing vnready, and his Mariners ashore; for that Cæsar was descried neere the Continent, before there was any bruite of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers beeing landed, hee sent backe the same night the shipping to Brundisium; that the other legions, and the Cavalrie, might be brought ouer.

Festus Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this seruice, and was to use all celeritie in transporting ouer the legions: but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cæsars arriuall, and hoping to meete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundisium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceiued through grieffe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Maisters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This beeing done, hee possesse all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and Men of vvarre; appointing guardes with more diligence then formerly hath been used. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cæsar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octavius, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew Isca from Cæsars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatnings, he resolved to besiege the Towne. The Place was strong by nature, through the aduantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of vvood to fortifie it vvithin: but finding themselves too vvake to make resistance (beeing wearied out and spent vvith vvoundes) they fell at length to the last refuge of all: vvhich was, to enfranchise all their bond-slauues, aboute the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof.

O.

Their

Their resolution beeing knowne, Octavius encompassed the towne about with five Campes: and at one instant of time, beganne to force them by siege, and by assault. They, beeing resolved to vnder-goe all extremities, were much pressed through vwant of Corne; and there-upon, sending Messengers to Caesar, sought helpe of him: other inconueniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, vwhen the continuance of the siege, had made the Octavianians remisse and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy was retired aside, and placing their children and women on the vvall, that nothing might seeme omitted of that which was vsuall) they themselves, together vvith such as they had lately enfranchized, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which beeing taken, with the same violence they set vpon another, and then vpon the third, and so vpon the fourth, and in the end, vpon the fift; driving the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, hauing slaine a great number, they forced Octavius, and the rest remaining, to betake them to their ships; and so the siege ended. For, Octavius, despairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and hauing receiued such losses, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene generally conceiued, that there is little or no vse of women in times of vvarre, but that they are a burthen to such as seek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better sute the licentiousnesse of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an instance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, sighes, & praier, to with-draw Hector from those valorous exploits, which hee vnder-tooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wished to handle the distaffe and the spindle; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakenesse of their Sex.

— columque
*I cape cum calathis, et stamina pollice torque:
Bella relinque viris.*

Neuerthelesse, it cannot be denied, that howsoeuer the tendernes of women, doth require a pasciue course of life, vnder the shelter of a safe roofoe, rather then in the bleake stormes of actiue indeauour; yet there haue been some Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongst whom, Semiramis may leade the rest; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Mistresse by conquest. As also Zenobia, that subdued the Persians; and Helena, Queene of the Russes.

Besides other noble spirits, that could answere such as told them newes of the death of their sonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpose. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall apptnes of that Sex, to the vse and practice of Armes.

And

And if any man (as vnwilling to afford them too much worth) will knowe wherein they auail the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that euen in expeditions (wherein they are most subiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable assistance to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and otherwise; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

But in places besieged, vvomen doe not onely afford haire to make ropes, if need require (as it tell out in this siege) but are able to cast peeces of Mill-stones vpon the Enemy, with better fortune (some-times then any other man: and haue thereby slaine the Generall, to the raising of the siege, and sauing of the Cittie.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commaunded the Chritlian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Castle, were making works for a retreit, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of VVild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commaunded by Aldobrandine) beeing ioyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, seemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confusion.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



A Towne assaulted by a warlike Enemy, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the East Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hiuies of Bees, when they were possessed of the walls: but with such valour as may ouer-maister the Enemy, and extend it selfe to the taking of siue Campes, if need require; which was performed by these Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

*Caesar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace;
taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and
other places.*



It is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) was twice taken by Caesar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Caesar deeme (in regarde of the fauours which he had shewed him) to bee a fitt person, to bee sent vvith a Message to Pompey;

*Quod honestius
quā vxoꝝ le-
uamentum?
Tac. l. 3. Annal.
Vix praesentis
custodia manere
vilesa coniugia.
eodem.*

Indg. 9.

Anno 1595.

Caesar.

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee understood, that hee was in good account and credite with him.

The summe of his Commission was, to tell him, That it seemed them both, to giue an end to their vvilfulnesse, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either side had bene sufficiently afflicted with losse and dammages: which might serue for instruction and example to auoid other inconueniences. Hee, for his part, was driuen out of Italy, with the losse of Sicily, Sardinia, with the two Prouinces of Spaine, as also of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; Himselfe, with the death of Curio, with the losse of the Affricane Armie, and with the rendry of the souldiers at Corfew: and therefore they should haue regard of themselves, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne losses, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilst either Party stood confident in his owne strength, and seemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune should chance to sway to one side, he that thought hee had the better end of the staffe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himselfe with a reasonable part, because his hope would giue him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie forasmuch as they could not agree thereof themselves, they ought to seeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane while, it was fitte that the Common-wealth and themselves should rest satisfied, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the presence of their Armies, to dismisse their forces within three daies next following: and send away their Auxiliarie troopes, vvherein they so relied; and consequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For assurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee would presently discharge as well his forces in the field, as those in guarizon.

Vibullius, hauing received these instructions from Caesar (thinking it no lesse requisite to aduertise Pompey of Caesars arriuall, that hee might consult of that, before he deliuered what hee had in charge) posted night and day, taking a euery stage fresh horse; that hee might certifie Pompey, that Caesar was at hand with all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and went out of Macedonia, to Winter in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, least Caesar should possesse himselfe of the maritime Citties.

Caesar, hauing landed his forces, went the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commaunded the towne under Pompey, & had there a guarizon of Parthins, shutting the gates, went about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the walles. But they, refusing to fight against the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the towns-men indeauouring of their owne accord to receiue him in; hee opened the gates, despairing of all other succours, and gaue up both himselfe and the towne to Caesar, and was entertained by him in safetie, Oricum beeing taken in by Caesar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

Hi

His coming beeing heard of, L. Straberius, the Gouernour, began to carie water into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other side, denied to giue any, or to shutte their gates against the Consul, or of the people of Rome to take a resolution, contrary to that which all Italy, & the people of Rome had thought convenient. Their affections beeing knowne, he secretly conuained himself away. The Apoloniads sent Commissioners to Caesar, and receiued him into the towne. The Belandines followed their example, and the Amatinis; together with the rest of the Chapeing Citties. And he concluded, all Epirus sent vnto Caesar, promising to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, vnderstanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, the report of Caesars approach, the Armie was so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the conuening Region, and many of them (casting away their Armes) seemed rather to flye, then to march as soldiers.

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrenched, when-as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Neuer to forsake Pompey, but to vndergoe what chance (ouer Fortune had allotted him. The same oath tooke the gates; beeing likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Num est tempus (saith Caesar) de pace agendi, dum uterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur. Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittest & seasonablest time, for composition betweene two opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteth equality, and disparitie, a like vniueniennesse of nature: so, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equality; or otherwise, as the difference of their meantes shall allot the. For, if it be true in the extremitie; which Curtius hath, That Lawes are giuen by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; it doth consequently follow in the Meane; that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he saith, That Peace and Quietness consist in equality; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequality.

Leges a victoribus dicuntur; accipiuntur a victis. lib. 4. Quietum in æqualitate; motum, in inæqualitate, semper constitutum in 2. libro.

O 3.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



T appeareth heere, by the fright and astonishment of Pompeis Armie, that the countie he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no lesse hope of successe, haue contested with Caesar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a task which should haue held him from the conquest of Spaine, or such other archievements as he easilie wrought in the absense of his Aduersaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, sorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardest courages, and to suffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noise and clamors of continuall victories, gotten vpon a part of themselves; and then to giue occasion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them disarmed of expectation, to their great amazeement.

CHAP. V.

Caesar tooke vp his lodging for Winter. Bibulus, distressed at Sea for want of prouisions, seemed desirous of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other side with good caution, brake off againe.



Cæsar, vnderstanding that his passage to Dyrrachium was thus intercepted, did forbear his haste, and incamped himselfe vpon the Riuer Apsus, in the confines of the Apoloni-ans; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, such Cit-ies as had well deserved of him, might be in safety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinnes, and to attend the comming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other side of the Riuer Apsus; and there assembled all his troopes and forraigne aydes. Calenus, hauing (according to Caesars directions) imbarked the legions, and Cauralie at Brundisium, and taken in as many as his shipping would containe, he set saile: but being gone a litle out of the Port, hee received Letters of aduice from Caesar, that all the Hauens and the Sea-coast was kept with the Enemies fleet. Where-vpon, hee made againe into the Hauens, and called backe all the shippes: onely one, holding on her course, without regard of the command, carying no souldiers, but belonging to priuate men, arrived at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who spared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the sword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was saued.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept

the Sea and the Ports from Caesar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that hee could neither vnder, get wood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: Insomuch as hee was brought into great straits and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and was constrained (besides all other prouisions) to fetch his water and wood from Corfew. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather being foule, they were forced to relieue themselves, with the dew which in the night time fell vpon the skinnes, that couered the Decks of the shippes. All which extremities they patiently indured; and would by no meanes be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a ship-board, to M. Atilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouernour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Caesar, of matters of great consequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, which they knew Caesar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus was able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Caesar, at that time, was gone with one legion to take in some townes further off, and to set a course for prouision of Corne, which was brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at Butrot, opposite to Corfew. Being certified there by Letters from Atilius and Marco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arrivall thither, they were called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceived a great anger at Caesar, about the Aedilitie and Pratorship: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that vility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was euer desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselves, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the warre, and the disposition of all things, were referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they vnderstood what Caesar required, they would send instantly a dispatch vnto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and vntill an answer might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To which, Caesar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any answer: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Caesar required, that it might be lawfull for him, to send Embassadors to Pompey without danger; and that they would vndertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the warre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his ships and succours from comming vnto him;

him; and he, on the other side, did prohibite them from landing, or taking in fresh water: and if they would haue that granted vnto them, let it be on a lease, guarding of the Coast; but if they would continue that, then would he continue therein. Notwithstanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on; albeit these were not omitted; for, he took them to be no impediment thereunto. A he would neither receiue Cæsars Embassadors, nor undertake for their safety; but referred the whole matter to Pompey. Onely they instanced, and very vehemently urged the Truce. But Cæsar, perceiving that all this speech tended wholly to auoid the present danger, and to supply themselves of such vnto as were with they were straightened, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of prosecuting the warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



In contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be considered, that War be not throwed vnder the faire name of Peace, so a Truce demanded by an Enemy, is to be handled sparingly & with suspicion, as a thing neuer commonly required, but when necessity doth moue them thereto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like advantage. But to yeeld to a suspension of Armes, advantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them, is neither allowable by reason, nor Cæsars example. And for occasion proue it requisite, it must be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that shall entertaine a Truce, for any long season, shall see his Armes consumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall a sunder of themselves; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleventh, put by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might haue giuen him the possession of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that such as seeke a Peace, desire no more then a cessation of Armes, for some reasonable time, as an introduction inforcing the same.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The first, is a league of Peace: which by the Apostles rule, should extend to all men, *habete pacem cum omnibus*: and by example of holy Patriarches (Iack with Abimelech, Iacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communitee. The second, is a league of Entercourse, or Commerce, which is likewise by the same Patriarch, sending for Corne into Egypt, and Solomons entercourse, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amongst the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourse of exchange, betwene the partes of the same. The third, is a league of mutuall Assistance; such as Iehosaphat made with Achab: & is hardly safe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Touching the Persons to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee obserued from Bibulus, that no man, whose presence may either giue offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a courte sorting to a happy issue, is fit for any such imployment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Here were, in Rome, certaine Officers called *Aediles*, ab *Aedibus*, as hauing the care of houses & buildings, both publique and priuate, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (saith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod a populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Cereri Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matrem populo plebique Romanae, ludorum celebritate placandam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioui, Iunoni, Minervaque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procuracionem; mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicenda locum. Togam praetextam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam.* Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and set forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the allowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreover, they had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Cittie, together with the prouision of victuall and Corne. And, for the misling of this office, was Bibulus angry with Cæsar; and would not be regained vpon any condition.

In Verrem.

The publication of their secular Plaies, was cried in these words: *Conuenite ad ludos praestandos, quos neque spectauit quisquam nec spectaturus est. Sueto. in Claudio.*

Non est amicum capere, difficile. Xenop. de festis et dict. Socrati.

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæsar vseth meanes to procure a Treaty of Peace; but preuaileth not.



Bibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous sicknesse, through cold and extreame labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet willing to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the disease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but every man commaunded his owne fleete. The hurly burly beeing quieted, which Cæsars suddaine arrivall had moued, Vibullus, with the assistance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

Cæsar.

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greatest importance, resolved to deliuer what Caesar had recommended vnto him: & entering into the relation thereof, was interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to speake any further of that matter. What use or neede haue I (saith he) either of my life, or of the Cittie, when I shall be thought to enioy it by Caesars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be remoued, vntill the warre be ended; that of my selfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Caesar vnderstood this, from those that were present when hee spake it: and yet notwithstanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parke of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Caesar, were onely separated by the River Apsus, that ranne betweene them; where the souldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongst themselves, threw no weapon during the time of their treatie. Where-vpon, he sent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the River banke, to offer such things as did chiefly concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to send to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at least, to moue that Cittizens should not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing spoken much very respectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the safetie of all the rest, he was heard with silence, by the Souldiers on both sides.

At length, it was answered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himselfe for a conference the next day; so that the Commissioners on both sides, might come and goe in safety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for which, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either side, presented themselves at the place assigned; and great was the expectation thereof, euery man seeming to incline to peace. Out of which troope slept forth T. Labienus, and spake softly touching the peace: and at last, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their speech, were weapons suddenly cast from all parts: which hee auoided, being couered and defended with Armes. Notwithstanding, many were wounded; and amongst others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, besides many other souldiers. Then said Labienus, Leauie off, therefore, to speake of any composition: for, vnlesse Caesars head be brought; there can be no peace.

OBSERVATIONS.



His small peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable passages of extremitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As first (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulnesse in Bibulus: who neither sicknesse, nor despaire of helpe, could moue to inerrmit the taske he had vndertaken; but chose rather to suffer vnto death, in approving his zeale to the Cause, then to giue himselfe a breathing time for the sauing of his life: and may serue to admonish any other Bibulus, to value his life about that, which a stiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the measure of honorable

honourable indeauour, or what else may any way be iustly expected; least in struiuing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnderstood to bee vvell done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne.

The second, is Pompeis resolution; beeing so extreame, as no composition, or other thing whatsoever, could giue him satisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe saith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the casualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a safe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, shall haue his turne of suffering the like misseases: and as warre beginneth, when one partie listeth, so it endeth, when the other side pleaseeth.

— facilis descensus Auerni:
Sed reuocare gradum, superasque evadere ad oras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

Aeneid. 6.

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great soeuer, refuse all peace, but that which is bought by extremitie of warre; least the cunct (whereof there can be no assurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vie, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make straight that which is crooked; and out of discord and diffension, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extremitie as either of the former; whom nothing would satisfie but Caesars head. It cannot be denied, but that he strooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to say it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthinesse. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to most men to magnifie themselves, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their delignes with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a succesfull issue, and to remoue by industrie, or providence, such hinderances as happen to trauerse their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithstanding this Brauado. And therefore, let such Commaunders, as are in good opinion and esteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbrarking their partie in any cause, further then may become the wisdom and experience of iudicious Leaders; as belieuing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum acerrime desinere: non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuius etiam ignauo licere, deponi, cum victores velint.*

Lib. 16.

Successum fortuna, experientiam laus sequitur. Varro, ex Gellio.

Salust.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth sedition in Italie,
and is slaine.

Cæsar.



AT the same time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prator at Rome, vndertaking the busines of debts, in the beginning of his Magistracie, placed his seate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prator of the towne; promising to be assisting to any man, that would appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and payment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæsar had ordained. But it came to passe, as well through the equity and indifferencie of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that those times required an easie and milde execution of iustice) that none were found, from whom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend povertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of those times; or otherwise, to propound the difficulties of selling their goods by an out-rope, was every mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himselfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his possessions whole and vntouched, was held a very strange impudencie: so that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreover, Cælius carried a very hard hand, to such as should haue receiued benefite thereby. And hauing made this enterance (to the end he might not seeme to haue vnderooke a shamefull or dishonest cause) he published a law, that there should be no interest paid, for any Monies let out vpon consideration, for thirtie sixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceived, that Seruilus the Consull, and the rest of the Magistrates did oppose themselves against him; therein, and finding it not to sort with his expectation (to the end hee might incite and stirre up the humours and spirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in steede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yeerely rents that Tenants were accustomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houses they dwelt in: and the other, Touching new assurances, and the abolishing of old debts. Where-vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that stood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of these things, Seruilus the Consull made relation to the Senate: who there-vpon decreed, That Cælius should be remoued fro his Pratorship. And by means of that Arrest, the Consull interdicted him the Senate, and also drew him from the ^{*} Speaking Place, as he went about to make a speech to the people. Cælius, moued with shame and despight, made as though hee would goe to Cæsar; but sent Messengers secretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And hauing recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and reuwards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioyned himselfe with him: and then sent him before to Thurin, to excite and stirre up the Shepheards to sedition; he himselfe going to Casseline.

At

At the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes being staid at Capua, besides his family suspected at Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceived; their other designs being discovered, and their Partizans shut out of Capua: fearing some danger, forasmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane while, Milo, hauing sent Letters to the Municipall townes, that what he did, was by the authority and commaundement of Pompey, according as he receiued it from Bibulus, he applied himselfe, and solicited such as were in debt: vwith whom preuailing nothing, hee brake up diuers prisons, and began to assault Cosa in Thurin: & there he was slaine by Q. Pedius the Prator, with a stone which he cast from the vvall.

Cælius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cæsar, hee came to Tury, vwhere, when he had moued diuers of the Inhabitants, and promised money to the French and Spanish Cavalrie, which Cæsar had put there for a Guarizon, he was in the end slaine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practises of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prætors, the two chiefeft remained at Rome; the one, to administer iustice to the Cittizens, which was called *Prator Urbanus*, who in the absence of the Consull, had the superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, receiued Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called *Prator Peregrinus*: whose office was, to order the causes and sutes of forrainers and strangers; where-vnto Cælius was chosen: and, being of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vpon this rent in the State, to raise new garboiles, fit for his owne purposes; as hauing learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already stirred, are more easily moued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And there-vpon, hauing power by his office, to decide causes of Controuersie, hee remoued his Tribunall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius sat, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue liued longer, if he had been of a staied and settled cariage; but now must stand for an example of a wilfull Magistrate.

Touching *Rostra*, which I haue translated the Speaking-place, it was a part of their *Forum*, vwhere the Consulls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of ships, which

Omnia commota facilius quam quiescentia mouentur. De Mechanicis.

Liuius, lib. 8.

P.

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiatij*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Roftra*; memorable amongst other things, for that Antonie leue Tullies head betwene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often spoken most eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-against the *Hauen of Brundusium*; and is beaten off by a stratagem.



Libo, departing from *Oricum*, with his flecte of fifty shippes, came to *Brundusium*, and tooke an Iland, which lieth ouer-against the *Hauen*, as a place of great importance, by which our Army must necessarily come forth: & shutting in all the Ports, and parts of that shore, as also surprising by his sudden comming, certaine shippes of burthen, hee sette all on fire, sawing one laden with Corne, which hee tooke along with him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine souldiers and horsemen in the night time, hee dislodged the *Canabrie* that were there in *Guarison*: and so preuailed, through the aduantage of the Place, as hee writ to *Pompey*, that he might draw the other shipping on shore, and new trimme them; for, hee would vnder-take, with his fleet alone, to hinder those forces from comming to *Caesar*.

Antonius was then at *Brundusium*: and trusting to the valour of the souldiers, armed out threescore Skiffes, belonging to great Shippes; and fencing them with hurdles and planks, put certaine choice souldiers in them, disposing them in seuerall places along the shore: and further commanded two *Trivemes* (which hee had caused to be made at *Brundusium*, for the exercise of the souldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the *Hauen*.

Libo, perceiving these to come out some-what loosely, and hoping to intercept them, sent out fve *Quadriremes* to attack them: which were no sooner come neere vnto our shippes, but the old souldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on with a desire of taking them, preaced after somewhat rashly, and vnadvisedly: when at length, vpon a signall giuen, the Skiffes came suddainely out from all parts, sette vpon them, and at the first shock tooke one of the *Quadriremes*, with all the oare-men and souldiers in her; the rest they compelled to flie away shamefully. To which losse, this was further added, that they were kept from water, by the *Canabrie* which *Antonius* had disposed along the Coast: through necessity whereof (as also by reason of the ignominie received) *Libo* departed from *Brundusium*, and gaue ouer the siege.

Many

Many moneths were now past, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neither the shipping nor the legions, came from *Brundusium* to *Caesar*. And some opportunities seemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good oftentimes; which *Caesar* thought they would haue taken. And the longer they staid there, the straighter was all the Coast guarded and kept, by such as commanded the fleet; being now in great hope to hinder their passage. Which they did the rather in-deauour, because they were oftentimes reproued by Letters from *Pompey*, for that they did not impeach *Caesars* comming at first: which hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder those supplies. And, in attending so from day to day an opportunity of passage, it would waxe worse & worse, the winds growing more easie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY how much easier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coast of a large Countrey: by so much was *Libo* more likely to preuaile, in seeking to shut vp the *Hauen* of *Brundusium*, to hinder these supplies from coming vnto *Caesar*; then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritime parts of *Epirus*, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But such is the vncertainie of enterprises of vvarre, that albeit our course be rightly shapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is desired. For, howsoeuer hee was possessed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the *Hauen*, and had thrust out the guard of horsemen, and so became confident of blocking vp the Port: yet there was means found by the aduerser Partie, to giue him such an affront, as made him quit the place with more dishonour, then could be recompenced by anything he got.

Incerta sunt res bellicae. Thucid.

CHAP. IX.

Caesars supplies passe ouer into Greece, and take landing.



Caesar, troubled at these things, writ very sharply to them at *Brundusium*, not to omit the opportunity of the next good wind, but to put to Sea, and to shapen their course to *Oricum*, or to the Coast of *Apollonia*; because there they might runne their ships on ground: & these places were freeest from Guardes, by reason they could not ride farre from the Ports.

They, according to their accustomed courage and valour (*Marcus Antonius*, and *Fufius Calenus* directing the businesse, and the souldiours themselves being forwarde there-vnto, as refusing no danger for *Caesars* sake) hauing

P. 2.

Got

Caesar.

got a South wind, waied Anchor, and the next day, passed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but beeing discovered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Naue, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his shippes out of the Hauens. And as he had almost (vpon a slack wind) ouer-taken our men, the same South wind began at length to blowe stiffe, by which meanes they escaped: yet did not he desist from pursuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & industrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempest, and followed them, notwithstanding they were past Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vsing the fauour of Fortune, were neuerthelesse afraid of the Enemies Naue, if the wind should chance to slacke: & hauing got the Port called Nimphaum, three miles beyond Lissus, they put in with their shippes.

This Port lay sheltered from the South-west wind, but was not safe from a South wind: howsoeuer; they accounted an ill roade lesse dangerous then the Enemies fleet: & yet they were no sooner put in, but the wind (which had blown southerly for two daies together) did now most happily come about to the South-west.

And heere a man may see the suddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late stood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occasion, receiued into a safe harbour: and those which threatned danger to them, were forced to bethinke themselves of their owne safetie. So that the time thus changing, faued our Partie, and sunke theirs. Insomuch, as sixteene of the Rhodian shippes were all shaken in peeces, and perished with shipwrack: and of the great number of oare-men and souldiers, part were dashed against the Rocks & slaine, and part were taken up by our men: all which, Caesar sent home in safetie. Two of our shippes comming short, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where therest had taken shore, stood at an Anchor, right ouer against Lissus. Them did Otacilius Crassus, Gouvernour of Lissus, goe about to take with Skiffes, and other little shippes, which he had prepared for that purpose; & withall, treated with them, of yeelding themselves, promising life and safetie, vpon that condition.

One of the shippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young souldiers; in the other, were lesse then two hundred old souldiers. And heere a man may see, what assurance and safety consisteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made souldiers, terrified with the multitude of shippes that came against them, and spent with Sea-sickness, vpon oath made not to receiue any hurt, did yield themselves to Otacilius: who, being brought all vnto him, were contrary to his oath, most cruelly slaine in his sight. But the souldiers of the old Legions (howsoeuer afflicted with the inconuenience of the tempest, and noisomnesse of the Pumpe) did not slacke any thing of their ancient valour: for, hauing drawen out the first part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeeld themselves, they compelled the Maister to runne his shippe a-shore: and hauing got a conuenient place, they there spent the rest of the night.

As soone as it was day, Otacilius sent foure hundred horse, which had the guard of that part of the coast, with others of the guarizon, to assault and take them:

them: but they, valiantly defending themselves, slew diuers of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine Cittizens, residing in Lissus (which towne, Caesar had formerly giuen them to bee kept and guarded) receiued in Antonius, and assisted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought ouer his troopes (which were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horse) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundisium: leauing the Pontones, which are a kind of French shipping, at Lissus; to this end, that if happely Pompey, thinking Italy to be empty and unfurnished, should cary ouer his Army thither, Caesar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Caesar, to let him knowe where the Armie was landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Olus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, is not so iustificable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promised one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Iuristes conclude otherwise; hauing, for the more apparencie of truth, drawne it to a Question, *An perfidia in perfidum vsi*, Ius sit? alleaging Labienus practice, against Cornius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Answer, that their example standeth as a president, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falsifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly succedeth.

The most remarkeable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be wished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourablest peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkish Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuerthelesse, at the perswasion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to disannull the league, & absolue him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidell tooke occasion impiously to blasphemie, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most sacred and blessed Lord) and was there slaine, to the vter ruine of his kingdom, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinall escape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but beeing there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by Gregorie Sanose, ready to giue vp the ghost; & seemed but to stay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious absolution.

Aenead. 2.
Homer 9. Iliad.

Himins lib. 8.
de bello Gallico.

Plad. slaus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN case of difficultie and hazard (as Cæsar noteth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remoue all opposition, or what other cause there is besides; but thus it falleth out, that such as entertaine a noble resolution, are euer safest in extremitie of perill; and in steed of losse, get honour and renowne.

Brasidas found a Moule amongst dried figs, which bit him so that hee let her goe, and there-vpon said, to those that stood by; That there was nothing so little, that could not saue it selfe, if it had a hart to defend it selfe against such as assaulted it.

And heerein we may obserue that to be true, which the Poet hath deliuered; *Seris venit usus ab annis*: Time and Practice, doe much auaille to perfit this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of such labours, and hauing incountered the like dangers, euen to the redeming of themselves from the iawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick saith, No man can possibly come so well furnished to any course of life, but that time and experience doe alwaies teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe rawlie to worke, are so daunted with the vsuall lookes of war, as they (forgetting the profersion of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they seeke to auoid; beeing able to giue no other account of their seruice, but that they marched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Lutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæsar, impatient of the stay of his forces at Brundisium, imbarcked himselfe in a small Frigate, of twelue oares, disguised in the habit of a slaue, and put to sea to fetch his Legions; notwithstanding, all the Coast swarmed with the Enemies (shipping: but meeting with a cōtrarie wind, which would not suffer him to get out of the Riuer Anius, the Maister commaunded the Mariners to cast about, and get to shore. Where-vpon, Cæsar discouering himselfe, incouraged him to goe forward, for-that he carried Cæsar and his fortunes.

The Maister, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to sea; but was by force of the tempest driuen to returne, to Cæsars great griefe. And albeit there is no mention made heereof in these Commentaries, yet the authoritie off so many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar hasteth to meet with Antonius, and preuenteth Pompey.



Cæsar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almost at one instant of time, of Antonius fleet; for, they saw it passe by Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their iourneys along the Coast after them: but they vnderstood not for a while where they were landed. Howbeit, hauing notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie resolution. For, Cæsar purposed to ioyne with Antonius, as soone as possibly he might: and Pompey resolved to hinder their meeting, and by ambushments (if he could) to set vpon them at vnawares.

The same day, either of them drew their Armie out of their standing Camps, vpon the Riuer Apus: Pompey secretly, and by night; Cæsar openly, and by day: but Cæsar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer iourney to goe vpon the Riuer, to find a Foord. Pompey, hauing a ready way, and no Riuer to passe, made towards Antonius by great iourneys: and when hee vnderstood that hee came neere vnto him, chose a conuenient place, and there bestowed his forces; keeping euery man within the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his coming might be the more hidden. Whereof Antonius beeing presently aduertised by the Greekes, he dispatched Messengers to Cæsar, and kept himselfe one day within his Campe. The next day, Cæsar came vnto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; least he should be intrapped betwene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Asparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a conuenient place, pitched his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



Here two Armies are in a Countrey, and one of them hath succours comming to reinforce them, each of those Parties, are by the example of these glorious Commanders (ceteris paribus) to make towards those succours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe the standing. And to that end, it suted Pompeis condition to go secretly; howfoeuer Cæsar noteth it, as a touch to his valour: so on the other side, it stood not onely well enough with Cæsars Party, to goe openly, but also was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raise him estimation in the opinion of the Greekes. The disadvantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee inclosed with Armies: which he, foreseeing, auoided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Asia, to come into Greece, to assist Pompey.



ABout this time, Scipio, hauing sustained diuers losses, neere the Mount Amanum, did neuertheless call himselfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-vpon, commaunded great summes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of those quarters: taking, fro the generall Receiuers of that Province, all the Moneies that were in their hands for two yeeres past, and commaunding them to disburse (by way of loane) the recit for the yeere to come; and requiring horsemen to be leuied throughout all the Province. Hauing gathered these together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Enemies vnto him (vvhob a little before had slaine M. Crassus, the Generall, and besieged M. Bibulus) and drew the ligions out of Syria; beeing sent specially thither to keepe and settle that Province, much amused through feare of the Parthian vvarre.

At his departure, some speeches were giuen-out by the souldiers, that if they were ledde against an Enemy, they would goe; but against a Cittizen and Consul, they would not beare Armes. The Army beeing brought to Pergamum, and there guarized for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he distributed great largesse and gifts; and for the better assuring of the souldier vnto him, gave them certaine Citties to rife.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactions of money, throughout all the Province: for, he put a tribute vpon slaues and free-men by pole, set impositions vpon the pillars and doores of houses, as also vpon graine, oare-men, armes, engines, and carriages; and whatsoever had a name, was thought fite to yeeld money, by way of imposition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almost in euery Village and Castle: wherein, he that caried himselfe most cruelly, was held both the worst hieft man, and the best Cittizen.

The Province was at that time full of Officers and Commandements, pestered with Ouer-seers and Exactors: vvhob, besides the money leuied by publike authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they were thrust out of their houses, and their Countrey, and in want of all necessities; to the end they might with such pretences, couer their wicked & hatefull courses. To this was added, the hard and heauie vsury, which oftentimes doth accompany vvarre, when all moneyes are drawen and exacted to the publike: vvherein the forbearance of a day, was accounted a discharge for the vvhole. Whereby it happened, that in those two yeeres, the whole Province was ouer-grown with debts: and yet, for all that, they stuck not to leuie round summes of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Province; but also, vpon euery Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue out, vvas

by

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receiuers to aduance the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreover, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneys vvhich of old time had beene treasured-up in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (hauing called vnto him many of the Senators that were there present) hee received a Dispatch from Pompey, That Caesar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee should hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters beeing received, he dismissed such as he had called vnto him, and beganne to dispose of his journey into Macedonia, setting forward vwith in a few daies after: by vvhich accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

OBSERVATIONS.



IT is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, beeing of that excellent vse in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet to much vnder-valued to Gold and Silver, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question of Money; but raisth continuall garboiles & extreamities, as a reuenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages, as it dooth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, wee find a Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called *Capitatio*. And then a second, as grieuous as that, beeing a taxe laid vpon euery dore in a house, which they called *Ostiaria*: whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eight Epistle of his third Booke. And lastly, an other vpon euery pillar in a mans house, which they called *Columnaria*: mentioned likewise by Cicero, *Columnarium vide ut nullum debeamus*. Howbeit, Alciatus vnderstandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnassens, That when Treasure failed at the siege of Modena, they laid an Imposition vpon euery tile that was found on the Senators houses in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occasion, to make the tiles as heauie to the rest of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, saith he, was called *Columnaria*.

Some Popes, out of their occasions, haue gone farre in this kind, & found meanes to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vse of man. Infomuch as Pasquill begged leaue to dry his thirt in the Sunne, before there were an Imposition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuersly giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not swell about his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treasure. And Claudianus, giueth Hohorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis crescunt ex araria damnis.

Basilus aduiseeth, that money thus raised, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Necessitie the square of such comaunds. *Da operam* (saith hee)

Propter Aurum et Argentum munus pacem facit ferrum. li. 14. Epist. 93. Forum minus artis instrumentum. Aurum et argentum mortis Mancipia. Epist. 110. Capitatio.

Ostiaria.

Columnaria. 12 ad Atticum. 1. post. 1.

In the Papacie of Sixt. Quintus. *Præsumit respublicam quod eo crescente, artes reliquæ tæbescunt.* Sixt. Aurelius Victor. In Parane.

2 De offic.

hee) *ut omnes intelligant, si salui esse velint, necessitati esse parendum.* And to the opening of priuate mens purses, is but to keepe them shut and safe, from such Enemies as would consume all; according as Scipio once answered, when the Romaines blamed him, for spending their Treasure: Howsoever, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand such store of Treasure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the reuenew which supporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obserued, *Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus respub. sustinetur diminuantur.*

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar sendeth forces into Theffalia, Aetolia
and Macedonia; Scipio commeth
into Greece.



Cæsar, beeing ioyned with Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coast; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduance further into the Countrey. And, vvhether-as Embassadours came vnto him out of Theffalia & Aetolia, assuring, that if hee would send forces to protectt them, the Citties of those Prouinces would readily obey what hee commanded: Hee sent L. Cassius Longinus, with the legion of young souldiers, called the seu-en and twentieth, and two hundred horse, into Theffalia: and C. Calpurnius Sa-binus, with five cohorts, and a few horse, into Aetolia; exhorting them specially, to take a course for prouision of Corne in those two Prouinces, which lay neere at hand.

He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleuenth and the twelfth, and five hundred horse into Macedonia: of which Prouince (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, beeing sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great for-wardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Caluinus, vpon his comming, was enter-tained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, hauing cast the Garrison of the Enemy out of Caledone and Naupactum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Cassius arriued vwith the legion in Theffalia; and finding there two Factions, was ac-cordingly receiued, with contrary affections.

Egeſæſetus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a most noble house, endeauoured by all meanes, to deserue vuell of Cæsar. At the same time also, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadours began to come thicke vnto him, from diuers States of that Pro-uince, it was told him, that Scipio was at hand with the legions, and came with

great

great fame and opinion of all men: which is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouel-ties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vwithin twenty miles of him, turned his course suddainly, to Cassius Longinus, in Theffalia: which he did so speedilie, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the Riuer Haliac-mon (vvhich diuideth Macedonia from Theffalia) vwith eight cohorts, to keepe the cariages of the legions: vvhether hee commanded them to build a Fort.

At the same time, the Cavalrie of King Cottus, which was wont to keepe in the Confines of Theffalia, came flying suddainly to Cassius Campe: whereat, he beeing astonished (vnderstanding of Scipios comming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Theffalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, sent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, with-out Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receit of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his iourney, & leauing Cassius, made haste to help Fauonius: so that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was seene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discovered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius indu-stry did helpe Cassius, so did Scipio his speede saue Fauonius.

OBSERVATIONS.



Cæsar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed against Pom-pey; the first thing he did, was to make triall of the Prouinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and assistance, for his better fur-therance in contesting his Aduersarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselves, as they are able to resist any opposing force; and secondly, through the fauour of the Countrey, wherein they are engaged: so, on the other side, their ouer-throw either proceedeth fro their owne weakenesse; or otherwise, when the Prouinces adioyning, doe re-fuse such mutual respects, as may relieue the wants of a consuming multitude. And therefore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee sent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had bene settling for a yeere together, and then resolu'd to attack him neerer.

And doubtlesse, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their course, vp-on his comming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as easily got all Thef-falia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheless so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

In Macedonia,
quæ velint sibi
candida na ci,
ad Haliacmon
ducere, quæ ni-
gra et fusca ad
Axium.

CHAP. XIII.

The Passages between Domitius
and Scipio.

Scipio abode two daies in his standing Campe, vpon the Riuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as soone as it began to be light, he passed his Armie over the Riuer by a Foord, and incamped himselfe. The next day in the morning, he imbattled his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner, made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, resolving to fight. And whereas there lay a field of sixe miles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbattelled vnder Scipios Campe; who neuer thelesse refused to moue any iote from his standing: yet for all that, Domitius souldiers were hardly kept from giuing battell: but specially a Riuer, lying vnder Scipios Campe, with broken and vneasey bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, vnderstanding of their alacrity, and desire to fight; suspecting it might happen, that the next day he should be forced to fight against his will, or with great dishonour keepe himselfe within his Campe, hauing with great expectation in the beginning, gone on rashly, and vnadvisedly, was now dishonoured with a reproachfull end. For, in the night time he rose, without any noise or warning for the trussing vp of the baggage; and passing the Riuer, returned the same way he came: and in an eminent place, neere vnto the Riuer, he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambusment of horsemen in a place, where our men had formerly accustomed to forrage. And, as L. Varus, Generall of the horse in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary vse, they set vpon him at a suddaine: but our men did valiantly sustaine the on-set; and every man betaking himselfe speedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord, charged the Enemy: and hauing slaine foure-score, they put the rest to flight, with the losse onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.



It appeareth heere, that to shew a readines and resolution to fight, vpon such grounds as are iustifiable by the rules of Warre, is no small aduantage to the prosperous carriage of the same. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne strength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men: yet when he found such an alacritie in the Enemy, to giue and take blowes, and a desire to entertaine seriously all occasions of giuing battell; he was so farre from prosecuting what he had pretended, as hee rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreat, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinion had giuen to his Armie, to his owne reproach, and disaduantage: where-as on the other side, to bee found for the most part vnwilling to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth inuite an Enemy to attempt that, which otherwise hee would not; and giueth them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either to take or leaue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Ambusment. Young Pompeis attempt
vpon Oricum.

After these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee were in great want and scarcitie of Corne: and there-vpon, rising from the place wherein hee was incamped, with the vsuall cry of remoouing, according to the custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles, hee lodged all his Armie, with the Cavalrie, in a conuenient and secret place.

Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, sent his horsemen, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discover what way Domitius tooke: who, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambusment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselves discovered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reache, they contented themselves with them: amongst whom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke aliue, and brought them to Domitius.

Cesar, as is before shewed, hauing withdrawn the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies, which he had brought out of Italy; whereof Acilius the Legate had the charge, being left Governour of the town. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping, had drawn all the fleet into a back angle, behind the town, and there fastened them to the shore: and in the mouth of the Hauens, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpon which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauens from any suddaine attempt.

Vpon notice vwhereof, Pompei sonne, beeing Admirall of the Egyptian flete, came to Oricum, and with many haulfers and hookes, waied vp the sunk shippe, and assaulted the other shippe, set by Acilius for the defence of the Hauens, with shippes vwherein hee had made towres, which stood by counterpoize, that hee might fight with aduantage of height, supplying continually fresh men: and attempting also, as well from the Land side, to take the towne by scaling Ladders, as by Sea vwith his Nauie; to the end he might distract and dismember the forces vwithin.

In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of vveapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the shippe, hauing cast out such as had the guard: whosted all away vwith Skiffes and Boates. At the same time, beeing likewise seized of a small height, on the other side of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-insule, hee conuained ouer foure small Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; in somuch, as setting on each side vpon the Gallies tied vnto the shore, emptie & unfurnished, hee caried foure of them away, and burned the rest.

This beeing done, he left D. Lalius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian flete, to keepe the passage, that no victuals, or other prouisions, might be brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amaptia: and hee himselfe, going to Lissus, found thirty shippes of burthen, vvhich Antonius had left vwithin that Hauens, and set them all on fire. And as hee went about to take Lissus, the souldiers which Caesar had put there for a guarizon to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townsmen thereof, did so vwell defend the same, that after he had continued there three daies, and lost a few men in the siege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.



AN Ambushment is easily at all times laid: but to do it so that it may not bee suspected, and in such manner, that the Enemy may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be aymed at therein. And therefore, to giue the better colour to such designs, the tricke hath bene to pretend feare (and so flight) or want of Corne, or some-what else, to draw the Enemy to follow after, with more boldnesse and resolution. And so to haue it wel done, there must be two deceits to assist each other; as in this of Domitius, to make shew of removing, through scarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard; *Aun Traydor, dos Aleuofis*. For, the preuention of such snares of deceit, the rule is generally giuen by O-nosander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemy, is alwaies to bee suspected.

And for the more securitie therein, experienced Commaunders haue been carefull before they stirred their Armie, to make exact discouerie, euen to the place

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Physicke, it is the greatett part of the cure, to know the disease: so in matter of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceiued whence it may growe.

The manner obserued in discoueries, hath usually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, consisting of a small number, to beat the way at ease, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conuenient: the second Companie, beeing some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemy.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Zenophon. But this, being subiect to the consideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisdom of the Generall.

CHAP. XV.

Caesar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him
battaile; cutteth him off from
Dyrrachium.



AFTER Caesar understood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the way the towne of the Parthimians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey, in Macedonia, and lodged himselfe fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him battaile. But when he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee set forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off, from all Conuies and Munition, which was there stored up for the vvhole prouision of the warre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey beeing ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as he tooke a contrarie way, thought he had been driuen thence, through scarcitie and want of Corne. But, beeing afterwards aduertised by the discouersers vvhich course hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Caesar suspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And resting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium; euen as the first troope of Pompei's Armie was discouered as far off: and there incamped himselfe.

Pompey, beeing cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplishe his purposes, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferent passage to the shippes, and sheltered

sheltered likewise the Hauens from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the shippes to be brought, together with Corne, & prouision of victuall, from Asia, and such other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæsar, doubting that the warre would prove long and tedious, and despairing of any succour of victualls from the Coast of Italie, for that all the shore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the shipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were staied and came not to him, hee dispatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make prouision of Corne.

And forasmuch as those Regions were farre off, hee appointed store-houses and Magasins in certaine places, & imposed carriage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine soeuer should be found at Lissus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought vnto him: which was very little, forasmuch as the Countrey there-about, was rough and Mountainous, and afforded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as also, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had ranfacked the Parthinians, & caused his horsemen to carie away all the Graine, which was found amongst them.

OBSERVATIONS.



HE first thing that Cæsar did, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the best Arbitrator of the Cause in question, and most fitting the vsance of the auncient Romaines. But, forasmuch as the indeuours of such as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refused to accept thereof, knowing himselfe to be much stronger in forces, better accommodated, hauing a farre greater partie in the Country, and the Sea whollie at his command (which aduantages, were like to end the business, without hazard of a battaile) Cæsar bethought himselfe of some other project, which might take away the scorne of that refusal, by vndertaking such things, as much imported the state of his Aduersarie. For, in such cases, when an Enemie will not fight, some-what must be done, to cast dishonour, or greater inconueniences, vpon him; or at least, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a course, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherein all his prouisions of warre were stored vp; or other-wise, to cut him off from the same. The least of which, was a sufficient acquittance of any disgrace, which the neglect of this offer might seeme to inferre; Hauing thereby occasion to vse that of the Poet, *tam sumus ergo pares*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege Pompey.



Cæsar, beeing informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, which he first tooke from the very nature of the place wherein they were; for, where-as Pompeis Campe was inclosed about with many high and steepe Hilles, hee first tooke those Hilles, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to intclose Pompey about with a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, vpon these considerations; for that hee was greatly straightned through want of Corne, and that Pompey beeing strong in horse, hee might with lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with prouision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Cavalry vserviceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and weaken the exceeding great reputation, which Pompey had attained vnto amongst forraigne Nations, when it should be noised throughout the world, that hee was besieged by Cæsar, and durst not fight.

Pompey would by no means be drawne to leaue the commoditie of the Sea, and the towne of Dyrrachium, hauing there laid up all his prouision of warre, Armes, vveapons, Engines, of what sort soeuer; besides Corne, which was brought from thence to his Armie by shipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæsars fortifications, vnlesse hee would accept of battaile, which for that time he was resolued not to doe; onely it remained, as the last thing hee could thinke of, to possesse himselfe of as many Hilles as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, with good and strong guard: and by that meanes, to distract, as much as possible hee might, Cæsars forces, as accordingly it fell out. For, hauing made twentie foure Castles and Forts, hee tooke in twentie five miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be set and planted by hand, which in the Interim, serued as foode for horses.

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, least they had left some places to sallie out, and so would come vpon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their workes thus perfect, throughout the whole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, hauing also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

23.

And,

Cæsar.

And as Caesar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was resolved not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuerthelesse, hee sent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and stood in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the souldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or stiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

To conclude, either Party vsed all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Caesar, to shut vp and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to enlarge himselfe, and possesse as many hills as conueniently hee might; which gaue occasion of many skirmishes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere take notice, of the strangest enterprize, that euer was vnder takē by a iudicious souldier. For, where else may it be read or vnderstood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong aduersarie, and to inclose a whole Country by Castles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill; to the end he might shut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and restless in-deauours of a Romaine spirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne ends: and yet not besides the limits of reason. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vnlesse he raise himselfe aboue ordinary courses; it is more specially verified in a Souldier: whose honour, depending vpon the superlatiue degree, must seeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such inducements, as are heere allcaded; which shew good reason he had to be so madde.

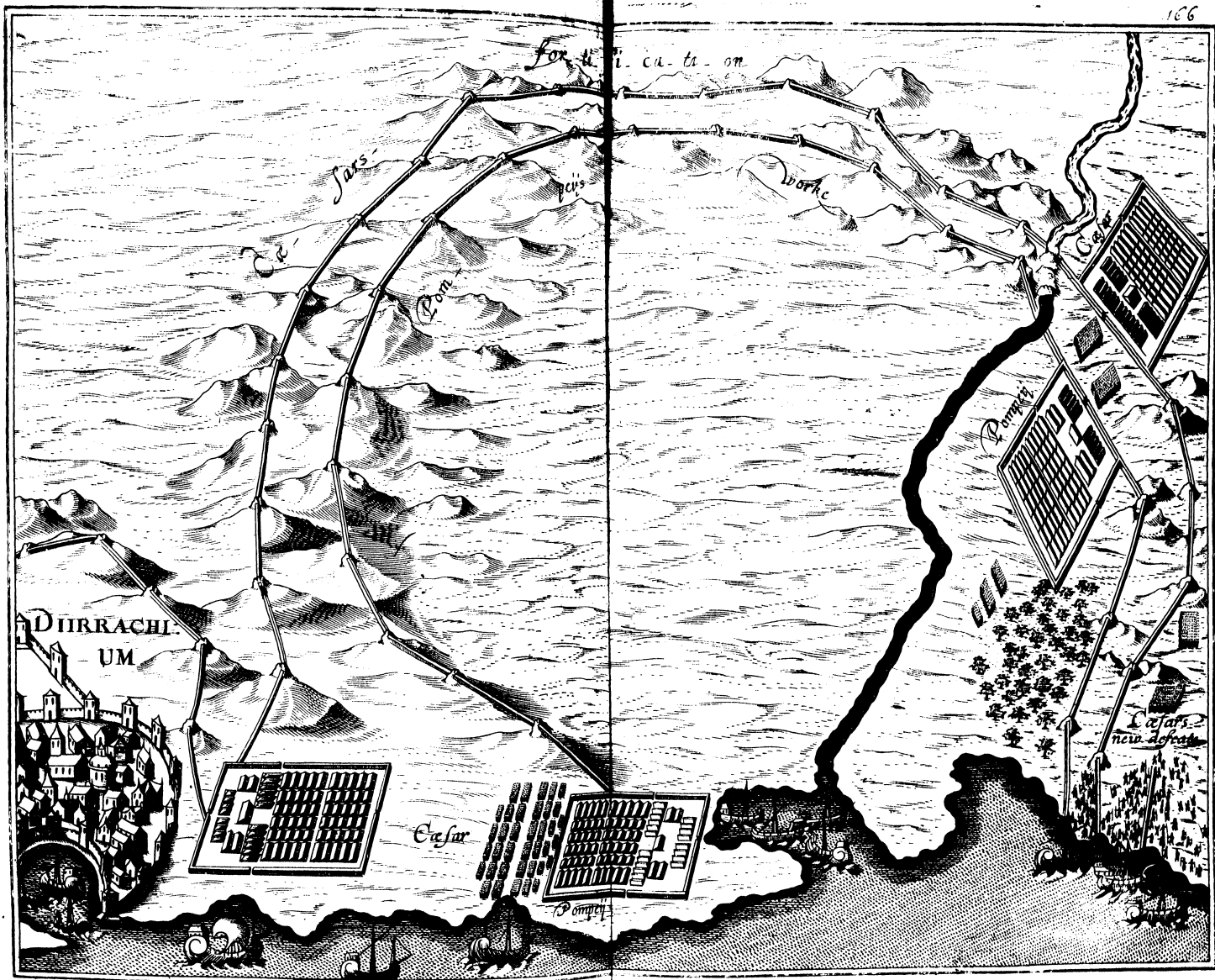
CHAP. XVII.

A Passage that happened betweene both Parties,
about the taking of a Place.



Amongst these fights and incounters, it happened, as Caesars ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had possesst himselfe of the Hill next adioyning there-vnto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one side an easie acceſſe vnto it; first with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe them in their busines. Neither were our men able, at one and the same time, to defend themselves, and goe on with their fortifications.

Caesar,



Caesar, seeing his souldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commanded them to fall off, and leaue the Place. But, forasmuch as they were to make their retraits downe the Hill, they did the more urge and preace upon them; & would not suffer them to fall backe, for that they seemed to forsake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey should then, in a vaine-glory, say to those that were about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no worth, if Caesars men could make any retraits from thence (where they were so rashly engaged) without great losse.

Caesar, fearing the retraits of his souldiers, caused Hurdles to be brought, and sette against the Enemy, in the brimme of the Hills; and behind them, sunke a trench of an indifferant latitude, and incomed the place as much as possibly hee could. Hee lodged also Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retraits.

These things beeing persited, hee caused the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompeies partie, beganne with greater boldnes and insolencie, to presse our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were set there as a Baricado, they passed ouer the ditch. Which when Caesar perceiued, fearing, least they should rather seeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater scandale might consequently ensue, hauing almost from the mid-way encouraged his men, by Antonius, who commanded that legion, hee willed that the signe of charging the Enemy should be giuen by a Trumpet, and gaue order to assault them.

The souldiers of the ninth legion, putting themselves suddainly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiously from the lower ground, up the steepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance vnto them in their retraits. It contented our men to leaue the place without losse: so that hauing slaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the losse of five of their fellowes. And hauing staied about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & persited the fortifications vpon them.

OBSERVATIONS.



*His Chapter sheweth, that aduantage of place, and some such industrious courses, as may be fitted to the occasion, are of great consequence in extremities of warre: but, aboue all, there is nothing more auailable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth so many Monsters: and verifieth that saying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum est, quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The scarcitie which either Partie endured
in this siege.

THE cariage of that warre was in a strange & vnusuall manner, as well in respect of the great number of Forts and Castles, containing such a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as also in regard of the whole siege, and of other consequents depending there-upon. For, whosoever goeth about to besiege an other, doth either take occasion from the weakenes of the Enemy, daunted, or stricken with feare, or ouercome in battaile, or otherwise being moued there-onto by some iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the stronger, both in horse and foote: and generally, the cause of almost all sieges, is to keepe an enemy from prouision of Corne. But Caesar, being then farre inferior in number of souldiers, did neuertheless besiege an Armie of intire and vntouched forces, especially at a time when they abounded with all necessary prouisions: for, euery day came great store of shipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from some part or other.

On the other side, Caesar, having spent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & scarcitie: and yet notwithstanding, the souldiers did beare it with singular patience; for, they remembered how they had suffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembered likewise, the exceeding great want they endured at Aleſia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they went away Conquerers of many great Nations. They refused neither Barlie nor Pease, when it was giuen them in stead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furnished with great store out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is also a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much relieue their want; & made with all, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to cast in their teeth their scarcitie and misery, they would commonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and scatter it in diuers places, to discourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it selfe did relieue their want, for that they trusted to haue plenty within a short time. And oftentimes the souldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall speeches, that they would rather eate the barked of trees, then suffer Pompey to escape out of their hands.

Besides, they understood, by such as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horse of service could scarce be kept alive; and that the rest of their Cattell were all dead: and that the souldiers themselves, were in no good health, through the narrowness of the place wherein they were pent: as also by means of the ill sauer

and

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continuall labour, being vnaccustomed to trauaile and paines; but especially, through the extreame want of water: For, all the Riuer and Brookes of that quarter, Caesar had either turned another way, or dammed up with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, with some intermission, and distinction of Valleys, in the forme and fashion of a Caue or Denne: so hee stopped the same with great piles beaten into the ground; and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then strengthened with earth, to keepe backe the water; Inſomuch, as they were constrained to seeke lowe grounds, and Marish places, and there to sinke Welles. Which labour, they were gladd to vnder-take besides their daily works, albeit these Welles stood farre distant from their Guarizons, and were quickly dried up with heat.

But Caesars Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of prouisions, excepting Wheate; which the season of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of store, Haruest being so neere at hand.

In this new course of warre, new policies and deuices of warfare were invented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiuing by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came stealing out, and discharged all their Arrowes upon them, and then presently retreated. Where-with, our men being warned, found out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



INASMUCH as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reasons heere expressed by Caesar, which are the true motives of vndertaking a siege. The first is drawn, either from the weakness of an Enemy, or as hee is daunted with feare, or ouer-come in battaile. For, having there-vpon no confidence in his owne power, doth rest himselfe in the strength of the Place, which he holdeth and possesseth: which giueth their aduersaries occasion, to lay siege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or shut them vp like women.

The second is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth losse) beyond that which stood with the course of respect formerly held betweene them. For reuenge whereof, the other side laicth siege to some of their Townes, to repaire themselves by taking-in the same.

And thirdly, the finall cause of all sieges, is to keep an Enemy from victuall, and other manner of prouisions; and so to take them by the belly; when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part so violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Mouſe: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius.

Plutarch.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing worthy our consideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæsars souldiers, in their so great wants and necessities; as first, in helping themselves, with this roote called Chara, described by Dioscorides, to be a little seed, tasting some what like Anis-seede, good to help digestion, and hauing such a roote as a Caret, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the same which our Physicians call Caraway-feed: where-with they serued their turne with such contentment, as they seemed to haue been trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make easie the difficulties of warre; beeing as necessary for a souldier, as the vse of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the aunswere of Cyrus, to shew the seruices in a souldiers diet. For, beeing demaunded, what he would haue made ready for supper? Bread; saith he; for, we will suppe at the Fountaine.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall looseness of the stomacks appetite, vpon any occasion: but, to vse the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the aunswere of them, that would excuse their liberall expences, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better payment, then they themselves would haue taken the excuse of their Cookes, for putting too much salt on their meat, because they had salt enough.

Cæsar punished his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his souldiers had. And Scipio cashiered a cupple of Romaines at the siege of Carthage, for feasting a friend in their Tent, during an assault. Which austeritie of life, raised the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maisters of the world, from the East to the Westerne Ocean.

Secondly, as a consequent of this contentment, we may note their resolution to hold on their course of siege, purposing rather to eare the bark of trees, then to suffer Pompey to escape their hands. It is an excellent point in a Generall, to keepe himselfe from irresolution; beeing a weakeness of ill consequence, and not vnlike the disease of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as constancie to purposes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

An instance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithstanding the reproach and scandall cast vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the sauing of his Country. And if it bee so well bebecoming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the souldier: especially considering that of Xenophon; *Non facile in officio potest miles contineri ab eo qui necessaria non subministrat.* For, as the same Author obserueth in another place, *Nullus est adeo fortis aut validus, qui possit aduersus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.*

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



AMongst all the parts of the Romaine discipline, their Watch deserueth a particular description; supplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the same. Polybius hath left it to posteritie in this manner; Of each sort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, and likewise of the horse, there was cholen one, out of the tenth and last Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came daile to the Tent of the Tribune, & there had giuen him a little Tablet, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tablet, they called *Tessera*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and so in order, vntill it came to the first and chiefeest Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne setting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquirie, and by the notes of inscription, finding which was misling, they punished the default as they saw cause. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was distinguished from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme so much) was by the Centurion giuen, to such of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pavilion. The Treasurer had three watches, and euery Legat, two; A watch consisting of foure men, according to the generall diuision of their night into foure parts: each of those foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the first, second, third, or fourth watch, and the rest sitting by. The *Volites* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Decuries* of horse at the gates: besides, euery Maniple had a priuate watch within it selfe.

Of those that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, such as were to keepe the first watch of the night: and to them were deliuered lesser Tablets, then were giuen our at first, called *Tesserule*, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himselfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The trust of going the Round, was committed to the horsemen: for, it belonged to the first Commaunder of horse, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commaunder to appoint Rounders for the night following. These horsemen, being thus appointed, did cast lots for the first, second, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches

ches to visit, hauing receiued the watch-word before, from their Commander: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primpile*, or chiefest Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of distinguishing the foure watches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time serued, for him that was to goe the Round the first watch, hee went out accompanied with some of his friends, and visited those watches which were assigned vnto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him sleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witnesse thereof, and departed. The same did the rest of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in course. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed: which beeing knowne, the Centurion was called, and commaunded to bring those that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witnesses: if not, it fell vpon himselfe; and a Councell of warre beeing presently called, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounters, that happened
betweene both Parties.

IN the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Caesar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to commaund the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to succour the Cohort: at whose approach, Pompeys partie was easily beaten off, beeing neither able to indure the shooke, nor sight of our men. For, the first beeing put off, the rest gaue backe, and

left the place: but as our men pursued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not suffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee would haue pressed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commaundeth in Chiefe: the one, doing nothing but by order and prescription; and the other, disposing euery thing as hee shall thinke fit.

Sylla (in Caesars absence) hauing freed his men, was content there-vith, & would no further engage them in fight (which might happely proue subiect to ill fortune) least he should seeme to assume, vnto himselfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There were certaine things that made the retreat of Pompeis men very difficult and hazardous. For, hauing ascended from a bottom to a

Hill,

Hill, they now found themselves vpon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreat downe againe, they stood in feare of our men, preacing on the from the higher ground, neither was it farre from sunne-setting; for, hoping to end it speedily, they drew out the busines vntill it was almost night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a resolution from the time, and to possesse himselfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of shot. There hee made a stand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the same time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to separate and distract our troopes, assaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be succoured from the next Guarizons. In one place, Volcatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, sustained the assault of a Legion, & made them forsake the place. In another part, the Germanes falling out of our works, slew many of the Enemy, & returned back to their fellows in safetie. So that in one day, there were sixe severall fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account beeing taken, there were found slaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thousand; with many Centurions, and other speciall men, called out to that vvarre. Amongst whom, was Valerius Flaccus, the sonne of L. who, beeing Prator, had obtained the Prouince of Asia: besides, there were sixe Ensignes taken. Our Partie, lost not above twentie men in all those fights; howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt.

Four Centurions of one Cohort lost their eyes; and, for argument of their indeauour, and great danger, they made report to Caesar, of thirtie thousand Arrows shot into the fort, together with a Target of one Sana, a Centurion, which was shewed vnto him, beeing pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Caesar (as hauing well deserued of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with sixe hundred pound sterling; and aduanced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefest Centurion, or *Primpile* of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes specially, the fort was saued. For, the Cohort, hee doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour.

Pompey, hauing wrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finished, he added mantlets to that part of the Campe. And after five daies, hauing gotte a darke night (shutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them up) in the beginning of the third watch, hee drew out his Armie in silence, and betooke himselfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.



HHe breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nymphes, and dooth much blemish the beautie of this Discourse: But, for as-much as it is a losse which cannot bee repaired, wee must rest contented with the vse of that which remaineth.

R.

Our

Enocati.

Millibus ducentis
in aris.

Primpilus.

is a
part of
istorie in
place o-
d.

Caesar.

Sunt Lega-
ter, aliqui
pratoris.

Out of which, we may obserue the notice they tooke of well deseruing: according to the institution of their discipline, supported specially by *Premium* and *Pæna*. The recognition whereof (according to the iudgement of the grauest Law-giues) is the meanes to raise a State to the height of perfection. *Enim impendi laborem et periculum, unde emolumentū et bonos speratur*. The Romaines, faith Polybius, crowned the valour of their souldiers with eternall honours. Neither did any thing so much excite them to the atchieuement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Ensignes of publique renowne: which Cæsar specially obserued about the rest. For, besides this which he did to Calsius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of these warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a souldier, that caried himselfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leauiug his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Salust hath made in this kind, is too generally obserued, that it more importeth a Common-weale to punish an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous desire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes vnufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon necessity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, should first kill the beast, as Hercules did: but, to kill a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not so auailable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, obserued in that gouernement, which is the true Idea of Perfection: *En la casa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni sera, merito sin premio, ni colpa sin pena*.

CHAP. XX.

Cæsar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.



*A*etolia, Acarnania, & Amphiloelis, being taken by Calsius Longinus, and Caluissius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæsar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that course: vvhetherupon he sent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Calsius, with his Cohorts. Their comming being bruited abroad, Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Isthmus, to keepe out Eufius. Calenus in the meane time, with the fauour and assent of the States, tooke in Delphos, Thebes, & Oricleomenum, besides some other places, which he tooke by force. The rest of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cæsars party, by Embassages sent about vnto them. & therein was Eufius occupied for the present. Cæsar, euery day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to see if Pompey would accept of battell; in so much as he led them vnder Pompeis Camp, the wayward being within shot of the Rampier, Pompey, to hold the fame & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, & so imbattelled them before his Camp, that their rere-ward did touch the

Rampier;

Rampier; and the vvhole Armie was so disposed, that euery man was vnder the protection of such weapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were dooing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Cæsar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one whom Scipio had formerly so commended to Cæsar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neereft fauourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that he had vsed all meanes for peace, and yet had preuailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of such as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey there-of in an vnseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that he might not onely deliuer freely what he thought fitting, but might also (in some sort) restrain him, and reforme his error. For, being Commander in chiefe, ouer an Armie; besides his credit, he had strength to compell him. Which, if he did, euery man would attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Prouinces, and the safetie & preservation of the Empire, to him onely. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the first daies, was well heard: but afterwards, could not be admitted to speech; Faunus, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards we vnderstood vpon the ending of the war: vvhetherby he was forced to returne to Cæsar, without effecting any thing.

Cæsar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe in Pompeis Caultrie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage; fortified and shutte vp two passages (vvhich, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, vnderstanding that his horseme did no good abroad, within a few daies, conuayed them within his fortification by shipping. Howbeit, they were in extreame necessity, and want of forrage: in so much, as hauing beaten off all the leanes of the trees, they fed their horses with young Reedes, brused, and beaten in peeces. For, they had spent the Corne which was sowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattell, from Corcyra and Acarnania, by long & tedious navigation; and where it fell short, they made it up with Barly, and so kept life in their horses: but afterwards, when-as not onely their Barly, and other food was spent in all places, & the grasse & hearbs dried up, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses beeing so leane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

Et morsu spoli-
are nemus, le-
thumque minan-
tes, vellere ab ig-
notis dubiae ra-
dicibus herbas.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may seem a cunning trick of Cæsar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauor with faire pretences, to ingage Scipio so far in contriuing a Peace, as being Generall of an Armie, he might assume vnto himselfe a commanding authority; and there-vpon, bred such a iea- lousie, as would keepe Pompey and him asunder.

Neuerthelesse, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make ouertures of peace how soeuer: especially considering, how it changeth the relation in the

R 2.

con-

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere obserue the sinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commaunders in the Romaine Armie, by the scandall these two Sauoiens ranne into, for making false Musters, and defrauding the souldiers of their due: A matter so ordinarie in these our times, as custome seemeth to iustifie the Abuse. For, what more common in the course of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by mustering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the souldier to their own benefit: The first wherof, if it be duellie weighed, is an offence of a high nature against the State; and the second, such an iniurie to the souldier, as can hardly be answered.

It is merilie (as I take it) said by Collumella, That, in foro concessum latrocinium. But, for those to whom is committed the safetie of a kingdom, to betray the trust reposed in them, by raising their meanes with dead payes, & consequently, steading the Cause with dead seruice; as also, by disabling their Companions & fellow-souldiers, from doing those duties which are requisite, for want of due entertainment, is a thing deseruing a heauie censure, & will doubtlesse fall out vnto them, as it did to these two Bretheren: The sequell whereof, will appeare by the storie, and confirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinquunt impiet et nefaria hominum facta.*

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæsars
Partie to great losse.

Pompey, beeing informed of these things, and hauing formerly resolved to breake out, as is already declared, gaue order to the souldiers, to make them couerings for their Morions, of Osiers, and to get some store of Bauins and Fagots: which beeing prepared, hee shipped a great number of the light-armed souldiers, and Archers, together with those fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threescore Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and sent them to that part of the fortification which was next vnto the Sea, and furthest off from Cæsars greatest Campe. Thither also he sent the shippes before mentioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together with as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue directions how euery man should imploy himselfe.

Cæsar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treasurer, with the Legion newly imrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for that he was sickly, and of an ill disposition of body, had substituted Fulnius Posthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of fifteene foote deepe, and a Rampier against the Enemy, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about sixe hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, vwith the front the contrary way, but some-what lower then the former. For, some few daies before, Cæsar (feearing that place, lest our men should bee circumvented with their shippes) had caused double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they should bee put to their shifts, they might neuerthelesse make good resistance. But the greatnes of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications beeing caried eightene miles in circuit, would not suffer them to finish it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea-shore, to ioine these two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by these two Sauoiens, & brought great damage and losse to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard vpon the Sea; suddainely, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; vvhich seemed very strange vnto our men: and instantly there-vpon, the souldiers from a shipboard, assaulted with their vveapons, the inner Rampier; and the rest began to fill vp the Trench.

The legiary souldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuse the Enemy with weapons, and Engines of all sorts; and a great number of Archers were thronged together on each side. But, the couerings of Osiers which they ware on their head-peecces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of stones, vvhich was the onely weapon our men had for that purpose. And as our men were ouer-laid with all these things, and did hardly make resistance, they found-out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and so driuing them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarum beeing heard, Marcellinus sent certaine Cohorts to succour our men: who seeing them flie, could neither reasssure them by their coming, nor withstand the furie of the Enemy themselves: insomuch, as what reliefe so-euer was sent, was distracted by the feare and astonishment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retreat was hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer beeing grievously wounded, and fainting for want of strength, looking towards the horsemen; This haue I, said he, in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the same fidelitie doe restore it vnto Cæsar: suffer not (I pray you) such a dishonour, the like whereof, neuer happened in Cæsars Armie, but returne it vnto him in safetie: by vvhich accident, the Eagle was saved; all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, but the first of the Maniple of the Principes: and now the Enemy, with great slaughter of our men, approached nere Marcellinus Campe.

The rest of the Cohorts beeing greatly astonished, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was seene to come downe from the upper ground, with twelue Cohorts. Vpon whose coming, Pompeis Partie was

was repressed and staied, and our men some-what reassured, giuing them time to come againe to themselves, out of that astonishment. And not long after, Caesar hauing knowledge thereof by smock made out of the Forts, according to the vse of former time, came thither also, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarizons.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old saying, that Thieues handfell is alwaies naught. But, Traytors handfell is much worse: as appeareth by the falling away of these two Sauoiens; who were the first that left Caesar in this war, and the first that brought Pompey good fortune: themselves standing culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the course wherof, we may see plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be still attempting vpon an Enemy, so it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for, while Pompey stood vpon the defensive ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Caesar. And doubtlesse, he that obserueth Caesars proceedings in the carriage of all his wars, shall find his fortune to haue specially growne, from his actiue and attempting spirit.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may see verified, that which Paternulus affirmeth of Mithridates, That a valiant spirit is sometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

For these titles of degrees, as *Principes* prior, and the rest here mentioned, hauing formerly discoursed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their discipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumbast out a volume with distastefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Caesar purposeth to alter the course of Warre;
attempteth to cut off one of Pompeys Legions.



Caesar, vnderstanding of the losse, and perceiuing that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the Sea, in such sort as he might freely goe out to forrage, & haue no lesse acceffe with shipping then formerly hee had; changing his course of warre, which had not succeeded to his expectation, he incamped himselfe fast by Pompey. The works beeing perfected, it was obserued by Caesars Discoverers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Campe.

Campe. The site of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Caesars ninth Legion, opposing themselves against Pompeys forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning vnto a wood, and not distant from the sea above foure hundred pases. Afterwards, Caesar, changing his mind for some certaine causes, transferred his lodging some-what further off from that place. A few daies after the same Campe was possessed by Pompey. And forasmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier standing, hee enlarged the fortification, so that the lesser Campe beeing included in the greater, serued as a Castle or Citadell to the same. Besides also, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, foure hundred pases out-right, to a Riuer, to the end the souldiers might vwater freely, without danger. And he also changing his mind, for some causes not requisite to be mentioned, left the place too: so that the Campe stood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the first.

The Discoverers brought newes to Caesar, that they had scene an Ensigne of a Legion caried thither. The same was likewise confirmed, from certaine Forts which stood vpon the higher grounds. The place was distant from Pompeis Campe, about D. pases. Caesar, hoping to cut off this legion, and desirous to repaire that daies losse, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a shew of fortifying, and he himselfe (by a contrarie way, in as couert a manner as he could) leade the rest of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongst whom was the ninth legion, that had lost many Centurions, and was very weake in souldiers) towards Pompeys legion, and the lesser Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet assaulting it speedily with the left Cornet, wherein he himselfe was, hee draue Pompeys souldiers from the Rampier. There stood a * Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occasion of resistance for a while: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whose meanes C. Antonius Armie was betrayed, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there most valiantly: yet neuerthelesse, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting vp the Turne-pick, entered first into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and slew manie that resisted, of the legion that was forced thither.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and specially in warre, doth in a small moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Caesars right Cornet, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier which went along from the Campe to the Riuer, seeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it ioyned to the Riuer, they presently got ouer it, no man resisting them; and all the Cavalrie followed after those Cohorts.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.



*sem-
radu.
a.
gotia
pe-
rin-
st.
ania
repta-
tione
sola
pagi-
Plin.
7.*

Pompey, hauing cleared his Armie of that siege, it bootied not Cæsar to prosecute his purpose any longer: for, when the end is missed, for which any course is vndertaken, it were folly to seeke it by that means. We must rather chuse new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which sorted to no effect. And yet neuerthelesse, the sufficiency of the Generall, is no way disabled: for, Albeit a wise man doth not alwaies keep one pale, yet still he holdeth one and the same way.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wisdom of the heathen world ascribed all to Fortune, as the sole cause of all Markable euents; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the course of things: *Clades in bello acceptæ, non semper ignauia, sed aliquando Fortuna temeritatibus imputanda*, saith Archidamus; and is that which is ayimed at by Cæsar.

CHAP. XXIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæsar loseth.



In the meane while, Pompey, after so long a respite of time, hauing notice thereof, tooke the first Legion from their works, and brought them to succour their fellowes: and at the same time, his Cavalry did approach neere our horsemen; and our men that possessed the Campe, did discover an Army imbat- telled comming against them: and all things were suddainlie changed. For, Pompeys legion, assured with a speedy hope of succour, began to make resistance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cæsars Cavalry, being got over the Rampier, into a narrow passage, fearing how they might retreat in safetie, beganne to flie away. The right Cornet, seluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiving the terrour of the horsemen (least they might be indangered within the fortifications) betooke themselves to the other side, from whence they came: and most of them (least they should be surprised in the straites) cast themselves ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and such as first got ouer, being troden under-foote, by such as followed after, the rest, sawed themselves, in passing ouer their bodies.

The souldiers of the left Cornet, perceiuing from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne side fledde away, fearing least they should be shut up in those straights, hauing the Enemy both without and within them, thought

thought it their best course to returne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: inso much, as when Cæsar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that fledde, and commaunded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, forsaking their horses, kept on their course: neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding, in this so great a calamity and mishap, these helps sel out to relieue vs; that Pompey fearing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men flie out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neere the fortifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, did hinder the horsemen from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the River (Pompeys Campe being already taken) was the onely hindrance of Cæsars expedite and easie victory: and the same thing, hindering the speedy following of their horsemen, was the onely safetie and help of our men.

In those two fights, there were wanting of Cæsars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felginas, Titicannus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agranius, of Puteolis, Sacrativirius, of Capua, five Tribunes of the souldiers, and thirtie Centurions. But the greatest part of these perished in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the River banks, prest to death with the feare and flight of their fellowes, without any blowe or wound giuen them. There were lost at that time, thirtie two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, upon that fight, was saluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be stiled: howbeit, he used it not in any of his Misuiues, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, hauing begged all the Captiues, caused them (for greater ostentation) to bee brought out in publique; and to giue the more assurance to such as were fledde there, from Cæsars partie, calling them by the name of fellow souldiers, in great derision asked them whether old souldiers were wont to flie? and so caused them all to be slaine.

Pompeys partie tooke such an assurance and spirit upon these things, that they thought no further of the course of vvar, but carried themselves as though they were already Victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disadvantage of the place, and the straightnesse thereof, the Campe being possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in such sort as neither of them were able to help or succour the other. Neither yet did they adde to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant Incounter, or in forme of battell, but that they received more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of vvarre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of suddaine feare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie losses; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

bune, the Armie is misordered: but as though they had overcome by true force of their prowess; that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sometimes we may thinke to repaire a losse, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the saying be common, that A man must seek his coate where he lost it, as Dicere do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in seeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humane affaires, beeing caried round in a course, doth not suffer happinesse to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mylene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing else but going vp and downe. The life of a souldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either sexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happinesse of Aduersitie, and Mischances of Good-happe; as if the Cause of all causes, by intermixing sweet with sower, would lead vs to his Providence, and consequently to himselfe, the first Mover of all Motions.

The diuersitie of these euent is so chained together, as one seemeth to haue relation to the other: for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plainnes of Asia, without rub or counterbuffle. But the busines was disposed, heere to receiue a blowe, & there to gaine a victory: And so, this losse at Dyrrachium, made the battell at Pharsalia the more glorious; and beautified the course of this vvarre, with variety of chances. The best vse of these Disasters, is that which Cressus made of his crosse fortunes, *Mei casus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere disciplina.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



As the Mathematicks, by reason of their certaintie, doe admitte demonstration, as well from the conclusion to the principles, as from the principles to the conclusion: so, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to assigne the precedent causes, by the sequell; the euent, beeing oftentimes an vnderstanding Iudge of things that are past. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the cause of Labienus leauing Cæsar, yet his insolent carriage towards these Captiues, may make at least a probable coniecture, that his revolt proceeded from his owne disposition, rather then from any cause on Cæsars behalfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he will neuer cease heaping one wrong after another, and all to iustifie his first errour: Where-as on the other side, a noble spirit, free from ill desert, will demean himselfe, answerable to his first innocencie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæsar speaketh to the Souldiers concerning this mishap, and forsaketh the Place.



Cæsar, beeing driuen from his former purposes, resolved to change the whole course of the warre; so that at one & the same time omitting the siege, and withdrawing the Garri- zons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there spake vnto the souldiers: exhorting them not to thinke much at those things that had happened, nor to be amuged there- with; but to counterpoise this losse (which was in a mediocritie) with manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Prainces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and directed by skilfull and practised Commanders; that they also had subdued the fertile bordering Prouinces: and likewise, that they should remember, with what facilitie they were all transported in safetie through the midst of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coast be- ing full of shipping.

If all things fell not out prosperously, Fortune was subee helped by their in- dustrie. The losse which was received, might bee attributed to any man rather then vnto him: for, he had given them a secure place to fight in; had possesse him- selfe of the Enemies Campe; driuen them out, and overcome them in fight. But whether it were their feare, or any other errour, or Fortune herselfe, that would interrupt a victorie already gained, euery man was now to labour to re- paire the damage they had sustained, with their valour: which if they did in- deauour, hee would turne their losse into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Gergonia; that such as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, of- fer themselves to battell.

Having ended his speech, hee displaced some Ensigne-bearers. The Armie, there-vpon, conceiued such a griefe of the blowe that was given them, and such a desire they had to repaire their dishonour, that no man needed the command either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest desire of fighting: in somuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requisite to continue in the place, and reserre the cause to a battell. But contrariwise, Cæsar was not assured of the terrified souldiers, and thought it expedient be- sides, to interpose some time for the settling of their minds; fearing likewise, lest he should be straitened through scarcity of Corne, vpon the leauing of his fortifi- cations. And therefore, without any further delay, giuing order for such as were wounded

S.

Cæsar.

The Philoso- pher Crator, was wont to say, that To be no occasion of an ill hap, is a great comfort in any manner of aduersity. Plut. in conso. Apo.

Innomia na- tauit.

vvounded and sicke; as soone as it was night, hee conuained all the cariages secretly out of the Campe, and sent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding them to rest untill they came to their lodging; & sent one legion wishall to conuoy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the rest, beeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee sent them the same way. And after a little pause (for the obseruing of Military order, and to the end his speedy departure might not be discovered) he commaunded them to take up the cry of trussing up their baggage; and presently setting forward, ouertooke the former troope, and so went speedily out of the sight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpose, made no delay to follow after: but aiming at the same things, either to take them incombred in their march, or assailed with feare, brought forth his Armie, and sent his horsemen before, to stay the Reareward. But Caesar went with so speedy a march, that he could not ouertake them, untill hee came to the Riuier Genusus; where, by reason of the high and vneasey bankes, the Cavaltrie ouertooke the taile of the Armie, and engaged them in fight. Amongst whom, Caesar opposed his horsemen, and intermingled with them foure hundred expedite souldiers, of them that had place before the Ensignes: who so much preuailed in the encounter, that they draue them all away before them, slew many of them, and returned themselves in safetie to their troopes.

Caesar, hauing made a iust daies march, according to his first determination, and brought his Armie ouer the Riuier Genusus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer-against Asparagus, and kept all the souldiers within the Rampier, commaunding the horse that went out to forrage, to be presently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Let it that of Caro be true, that an Errour in fight is not capable of amendment: yet out of that which happeneth amiss, may alwaies be some-what gathered, to repaire the disadvantage, and to dispose a Partie to better carriage for the future. Accordingly we may note Caesars notable temper and demonstration, after so great a losse; recalling the courage of his souldiers, & setting their minds in a course of good resolution, with as many valuable reasons as humane wilddom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experience & vlc of Armes, or their assuredness after so many victories, or what other thing soeuer, that made the excell all other Armies, had beene vterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better furtherance wherein, he thought it fit to vse the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is said of grieffe, If reason wil not giue an

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end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderstood of any other passion of the mind: which cannot possible be so great, but time will consume it.

*Finem dolendi,
qui consilio non
fecerit, tempore
inuenit. Senec.
Epist. 64.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He second thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Caesars retreat; beeing as exquisite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any storie: and is the rather to be considered, so far as much as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and woorthiest the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occasions, to make a safe and sure retreat. For, those that can doe nothing else, can easily put themselves into a varre: but, to returne them home againe in safetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the causes, that may moue a Commaunder to dislodge himselfe, and to leaue his Aduersarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it safely depend specially vpon these two points; The one is, to aduance himselfe onward at first, as farre as possibly he can, to the end he may get the start, before the enemy be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell against King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thousand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thousand horse, that preaced hard vpon them, for fuch hundred leagues together. Which retreat is exactlie storied by the said Author, in seauen bookes containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongst which, we find this passage.

It much imported vs, saith hee, to goe as farre at first as possible we could; to the end wee might haue some aduantage of space before the Enemy, that preaced so neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-strip them for a daies iourney or two, it was not possible for them to ouertake vs; so far as much as they durst not follow vs with a small troope, & with great forces they could neuer reach vs: besides the scarcitie and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that consumed all before them.

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Caesar ordered his retreat: for, he got the start of Pompey so farre the first day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noon, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouertake him.

The second thing for the assuring of a retreat is, So to provide against the incommerances of an Enemy, that hee may not find it easie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreats which may any way be taken from example of Beasts, that of the Wolfe is most commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduersaries; and shewes such teeth, as are not to be trusted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Caesar: for, howsoeuer the body of his Armie retreated one way, yet they turned so terrible a countenance towards the Enemy, as was not to be indured. And vpon these two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreat.

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Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it shall not bee impertinent to adde heere-vnto some inuentions, practiced by great Commanders, which may serue to amuse an Enemy, while a Generall doth prepare himselfe to obserue the former points.

King Philip of Macedon, desirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, sent a Herald to the Confull, to demand a cessation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purposed to performe the next day, with some care and solemnitie. Which beeing obtained, hee dislodged himselfe secretlie thar night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Hannibal, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commanded by the Confull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which stood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Pauillions and Lodgings, with some few Numidians, to shew themselves vpon the Rampier, hee departed secretlie towards Puroolis. As soone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their custome) approaching the Counterscarpe, the Numidians shewed themselves; and then suddainely made after their fellowes, as fast as their horses could carry them. The Confull, finding a great silence in the Campe, sent two Light-horsmen to diseouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vitica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie secretly into the Towne.

Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off short; the better to couer his departure, made shew of making greater provision of forrage then hee was accustomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great store of fires in his Campe; and then in the night escaped away.

The Persians, in the voiage which Solyman the Turke made against them, in the yeere one thousand five hundred fiftie foure, beeing driuen to a Place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, set them all on fire, in the passage of the Turkes Armie: which burned so furiously, as the Persian escaped before the Enemy could passe by the fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar goeth-on in his retraits: Pompey
ceaseth to follow him.

(..)



In like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for that the souldiers were not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the woorkes were whole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get wood, and to seeke forrage. Others, rising hastily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the neereneffe of the last nights lodging, left their Armes, and went backe to fetch those things that were behind. In somuch, as Cæsar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceiued how it would fall out) about high noone gaue vvarning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee went from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of his souldiers.

The next day, Cæsar, hauing in like manner sent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there were any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be ready with the whole Armie. The like hee did the daies following: by which it happened, that in his passage ouer great Riuers, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, hee received no detriment or losse at all. For, Pompey being staied the first day, and afterwards strining in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not overtaking vs, the fourth day gaue ouer following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cæsar, as well for the accommodating of his wounded men, as also for paying the Armie, reassembling his Allies and Confederates, & leauing Guarizons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For, fearing least Domitius should beeingaged by Pompeys arriual, hee desired to make towards him with all possible celeritie: his whole purpose and resolution, insisting vpon these reasons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee should by that meanes draw him from the Sea-side, and from such provisions of warre as hee had stored up at Dyrrachium: and so should compell him to vnder-take the warre, vpon equall conditions. If hee went ouer into Italia, hauing ioyned his Armie with Domitius, hee would goe to succour Italie by the way of Illyricum. But, if hee should goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exclude him from all the Sea-coast, he would then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

S 3.

And

Cæsar.

Observations vpon the third

And therefore, hauing writ and sent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leauing foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Lissus, and three at Oricum, and disposing such as were weake through their wounds, in Epirus and Acarnania) he set forward.

OBSERVATIONS.



Onfetto iusto itinere eius diei, saith the storie. Which giueth occasion to inquire, how far this iust daies iourney extended. Lippius saith, it was twentie-foure miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; *Militari gradu* (saith he) *viginti millia passuum horis quinque; duntaxat assinis consicienda; pleno autem gradu qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor*; vnderstanding *iustum iter*, to bee so much as was measured *militari gradu*. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, shall easilie perceiue the impossibilitie of marching ordinarie twentie-foure miles a day. Besides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, first, hee saith that hee made a iust daies iourney: and then againe, rising about noone, doubled that daies iourney, and went eight miles. Which shewes, that their *iustum iter* was about eight mile: and so sureth the slowe conueiance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lippius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey hasteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth of the ouerthrowe.



Pompey also, coniecturing at Caesars purpose, thought it requisite for him to hasten to Scipio, that he might succour him if Caesar should chaunce to intend that way: but if it so fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-shore, and Coreyra, as expecting the legions and Cavalrie to come out of Italie, he would then attack Domitius. For, these causes, both of them made haste, as well to assist their Parties, as to surprize their enemies, if occasion were offered: but Caesar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia; whereas Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there happened an other inconuenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodged hard by Scipios Campe, was now departed from thence, to make provision of Corne, vnto Heraclea Sentica, which is subiect to Caudania; as though Fortune would haue thrust him vpon Pompey. Moreouer, Pompey had writ to all the States and Provinces, of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it selfe was: and had noised it abroad, that Caesar was beaten, had lost all his forces, and fled away.

Which

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Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Caesars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing sent, both from Caesar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Caesar, were forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbeit, some of the followers of Roscellus and Aegus (who as is before shewed, had fled vnto Pompey) meeting on the way vwith Domitius Discoverers (whether it were out of their old acquaintance, hauing liued together in the vvarres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all vwhat had happened; not omitting Caesars departure, or Pompeis comming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) auoide a most eminent danger, and met with Caesar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the frontiers of Thessalia.

OBSERVATIONS.



Oy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie so wide, as it letteth out the soule: which returneth not again. And in like manner, the causes of all such exultations, doe for the most part, spread themselues further then is requisite.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaster of humane actions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, rising in the course thereof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the event shall censure it. Wherevpon, the Ruffes haue a saying in such cases, that Hee, that laughs afterward, laughs too: as Caesar did.

Humanarū actionum felicitas non ē singularibus rerum particulis qua multa sunt et varia, sed ex euentu iudicantur. Dionys. Hal. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Caesar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.



Caesar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gomphos, which is the first towne of Thessalia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadours to Caesar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; requiring also a Guarixon of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium: which was made so great, and so preuailed vwith them, that Androsthenes, Prator of Thessalia (choysing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Caesar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of seruants and children out of the Countrey, into the towne; and shutting up the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pompey, for succour to be sent vnto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long siege. Scipio, vnderstanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium, had

Obseruations vpon the third

had brought the legions to Larissa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theffalia.

Caesar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantlets, Ladders, and Hurdles to be made ready for a surprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the souldiers, and shewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their wants, and supplying of all necessaries) to possesse the felues, of an opulent and full towne; as also by their example, to terrifie the other Cities: and what they did, to doe speedily, before it could be succoured. Where-vpon, by the singular industrie of the souldiers, the same day he came thither, giving the assault after the ninth houre (notwithstanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before sunne-setting, and gaue it to the souldiers to bee rifled: And presently remoouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in such sort, as he out-went as well Messengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

The Metropolitans, induced with the same respects, at first shutte up their gates, and filled their valls with Armed men: but afterwards, vnderstanding by the Captines (whom Caesar caused to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they presently opened their gates; and by that meanes ouere all preserued in safetie. Which happense of theirs, beeing compared with the desolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theffalia (excepting them of Larissa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yielded obedience to Caesar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotte a place plentiful of Corne, which was now almost ripe, he resolved to attend Pompeis comming; and there to prosecute the residue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Line faith, that the siege of that Place which we would quicklie take, must be prosecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Caesar obserued: for, he followed it so hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres space, or thereabouts, after he beganne to assault it. Which, Plutarch saith, was so plentifully stored of all necessarie prouision, that the souldiers found there a refection of all the miseries and wants they suffered at Dyrrachium: in so much as they seemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage, by reason of the vine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex: inter omnes homines perpetua est, quando belligerantium vrbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum esse qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in vrbe sunt et bona.*

Appian saith, the Germanes were so drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had surpris'd them in these disorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainment. Hee addeth moreover (to shew the stiffenesse of the inhabitants against Caesar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Personages, stiffe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee, that

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gaue the poison, sitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the rest. And as Philip, hauing taken Acrolisse, in the Country of the Ictitians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their vsage: so the consideration of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Caesar, brought all the other Cities, vnder his commaund.

Polyb. lib. 8.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Theffalia: his Armie conceiued assured hope of victorie.



Pompey, a few daies after, came into Theffalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios souldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vse a Pratoriall Pauillion.

Caesar.

Pompey, hauing strengthened himselfe, with an addition of another great Armie, euery man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie was increased: so that the longer they delaied the matter, the more they seemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded slowlie and deliberately in the busines, yet it was but a daies worke, howsoeuer hee might be well pleased with authoritie and commaund; and to vse men both of Consular dignitie, and of the Pratorian order, as his vassalls and seruants.

And now they began to dispute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out those, which from yeere to yeere were to be chosen Consuls. Others begged the houses and goods of such as were with Caesar. Besides, a great controuersie that further grew betwene them in open counsell, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prators, beeing absent, and imploied by Pompey against the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promise giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceiued through his greatnesse & authoritie; the rest, running a course of as great danger and labour, saw no reason (by way of contradiction) why one man should bee respected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spinther Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Caesars Priesthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of ostentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vannting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, trusting to Pompeis alliance. Moreover, Atilius Rufus accused L. Affranus to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L.

Domitius

Observations vpon the third

and brought the legions to Larissa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere into Thessalia.

Cæsar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantlets, Ladders, and ordles to be made ready for a surprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the souldiers, and shewed them what need there was (for the relieving of their wants, and supplying of all necessaries) to possesse theselues, of an opunt and full towne; as also by their example, to terrifie the other Citties: and that they did, to doe speedily, before it could be succoured. Where-upon, by the regular industrie of the souldiers, the same day he came thither, giuing the assault after the ninth houre (notwithstanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before sunne-setting, and gaue it to the souldiers to bee rided: And presently remouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in such sort, as hee out-went as well Messengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

The Metropolitans, inducd with the same respects, at first shutte up their gates, and filled their valls with Armed men: but afterwards, vnderstanding by the Captiues (whom Cæsar caused to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they presently opened their gates; and by that meanes were all preserued in safetie. Which happinesse of theirs, beeing compared with the consolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Thessalia (excepting them of Larissa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yielded obedience to Cæsar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotte a place plentiful of corne, which was now almost ripe, hee resolved to attend Pompeis comming; and here to prosecute the residue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Little faith, that the siege of that Place which we would quicklie take, must be prosecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Cæsar obserued: for, he followed it so hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres space, or thereabouts, after he beganne to assault it. Which, Plutarch saith, was so plentifully stored of all necessarie prouision, that the souldiers found here a refection of all the miseries and wants they suffered at Dyrrachium: inasmuch as they seemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reason of the wine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua est, quando belligerantium vrbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum esse qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in vrbe sunt et bona.*

Appian saith, the Germanes were so drunke, that they made all men laugh them: and, that if Pompey had surpris'd them in these disorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainment. Hee addeth moreover (to shew the infirmesse of the inhabitants against Cæsar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Personages, stiffe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them; and hee, that gaue

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gaue the poison, sitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the rest. And as Philip, hauing taken Acrolisse, in the Country of the Ictirians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their vsage: so the consolation of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good increate which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Cæsar, brought all the other Citties, vnder his commaund.

Polyb. lib. 8.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Thessalia: his Armie conceiued assured hope of victorie.



Pompey, a few daies after, came into Thessalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios souldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vse a Pratoriall Pauillion.

Cæsar.

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Domitius gaue out in councell, That all such as were of the rank of Senators, should be inquired-vpon by a triple Commission: and that those which were personally in the warre, should be of the Commission to iudge the rest; as well such as were at Rome, as those that did no service in this warre. The first Commission, should be to cleare such as had well-deserved, from all danger. The second, small: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, every man laboured, either to haue a reward, or to bee auenged of his Enemy. Neither did they thinke so much of the meanes how to overcome, as how to vse the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commissioners of Lewis the eleuenth, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betwene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to sell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fitted these of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and disposed of the skinnes ere they had rooke the Beares: Not sparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of spinning out the warre, for the sweetnesse he found in authoritie & command; as Agamemnon did at Troy. (somuch, as Plutarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos severity & freenes of speech, went about throughout all the Campe, demanding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humour of one man, should keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thululum? And all men, generally, stood so affected, as Pompey could not with-stand their enforcements. For, as Florus saith; *Milites otium, socii morā, principes ambitum Ducis increpabant.* Onely Cato thought it not fitt, to hazard himself vpon a desperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in most things besides, so in this he stood alone, and could not reuaile against a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Placere sibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij, saith the storie; which Tabellas, I haue translated Commissions, as best fitting our English phrase: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by historie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magistrates, as in causes criminall, did giue their voices openly & loud, for sixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinus, a Tribune of the people, perceiuing that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durst not dispose of their voices freely, and as they would, published an Ediēt, that the people should giue their voices by Balating. Which law, Tully commendeth; *Grata est tabella qua frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quod velint faciant.* And in another place, hee calleth it *Principiū iustissimā*

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iustissima libertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the balls were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that every man might chuse as he pleased.

In criminall Causes, every man had three: one marked with A. signifying Absolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N.L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, desirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expresse by an *Ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quitted or condemned. The balls which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V.R. which signified *Vti rogas*, that it might goe on: and the other with A. signifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Festus noteth, *Antiquare est in modum pristinum reducere.*

And in this manner they would haue proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, beeing altogether mistaken, in the assurance of their happines: the continuance whereof, depended vpon Vertue, and not vpon Fortune.

Virtus felicitatis mensura: non fortuna. Dio. Halicar. lib. 2.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an indifferent Place, prepareth to vndertake him.



Promission of Corne beeing made, and the souldiers well resolved to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium Cæsar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled his troopes, first, vpon the place, and some-what remooued from Pompeis Campe: but every day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie vnder the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: which made his Armie daily the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen, who because they were lesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commanded certaine lusty young men, chosen out of them that stood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the vse of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Cavalrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, vndergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrified vwith the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate encounter, and slew one of the two Sauoians, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, hauing his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Cæsar to thrust himselfe into an vnequall and disadvantageous place. Cæsar, thinking that Pompey would by no meanes be drawne

Cæsar.

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rawne to battell, thought it the fitteft courfe for him to fhift his Campe, and to e alwaies in moouing: hoping by often remooues from place to place, he (ould e better accommodated for promifion of Corne; and withall, might vpon a march, nd fome occafion to fight. Befides, hee fhould wearie Pompeis Armie, not accu- omed to trauell, with daily and continuall iourneys: and there-vpon, he gaue he figne of diflodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obferued, that Pom- eis Armie was aduanced fomewhat further from their Trenches, then ordi- narily they were accuftomed; fo that it feemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Wherevpon, Cafar, when his troopes were already in the gates etting out; It behoueth vs, faith he, to put off our remouing for the prefent, and bethinke our felues of fighting, as we haue alwaies defired; for, we fhall not eafily hereafter find the like occafion: and prefently drew out his forces. Pompey alfo, as it was afterwards knowne, was refolued (at the inftance of all that were about him) to giue battell; for, hee had giuen out in counsell fome few daies be- fore, that he would ouerthrowe Cafars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne battell.

And, as many that flood by wondered at it, I know, faith he, that I promife al- moft an incredible matter: but take the ground whereupon I fpeake it, that you may vndergoe the bufinefs with more affurance. I haue perfwaded the Cavalrie, and they haue promifed to accomplifh it, that whē they come neere to ioyne, they fhall attack Cafars right Corner on the open fide; and fo the Army being circum- uented behind, fhall be amufed and routed, before our men can caft a vweapon at them. Whereby, we fhall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or al- moft without any wound receiued: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are fo ftrong in horfe; and withall, gaue order that they fhould be ready a- gainft the next day, for as much as the occafion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deceiue the opinion which other men had of their prowefle and valour.

Labienus, feconding this fpeech, as contemning Cafars forces, extolled Pom- peis refolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, faith he, that this is the Ar- mie vvhether-with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was prefent my felfe at all thofe battells, and doe not fpeake rafhly vvhāt I am ignorant off. There is a very fmall peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as can- not otherwife be chofen, in fo many battells. The Peftilence (the laft Autumne) in Italy confumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Coherts which are now at Bründifium, are made and raifed of fuch as remained behind there to recouer their healthes? Thefe forces that ye fee, were the laft yeere gathered, of the Mufters made in the hither Gallia; and moft of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and ftrength of them, was taken away in the laft two ouerthrowes at Dy- rarchium.

When he had fspoken thefe things, he tooke a folemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the reft to doe the like. Pompey, com- mending him, tooke the fame oath: neither was there any man that refused it. Thefe

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Thefe things beeing thus caried in the counsell, they rofe vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as hauing already conceived victory in their minds: and theratber, becaufe they thought that nothing could be fspoken vain- lie, by fo skilfull a Commander, in fo weightie and important a Caufe.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the fafhion of the Caultrie, in which either Partie repofed fo much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two forts of horfemen; the one compleatlie armed (accord- ing to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whole entertainment, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Aequo impotens postulatū fuit* (faith Liuiē) *vt de stipendio equi- tum* (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) *ara demerentur*. And the other, were as light-horfemen, which they called *Alarj*.

Lib. 7.

The firft fort were thus armed, as Iosephus witneffeth; They wore a fword on their right fide, fomewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long flaffe or fpeare in their hand, a Target at their horfe fide, and three or more Darts in a quier, with broad heads, and not much leffe then their ftauē; ha- uing fuch head-peecees and corfelets as the foote-men had.

Lib. 3. Euclid.

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doubtleffe, their chiefest feruice was with their cafting weapons. And accord- ingly, Tully putteth his fonne in mind, of the praife hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commanded a wing of horfe); *Equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando*.

2. Offu.

And, as their feruice confifted in breaking their Stauē vpon an Enemy, & in cafting their Darts; fo wee exercise the practice of the former, in our tri- umphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their *Tocuo di cane*.

Our moderne horfemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do difcharge at a diftance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their reft: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe fome-what to purpofe, doe come vp clofe one to another, and difcharge his Piftoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the corfe- let, about the flanke or feate of a man; and commonly miffeth not.

I haue feene a deuice to vfe a Muskēt on horfe-backe, which if it prouoe as feruiceable as is by fome conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

T.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.



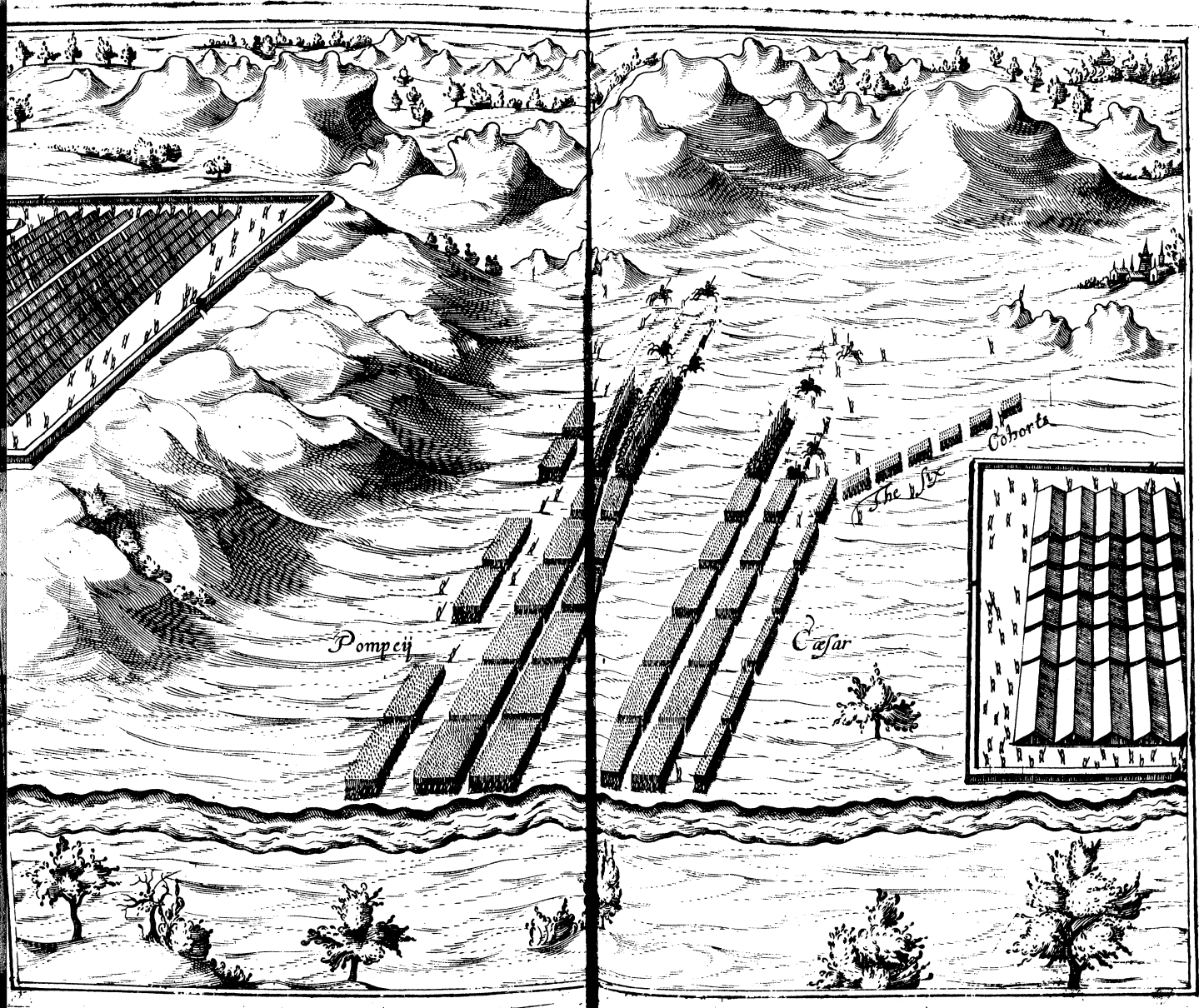
AS Caesar approached neere onto Pompeis Campe, hee obserued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of these broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Caesar; whereof one was called the first, & the other the third; and with them stood Pompey. Scipio had the middle Squadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spanisb Cohorts, which Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. These Pompey held to be very strong. The rest of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron, and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, which amounted to fiftie-five thousand men: besides two thousand old souldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and disperfed them ouer all the Armie. The rest of the cohorts, which were seauen, he had left in the Campe, or disposed about the forts neere adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a Riuier, that had high & cumbersome banks: and thereupon he put all his Cavalrie, together with the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

Caesar, obseruing his former custome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he so ioyned the eight, that he seemed almost to make one of two, and commaunded them to succour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himselfe opposite to Pompey. And withall, having well obserued these things (according as I haue formerly declared) fearing least the right Cornet should be inclosed about with the multitude of the Cavalrie, he speedily drew sixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to incounter the horsemen: and shewed them what hee would haue done; admonishing withall, that the victorie of that day consisted in the valour of those cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewise the whole Armie not to ioyne battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would giue them notice thereof by an Ensigne.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the vse of vuarre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and specially, that they themselves were witnesses, with what labour and meanes he had sought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as also by employing Claudius to Scipio: and likewise how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embassadors might be sent to treat of these things. Neither was he willing at any time to misspend the souldiers blood, or to deprive the Common-wealth of either of those Armies.

This



This speech beeing deliuered, the souldiers, both requiring and longing with an ardent desire to fight; hee commanded the signe of battell to be giuen by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.



Concerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the trial of this Cause, it appeareth by the storie, that Pompey set two Legions in his left Corner, which are heere named the first and the third. Howbeit, Lucan saith, that those Legions were the first and the fourth.

— *Cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum primâ, quæ tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur.* —

The middle Squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought out of Syria, which were also two; *Expectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas*, as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Corner, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Corner equall to the rest. And so of these fixe Legions, which were the strength and sinowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Corners. His other forces, beeing young souldiers, hee disposed in the distances, betweene the Corners and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, saith; *Legiones secundum virtutem, firmissimas in medio, et in cornu locauit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus suppleuit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-five thousand; but Plutarch maketh them not aboue fortie-five thousand.

Cæsar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Corner he put the tenth Legion; and in the left the ninth and the eight; beeing both weake and farre spent, by the former ouer-throws. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it seemeth they filled vp the distances betweene the Corners and the bodie of the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the prerogatiue of their valour, tooke the place of the Corners, and the middle bulke of the battell. And fearing least his right Corner should be circumuented, by the multitude of their Cavalrie, hee drew fixe Cohorts out of his third or last battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Cavalrie: which gotte him the victorie. For, howsoeuer the Text saith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit*: yet Plutarch saith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were fixe, and amounted to three thousand men: which riseth to the number of so many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing herevnto, saith, that his fourth battell consisted of three thousand men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out fixe Cohorts, *et tenuit in subsidio, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum*: Wherevnto that of Lucan agreeth;

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.

T 2.

Which

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Singulas Cohortes detraxit.

Lib. 2. ca. 3.

Lib. 7.



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Which is thus to be vnderstood: that they turned their faces towards the left Corner of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receiue the Casualtie comming on to inclose Cæsars right wing; as beeing sure of the other side, which was fenced with a Riuer and a Marsh.

Touching Cæsars Speech to the souldiers, it seemed like that of Themistocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Persians, and lost the day: Themistocles spake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-soeuer; one thing is not to be omitted, that Plutarch, and such others as haue dipped their pennes, either in the sweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæsar had not about twentie thousand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæsar ouercommeth.



Here was one Crastinus, in Cæsars Armie, called out to this warre, who the yeere before had ledde the first companie of the tenth Legion; a man of singular valour: who vpon the signe of battell giuen, Follow me, saith he, as many of you as were of my companie; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor, which you haue alwaies bene willing to performe.

This is the onely battell remaining unfought: which beeing ended, He shall be re-ored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And withall, looking towards Cæsar, I will, saith hee, O Emperour, so carry my selfe this day, that thou shalt giue mee thanks, either aline or dead. And when he had thus spoken, he was the first that ranne out of the right Corner: & about one hundred and twentie elected souldiers of the same Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There was so much space left betweene both the battells, as might serue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Cæsars assault, and to vnder-goe the shock of his Armie, without moving from the place wherein they stood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the first running out & violence of the souldiers being broken, & the battell disordered, they that stood perfit in their Orders, might set vpon the first that were scattered & dispersed; hoping, the piles would not fall so forceable vpon the Armie standing still, as when they aduanced forward to meet them: And that it would fall out withall, that Cæsars souldiers, hauing twice as farre to runne, would by that meanes be out of breath, and spent with wea-ri-ness.

Which, in my opinion, was against all reason: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacritie of spirit, naturally planted in euery man, which is inflamed with a desire to fight. Neither should anie Commander repress or restrain the same, but rather increase it, and set it forward.

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Nor was it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets should euerie where sound, and euery man take up a shout; but that they thought these things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our souldiers, vpon the signe of Battell, running out with their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiving that Pompeis souldiers did not make out to meet them (as men taught with long vse, and exercised in former fights) stoppt their course of their owne accord, & almost in the mid-way stood still; that they might not come to blowes vpon the spending of their strength: And after a little respite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and presently drew their swords, as Cæsar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis souldiers wanting in this business; for, they receiued the piles which were cast at them, tooke the shock of the Legions, kept their ranks, cast their piles, and betooke them to their swords.

At the same time, the Cavalrie, according as was commaunded them, issued out from Pompeis left Corner, & the whole multitude of Archers thrust themselves out. Whose assault our horsemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they stood: whereby Pompeis horsemen, beganne to presse them with more eagernes; and to put themselves in squadrons, to inclose the Army about. Which Cæsar perceiving, he gaue the signe of aduancing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; who came with such a sling vpon Pompeis horsemen, that none of them were able to stand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place, but fledde all as fast as they could, to the highest Hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, beeing left naked without succour, were all put to the sword. And with the same violence, those Cohorts compassed about the left Corner, notwithstanding any resistance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, vpon their backs.

At the same time, Cæsar commaunded the third Battell, which as yet stood still, and were not remooued, to aduance forward: by meanes of which fresh and sound men, relieuing such as were faint and wearie, as also, that others did charge them behind vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither was Cæsar deceiued in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie would growe from those Cohorts which hee placed in the fourth Battell, against the horsemen; according as hee himselfe had openly spoken, in his encouragement to the souldiers. For, by them, first the Cavalrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers were slaine; by them, Pompeis Battell was circumented on the left Corner, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As soone as Pompey saw his Cavalrie beaten, and perceiued the part where-in hee most trusted, to bee amused and affrighted, and distrusting the rest, hee forth-with left the Battell, and conuaid himselfe on horseback into the Camp. And speaking to the Centurions that had the watch at the Pratorian gate with a loud voice, as all the souldiers might heare, said, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to prevent any hard casualltie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to settle the Guards of the Campe.

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And hauing thus faid, hee went into the Pratorium, diftrusting the maine int, and yet expecting the euent.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Pompey fo caried himfelfe in the courfe of this warre, as he rather feemed a fufferer then a dooer; neuer difpofing his Armie for any attempt or on-fer, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was befieged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall, his fouldiers fhould fuffer and fuftaine the affault, rather then otherwife. But, whether hee did well or no, hath fince been in queftion. Cæfar vtterly difliked it, as a thing contrary to reafon. *Eft quædam, faith he, animi incitatio atque acritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, qua studio pugna incenditur; hanc non reprimere fed augere Imperatores debent.*

Agreeable wherevnto, is that of Caro the Great; that In cafes of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpofe it is requifite, to put the fouldiers (at fome reasonable diftance) into a Pofterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terrour; and then to fpring forward in fuch manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wriftlers, before they buckle, ftretch out their limbes, and make their florifhes as may beft ferue to affure themfelues, and difcourage their aduerfaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

*Ille Cleonæi proiecit terga Leonis,
Antæus libici, perfudit membra liquore
Hofpes, Olympiæa feruato more Paleſtræ.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas.*

Howbeit, fo far as all men are not of one temper, but require feuerall fafhions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee fhall find feuerall Nations, to haue feuerall vfances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæfar) were of auncient time accuftomed to found Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and shout: whereby the fouldiers (in their vnderftanding) were encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted. Where-as, contrariwife, the Greekes went alwaies with a clofe and flient mouth, as hauing more to doe then to fay to their Enemies. And, Thucydides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) faith, that Inſteed of Trumpets; and Cornets to incite them, they vfed the fweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their paſſions, leaft they fhould be transported with bridleſs impetuofity.

It is reported, that Marshall Biron, the Father, ſeemed to diflike of our Engliſh march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too ſlowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it to fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then answered)

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(wered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howlocuer, the euent of this battell is fufficient to difproue Pompeis error heerein, and to make good what Cælar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Thefe fixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did fo encounter Pompeis Caualrie, that they were not able to withftand them. It is faid, that Cæfar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold the in their hands like a Pike or a lauelin, and make onely at the faces of thoſe Gallants, & men at Armes on horſeback. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not vnderftand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Caualrie, Florus faith, that Cæfar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very pathetickall, and effectual for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, caſt right at the face; Where-as Pompey called to his Men, to ſpare their fellow Cittizens.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeth the ſame thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan ſeemeth to auerre the ſame; concerning that of Cæſar;

Aduerſoque iubet ferro contundere vultus.

Lib. 7.

Frontinus hath it thus; *C. Cæſar, cum in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitū Romanorum eſſet manus, eaque armorum ſcientia milites conficeret, ora oculoque eorum gladijs peti iuſſit, et ſic aduerſam faciem cadere coegit.*

Lib. 4. cap. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Amongſt theſe memorialls, Craſtinus may not be forgotten, being the firſt man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth C. Craſſinus; and faith, that Cælar ſeeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the ſucceſſe of the battell? Craſtinus, ſtretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cælar, thine is the victorie; and this day ſhalt thou commend mee, either aliu or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongſt the midt of his Enemies; with manſe that followed him, made a great ſlaughter. At laſt, one ranne him into the mouth, that the ſwords point came out at his neck, and ſo ſlew him.

In the life of Pompey.

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæſar railed from the ex-tearmie of his wants, and the diſgrace of his former loſſes, to the chiefeſt height of earthly glory: And heerein might well aſſume, vnto himſelfe, that which was formerly ſaid of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, ſed ſemper in malis maior reſurrexit*; Together with that of Plutarch, *Reſ inuiſa Romanorum*

Florus.

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omanorum arma. Lucan speaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, saith; He newed a great deale of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Craſtinus, hee lieth a heauie dooſme.

Dij tibi non mortem, quæ cunctis pœna paratur, sed sensum post fata tua dent
raſtine morti. Cuius torta manu commiſit lancea bellum, primaque Theſſali-
m Romano ſanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and taketh the Campe.

Pompeis ſouldiers beeing thus forced to ſlie into their Campe, Cæſar, thinking it expedient to giue them no time of reſpite, exhorted the Armie to uſe the benefit of Fortune, and to aſſault the Campe: who, notwithstanding the extreame heate (for the buſineſs was drawne out vntill it was high noone) were willing to vnder-goe any labour, and to yeeld obedience to his commandements. The Campe was induſtriously defended, by the Courts that had the guard thereof; but much more ſtoutly by the Thracians, and her ſuccours of Barbarous people. For, ſuch ſouldiers as were ſledd thither of the battell, were ſo terrified in mind, and ſpent with wearineſſe, that moſt of them (hauing laid aſide their Armes, and Military Enſignes) did rather thinke how they might beſt eſcape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which ſtood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of vœuſes; but fainting with wounds, forooke the place: and preſently ſledd into the high Mountaines adioyning vnto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the ſouldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupbords of plate, furniſhed & ſet out; and their Tents ſtrewed with ſoft hearbes and ruſhes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with Iuie, & any other ſuperfluities, diſcouering their extreame luxurie and aſſurance of Fortune. Whereby it was eaſily to be conceined, that they nothing feared the end of that day; being ſo carefull of ſuch vneceſſary delights. And yet for this, they vbraided Cæſars patient and miſerable Army, with riot and exceſſe: to whom there were alwaies wanting ſuch requiſites, as were expedient for their neceſſary vſes.

Pompey, when as our men were come within the Campe, hauing got a horſe, and caſt away all Enſignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Lariffa, as faſt as his horſe could cary him. Neither did hee ſtay there: but with the ſame ſpeede (hauing got a few followers that eſcaped by night) poſting night & day, came at length to the Sea-side, with a troope of thirty horſe; and there went aboard a ſhip of burthen: complaining that his opinion

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onely deceived him; beeing (as it were) betrayed, by ſuch as beganne firſt to ſue: from vvhom hee hoped chiefly to haue had victorie.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere-as it is ſaid, that a dilatorie courſe is very profitable and ſafe; wee are to vnderſtand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embaſſadour, to temporize in things which are preſented hard vpon him; as beeing accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraction is oftentimes the interrupter of abſolute victorie, and the onely ſupplanter of that which is deſired. *Vincere ſcis Haniball, ſed victoria vti neſciſ* was a common by-word, and happened then well for the ſtate of Rome. But now it fell out otherwiſe; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpoſe.

For, notwithstanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue ſeemed ſufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occaſion paſſe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceaſed, vntill he had forced the Campe, and over-taken thoſe that eſcaped the battell: and ſo made victorie ſure vnto him, by driuing the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vſitie vſe for his word or Motto, they call it, *Μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀλόγιστος*, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar beſieged thoſe that were eſcaped into the Hills.



Cæſar, hauing got the Campe, inſtantly required the ſouldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let ſlippe the meanes of ending the reſt of their buſineſs: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to incloſe the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, diſtruſting the place, for that the Hill had no water, left it at an inſtant. And all thoſe that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Lariffa. Which Cæſar obſeruing, diuided his forces, and commanded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he ſent back into his owne: leading foure Legions along with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and hauing gone ſix miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they perceiving, betooke themſelues vnto a high Hill, vnder which ranne a River.

Cæſar, perſwaded the ſouldiers, albeit they were ſpent with continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much,

Prilius tota res dilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non cōmittunt legatiſſi-remes aut loca, aut legiones, aut arces: ſed verba et tempora. De- moſt. de falſa iudicatione.

1 Labor in negotio, 2 fortitudo in periculo, 3 induſtria in agendo, 4 celeritas in officiando, were Cæſars properties.

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off the Riner from the Hill by a fortification, to keepe them from watering the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commissioners to t of conditions of yielding themselves. Some few of the Senators escaped in night-time away by flight.

Caesar, as soone as it was day, caused them all to come downe from the Hill in the Plaine, & there to cast away their Armes: which they performed without fall: And casting themselves vpon the earth, their hands spread abroad, with ding of many teares, desired mercie. Caesar, comforting them, commaunded should stand vp: and hauing spoken somewhat touching his clemencie, a little to ease them of their feare, he gaue them all their liues with safetie; commanding the souldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they should want any thing that was theirs.

These things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee caused other Legions meet him from the Campe, sending those he had with him to rest themselves: the same day came to Larissa. In that battaile, hee lost not about two hundred souldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee lost thirtie. And Crastinus, fighting valiantly, was slaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) his sword thrust into the face. Neither was that false which hee said as hee went to the battell: for, Caesar was perswaded, that Crastinus behaved himself admirably in that fight, and did deserue as well of him as a man possibly could.

There were slaine of Pompeis Armie, about fiftene thousand: howbeit, there e of them that yielded themselves, about twentie-foure thousand. For, such ports as were in the Forts, did likewise yield themselves to Sylla: and manie de into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Ensignes, there were eight out of the battell to Caesar, one hundred and fourescore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for want of strength, was slaine by the horsemen.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus we see the issue of that battaile, and the victory which Caesar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were slaine twentie-three M. of the enemy, and as manie taken, by rendering themselves, with the losse of two hundred souldiers, and thirty Centurions; amongst who was Crastinus: whose death obliged Caesar to make this honourable mention of his valour. as it is obserued by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Non Deus quispiam se ducere, pro salute omnium qui certamen ineunt, sponsores sistit: nec ea conditione periculum accepimus, ut omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex nostris amisso.*

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CHAP. XXXV.

Laelius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at Brundisium: and Cassius fireth Caesars shippes at Messine.

(..)



About the same time, D. Laelius came with his Nauie to Brundisium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the land in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Patinius, Gouverneur of Brundisium, hauing furnished and sent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Laelius ships, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further shot out with two lesser shippes into the Straights of the Port: & also had disposed his Canallry along the shore, to keep the Mariners from fetching water. But Laelius, hauing the time of the yeere more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie with water from Corfew and Dyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his designe, nor be driuen out of the Port, or from the land, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, untill hee heard of the battell in Thessalia.

About the same time also, Cassius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia. And, where-as Caesars ships were diuided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Prator, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Messana; Cassius came first to Messana, and was arriued before Pomponius heard of his coming: by which meanes, he surprised him, distracted, and much amused, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the shippes of burthen, with Rosin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing: and sending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the shippes, beeing in number thirtie-five; amongst which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes whereof, they conceiued such a terrour, that albeit there was a legion in Guarrizon at Messana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Messengers comming post, brought newes at the same instant of Caesars victory, most men thought the Towne would haue bene lost: but the newes comming so opportunely, the town was kept.

Cassius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the shippes beeing brought to shore, were there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Cassius, finding the wind good, sent in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire hauing taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, five of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the wind, the souldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shipping, and were

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the number of them that were sicke, did not indure the dishonour: but got aboard of their owne accord, put the shippes from the shore; and setting vp- Casius fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which was Casius himselfe: hee, being taken out, with a Shiffe fledde away. And furthermore, they tooke Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Thessa- so that Pompeis-party beliened it; for, before that time, it was thought to be a thing giuen out by Casars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Casius departed with his Nauie, and left those places.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE branches of a Tree doe receiue life from the stocke, and the stock is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a-sunder, there remaineth no life for stock or bough, lease or branch. Accord- ingly it happened with this large-sped Partie; the roote whereof s then in Thessalia: and beeing broken a-sunder by the violence of Casars ces, it booted not what Lælius did at Brundisium, or Casius, either at ssana, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and fortune of the battaile ouer-swaied other pettie losses whatsoeuer; beeing so wrefull, in the opinion of the world, *Vt quæ se fortuna, eodem etiam fauor innum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan saith, *Rapimur, quod cuncta feruntur.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæsar pursueth Pompey: who is slaine in Egypt.

Cæsar, setting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to pursue Pompey, into what parts soeuer hee should betake himselfe, least he should raise new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward euery day, as farre as his Cavalrie was able to goe; commaunding one Legion to follow after by lesser iourneis. There was a publi- tion made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Prouince, well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, should come to bee inrolled for the war. It is not possible to discouer, whether Pompey did it to take away all cause of spicion, that he might the longer hide his purpose of flying away, or whether went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after m. Howsoeuer, he himselfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his auncient Hosts and Friends, hee tooke so much money of them, as would de- ay his necessarie charges: and vnderstanding of Casars comming, within a few ies he arriued at Aditylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule vweather: and

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and there, reinforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he vvent into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee vnderstood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Cittizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell was already taken to keepe him out: and that Messengers were sent about, to those that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties, for- bidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they should hazard it with the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, vvhoto the yeere be- fore was Consul; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignity: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came vnto the land, were neither receiued into the Towne, nor into the Hauens; but were commanded, by Messengers sent vnto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor against their will: and now, the fame of Casars comming, was spreadde abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-vpon, Pompey, leauing off his purpose of going into Syria, hauing ta- ken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his priuate friends, and putting aboard great store of Brasse for the vse of vwarre; with eleuen thousand Armed men (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced vp, with Marchants, and such others of his followers, vvhom he thought fit for this busines) he came to Pelusium. There by chaunce was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe was not farre distant from his.

Pompey sent vnto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie he had with his Father, hee might be receiued into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him with his vvealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, hauing done their message, be- ganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinus receiued in Sy- ria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the vwarre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. These things being known, such as had the procuration of the kingdome, in the minoritie of the Boy, whe- ther they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, vvhetherby Pompey might easily seize vpon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of misery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did giue a good answere publicly to such as were sent, and willed him to come vnto the King: but, secretly plotting amongst themselves, sent Achilles, a chiefe Commaander, and a man of singular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tri- bune of the souldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he him- selfe also knowing Septimius to haue led a Company vnder him in the vwarre a- gainst the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was slaine, by Achilles and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus was apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in prison.

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THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IF it be now demanded, Where was Cæſars deſire of Peace? and Why hee purſued not a treatie of Compoſition, at this time when as his tale would haue been heard with gladneſſe, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquiſhed? The aunſwere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now paſt; and Cæſar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconcilment. The one was crept ſo high, and the other caſt downe ſo lowe, that they ſeemed not compatible in any *Medium*, although it were to the ſauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occaſion of theſe warres. For, Seneca ſaith; Hee had brought the Common-wealth to that paſſe, that it could not longer ſtand, but by the benefit of ſeruitude. And he that will looke into the reaſons of this conſuſion, ſhall find all thoſe *Cauſæ corruptentes*, which are noted by Ariſtotle to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the exceſſe of Pompeis exorbitancie: for, hauing nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-growne, firſt, with too much honour: ſecondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Cittizens; and ſo blemiſhed the beautie of that State, whoſe chiefſt graces were in a ſtate equalitie. And, adding to theſe the conuulſions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing no other hope, but in the conſuſion of Armes.

It is ſaid, that at his arriuall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cræpius, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongſt other remonſtrances, the Philoſopher made it plaine, that his courſe of gouernment, had brought a neceſſitie of changing that State, from the liberie of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iuſt Monarchie. And ſith it fell to Cæſars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the ſeizure, he may take the benefit of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Polio: That no Nation can ſhew a Man that is altogether blameleſſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Once concerning the ſtate of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon ſuch Provinces and kingdoms as were vnder their commaunds: amongſt whom one Ptolomeus, the ſonne of Lagus a Macedonian, ſeized vpon Egypt, where he reigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his ſucceſſors called by the name of Ptolomy. This firſt Ptolomy, poſſeſſed himſelfe of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 3640: which was 275 yeres before Pompeis overthrow. His ſon that ſucceeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated out of Ebrew into Greeke by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in theſe vvarres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in ſucceſſion from the firſt; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His

eldeſt

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eldeſt ſonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, reigned together ſixe yeres; but in the end, fell to ſtriſe and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arriued: but ſhortly after, Cæſar ſo ordered the differences; that hee ſette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill he came to play that tragical part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Province, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Concerning this miſerable end of Pompey, it is truly ſaid of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the ſame end. And, forasmuch as Plutarch hath deſcribed particularly the manner of this Cataſtrophe, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert his relation thereof.

When Pompey heard newes that king Prolomy was in the City of Peluſium with his Army, making warre againſt his ſiſter, hee went thither, and ſent a Meſſenger before, vnto the king, to aduertie him of his arriuall, and to intreat him to receiue him. King Prolomy was then but a young man, inſomuch, that one Photinus gouerned all the whole Realme vnder him. He aſſembled a Councell of the chiefſt & wiſeſt men of the Court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie, as it pleaſed him to giue them. They being aſſembled, he commanded euery man in the Kings name to ſay his mind, touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the King ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee Photinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoole-maſter, to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achilles, an Egyptian, to conſule among theſelues what they ſhould do with Pompey the great. Theſe were the chiefſt Councellors of al his Eunuches, & of thoſe that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue receiued him; the other alſo that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receiue him, we ſhall haue Cæſar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do denie him, on the other ſide, Pompey wil blame them for reſuſing him, & Cæſar for not keeping of him; therefore this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him. For, therby they ſhould win the good wil of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: & ſome ſay moreouer, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themſelues, gaue Achilles commiſſion to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion alſo, vvith three or ſoure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But, when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainment, & that it was not in Princely ſhew nor manner, nor nothing anſwerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher boat; they beganne then to miſtruſt the ſmall account that was made of them, and counſelled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the ſea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

V 2

In

*Mors omnium
par eſt: per qua
venit diuerſa
ſunt, id in quod
deſinit vnus eſt
Epiſt. 67.
Homines ſunt
pomi, aut matu-
ra cadunt, aut
acerba ruunt.
Plutar. in vita
Pompei.*

Obseruations vpon the third

In the meane time, the fisher-boat drew neer, and Septimius to, and saluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as so-
raigne Capitaine: and Achilles also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and
made him come into his boat: because that by the shore-side, there was a great
cale of mud, & sand banks, so that his Galley should haue no water to bring
im in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the Kings Gallies,
hich were arming with all speed possible, & all the shore besides, full of sou-
lers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds,
they could not haue told how to haue escaped: and furthermore, shewing that
they had mistrusted them, then they had giuen the murderer occasion to haue
xecuted his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented
his death before his end, hee commanded two Centurions to goe downe be-
fore him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his slaues enfranchised, with
norther slaues, called Seynes. When Achilles reached out his hand to receiue
im into his boat, he turned him to his wife and sonne; and said these verses of
Sophocles vnto them;

*The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage bee.*

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when hee left his owne
gally, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his
gally. When he saw neuer a man in the boat speak friendly vnto him, behold-
ing Septimius, he said vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I should know thee, for
that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head,
that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesie.

Pompey, seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his
hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King
Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the shore, Cornelia,
with her seruants and friends about her, stood vp in her ship, in great feare, to
see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many
of the Kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as
were to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand
to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through
with his sword: next vnto him also, Saluius & Achilles drew out their swords
in like manner: Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his
hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely sigh-
ing a little. Thus, being 59 yeeres old, hee ended his life the next day after the
ay of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their shippes, when they saw him murdered,
gave such a fearfull cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weying vp their
anchors with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, hauing wind at
will, that blew a lustie gale. As soone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the
Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past
their reach, and vnpossible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing
taken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miserable
spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him.

Philip,

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Philip his enfranchised bond-man, remained euer by it, vntill such time as
the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then, hauing washed his body with
salt water, & wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift
to lay it in, he fought vpon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fi-
shers boat, enough to serue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out.
As hee was busie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither
came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had serued vnder Pompey,
& said vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that preparest the funeralls of Pom-
pey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, enfranchised.
Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee
accompany thee in to deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to
haue dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery &
trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with
mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burie the onelic and
most famous Capitaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) com-
ming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore-side, and perceiued a fire made for fu-
neralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked
him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight fetching a great
sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and
was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long
after, Caesar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis
head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see
it: & abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murderer. Then, taking his
Ring where-with he sealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding
a sword, he burst out a weeping. Achilles and Photinus he put to death. King
Ptolomey himselfe also, being ouer-throwne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus,
vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, es-
caped Caesars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great misery, despi-
sed of euery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Caesar) conquering
Asia, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could
possibly devise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were af-
terwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia; who buried the in a towne of hers,
by the Citie of Alba.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth
exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further
disturbance; *Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas sacer esto.* Onely this may
be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey
Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of speciall Nobleness, to raise the
about the comon worth of men: so their ends made them euen with the lowest
of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Interualis distinguimur: exitu æ-
quamus.*

*Mors Natura
lex est. Mors tri-
butum officium-
que mortaliū.
Sene. natural.
quest. 6.
Fabius dictus
Maximus, Sci-
pio magnus. Pe-
lianus lib. 3.
Epist. 100.*

v 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the
Battell in Pharsalia: Caesar commeth
into Egypt.



Caesar, comming into Asia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus: and for that cause had called together all the Senators that were in the Prouince, that hee might vse them as witnesses in the matter; but, beeing interrupted by Caesars arriuall, hee fled away: so that two seuerall times, the money was saued at Ephesus by Caesars meanes. It was further found very cer-

taine, that in the Temple of Minerva at Elide (a iust calculation of the time beeing taken) the same day that Caesar ouer-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which stood before Minerva, & looked towards her portrature, did turne it selfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the same day likewise, there was such a noise of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and such sounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolomaida. And likewise at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called *aduxa*, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Priests, were belles heard to ring. Besides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (where they had consecrated an Image to Caesar) there was shewed a Palme-tree, which in those daies was growne from betweene the oynts of the stones, out of the pauement.

Caesar, staying a few daies in Asia, hearing that Pompey was scene at Cyprus, and coniecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correspondencie hee had with that Kingdome, besides other opportunities of the places he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commaunded to follow him out of Thessaly, and another which he had called out of Achaia, from Fusius a Legate, together with eight hundred horse, ten Gallies of Rhodes, and a few ships of Asia. In these Legions, were not above three thousand two hundred men; the rest, were either wounded in the fights, or spent with trauell, and the length of the journey: but Caesar, trusting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with these weak forces, thinking euery place would entertaine him with safetie.

At Alexandria hee vnderstood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the shippe, he heard a clamour of the souldiers, which the King had left to keepe the towne, and saw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminished. This tumult being appeased, there were often vp-roares and commotions of the people for euery day after; and many souldiers were slain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-upon, Caesar gaue order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Asia, which he raised and inrolled of Pompeis souldiers.

He

He himselve was staied by the winds, called Etesia, which are against them that saile to Alexandria.

In the meane time, forasmuch as he conceived, that if controuersies between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Consul; and so much the rather is concerned his office, for that in his former Consulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, with Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the king and his sister Cleopatra, should dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he first began to expaine among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King should be called out to plead his Cause: and afterwards, hauing gotten some assistance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie secretly from Pelusium, to Alexandria, and made Achilles (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promises, as from the King, and instructing him by Letters & Messengers, what he would haue done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by reason of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such business for the present, were left with Pompey; and the Originall, signed and sealed vp, was brought to Alexandria.

While Caesar was handling these things, beeing very desirous to end these controuersies by arbitrement, it was told him on a suddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Cavalry, were come to Alexandria. Caesars forces were not such that he durst trust vpon them, to hazard battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept himselve in such places, as were most fit & conuenient for him, within the towne, and to learne what Achilles intended. Howsoeuer: he commaunded all the souldiers to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of those which were neerest vnto him, and of greatest authority, hee would send some to Achilles, to knowe his meaning.

Dioscorides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-vnto, hauing bene both Embassadors at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father, they came to Achilles: whom as soone as they were come into his presence, & before he would heare or vnderstand what they would, commaunded them to be taken away, and slaine. Of whom, one hauing receiued a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was slaine out-right. Whereupon, Caesar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather moued by the priuate practice of some seditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

OBSER-

ding as it was
written in a Co-
lunne of gold,
at Memphis.

OBSERVATIONS.

THe multiplicitie of occasions and troubles, which happen to such as haue the ordering of any businesse of import, doth make that of Plinie often remembred: *Peteribus negotijs noua accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quasi Catenis, maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now spent his marriage, and was no more to appeare in Armes against Cæsar: yet his hap was byying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was necessarilie to be intrangled in a dangerous warre.

To these prodigies heere mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, at The same day the battell happened, there fell out a strange wonder at Patra: where a certaine Priest, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, suddainlie fell into an extasie, and said, he saw a great battell as farre off; Darts and Piles flie thicke in the ayre, some flying, and some pursuing, great slaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, ended out, that Cæsar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the present; but, afterwards, held in great admiration.

Plinie maketh the small increase of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; *Minimumque Pharsalico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam fluuine auersante.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæsar landeth his forces, taketh Pharos, and causeth Photinus to be slaine.

THE forces that were with Achilles, were neither for their number, or fashion of men, or use or experience in war, to be contemned, hauing twentie-two thousand men in Armes. These troops consisted of the Gabinian souldiers, which were now growne into a custome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and hauing forgot the name and discipline of the people of Rome, had there married wuiues, and most of them had children. To these were added such as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Province of Cilicia, and other finitime regions: besides many banished men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a sure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, upon giuing vp of his name, he

he was presently inrolled a souldier: and if one chanced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the concourse of souldiers; who, being all in the same condition, did strine for him, as for themselves: these required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian Armie.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had bene of ancient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Proleme the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this use and knowledge they had of warre. Achilles, trusting to these forces, and contemning the small number of Cæsars troops, did take and possesse Alexandria; and further, assaulting that part of the towne which Cæsar held with his men, did first of all indeauour to breake into his house: but Cæsar, hauing disposed the cohorts in the streets & waies, did beare out the assault. At the same time, they fought likewise at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible encounter: for, hauing drawne out their troops, the fight began to be hot in diuers streets and lanes; and the Enemy (in great troops) went about to possesse themselves of the Gallies, of which there were L. found there, that were sent to serue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Thessalia. These were all Triremes, and Quinquemes, rigged, and ready to goe to sea.

Besides these, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accustomed to bee the best, for the defence of Alexandria, and were all furnished with decks: which if they had taken, together with Cæsars shipping, they would haue had the Hauon and the Sea at their commaund; and by that meanes, hindered Cæsar from succours and provision of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both sides; Achilles expecting victory, and our men for their safetie. But Cæsar, obtained his purpose: and because he was not able to keepe so many seuerall things with so small forces, he set them all on fire, together with those that were in the Road, & presently landed some souldiers at Pharos; which is a tower in an land, of a great height, & built with strange workmanship, taking that name from the land: this land lieth ouer against Alexandria, and so maketh it a Hauon. But former Kings had enlarged it 9 hundred pases in length, by raising great mountes in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it so neere to the towne, that they ioyned them both together with a bridge.

In this land dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what shippes soeuer had fallen off their course, either by tempest or error, were there robbed by those Egyptians. For, by reason of the narrow entrance, no shippes can come into the Hauon, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharos. Cæsar, being afraid of this, while the Enemy was busie in fight, landed his souldiers, tooke the place, and there put a guarison. Whereby he brought it to passe, that both come and succours might safely come by sea to supply him: for, he had sent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they so fought, that they gaue ouer at length upon equal conditions: which

Obferuations vpon the third

which happened by reason of the narrowness of the passages: And a few of each le being slaine, Caesar took in such places as were most convenient for him, & fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings house (wherein, hee himselfe at his first arrivall, was appointed lodge) and a Theater ioyned to the house, which was in steed of a Castle, and had a passage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, he increased these fortifications, to the end he might haue them as a wall against the enemy, and thereby need not fight against his will.

In the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in question, found meanes to conuay herselfe out of the Kings house, to Achilles, and both ioynly together, vndertooke the managing of that warre: but presently there grew a controuersie between the, who should command the Chiefe; which was the cause of great largesse and rewards to the souldiers, either of them being at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was busied in these things, Photinus, the Gouvernour of the young King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Caesars partie, sent Messengers to Achilles, exhorting him, not to desist in the business, or to bee discouraged. Vpon the discouering and apprehension of which Messengers, Caesar caused them to be slaine. And these were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Pharus is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-against Alexandria; in the midst whereof, Ptolomey Philadelphie built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light in the night, for a marke to such as were at Sea. The Architectur engraued there-vpon this inscription; *Sostrates Gnidien, the sonne of Dexiarchanes, to the Gods, Conservators, for the safety of Navigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the seauen Wonders of the world. The first whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus. The second, was the Sepulchre which Artemisia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mausolus, whole shee shee dranke. The third, was the Collofius of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The sixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-score cubites in height; and was all of luorie, and pure Gold. And the seauenth, was this Pharus.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	2	Ensignes	casineste.
125	25	uncaple	uncapable.
133	30	ergo	ego.
150	3	spoken	spoken.
205	19	they	as they.

THE MANER OF OVR MODERNE TRAINING, OR TACTICKE PRACTISE.



OR as much as my purpose was to make this taske of Obseruations as a paralel to our moderne Discipline, I did not thinke it fit to mingle the Tacticke Practise of these times with the vse of foregoing ages, but rather to shut vp these Discourses therewith, as the second line of this warlike paralell, which is thus drawne in the best fashion of moderne Art.

In the knowledge of marshalling an Armie, there is nothing more especially to be regarded, then that from a confused companie of men, hauing chosen the fittest for the warres, we should so place and digest a conuenient number of them, that in marches, in incamping, in battels we may be able with a few well ordered to incounter a farre greater armie in confusion, and to ouerthrow them. From hence *AEnecas* did define the Art of warre, to be the knowledge of warlike motions.

Before this vnexpert armie shall be able to be moued in such fashion, it shal not be amisse to acquaint it with the most vsuall termes, wherewith they shall be often commanded into diuerse postures as occasion shall be offered. For as in the art of Fencing, no man shall be able to turne and wind his bodie for his best aduantage to offend his enemie, or defend himselfe, vnlesse first his master shall instruct him in the seuerall parts and postures thereof: so euery souldier or the whole troope as one bodie, or one souldier shall neuer be readily instructed to transforme or turne it selfe by diuerse motions into different formes, vnlesse they first vnderstand what is meant by Fronts and Flanckes, by Files and Ranckes, what by Leaders and Followers, by Middlemen and Bringers vp. By this meanes each souldier vnderstanding what the terme doth signifie, shal readily both apprehend and execute such commandements as the Captaine or Officer shall direct them.

A File is a certaine number of men following singly one Leader vnto the depth of 3 or 10, as they shall be commaunded. The auncients haue called this File *Seriem*, *ordinationem*, or *decuriam*: it consisteth of Leaders and Followers, placed according to their worth and valor: and especially there ought to be regarded, the Leader or *Decurio*, the fifth, sixth or Middleme, & the tenth

A File.

nd last called the Bringer-*vp* or *Tergiductor*.

First therefore euery souldier being aptly fitted vnto his seuerall armes according to his worth, age and stature, they are to be disposed into seuerall files, wherein euery one is especially to acknowledge his leader or foremost man to be the author of all his motions, and therefore duely attending what directions shall be commaunded, each follower shall according to the motions of his leader or foremost man, order his owne; and is to be excused if he attend the motions of his leader before he moue himselfe.

When many files are thus disposed together, all the leaders making one and the same front, and their followers obseruing likewise one and the same proportion of distance before, and after, and on each side; these Files thus oynd make one Battallion, the front whereof is called a Rancke, and so likewise the second and third in depth, according to the number of men in each file. The first, second and third, and so forward in each file, are called Sidenen in respect of the same numbers in the next file. Neither must euery souldier onely regard the motions of their Leader, but he must also diligently respect his sidemen, and such as shall be placed on his right and left hand called is ranckes: so that both in files and ranckes he may alwaies be found in the same distance wherein he is commaunded.

It should be impertinent to the purpose to prescribe a certaine nūber of soldiers vnto these Battallions, onely thus much for the proportion: that it ought euer to exceed so much, but that it may easily vpon any occasiō be changed into such a forme or fashion to fight, as may be thought fittest for the present.

The length of this Battallion is diuersly tearmed amongst the Latines, as *rons, Facies, Adstrucio, iugum, &c.* but in our moderne practise, most familiarly the Front or Rancke.

The breadth of the Battallion, which is from the leader to the bringer *vp* with the distance betweene all the followers, is said to be the length or depth of one file or flank.

In the disposing of souldiers into files and ranckes, besides their observing a right line in their places and standing, we must likewise especially respect the different worth and qualitie of the souldiers, that euery one according to his woorth may be suted vnto his proper place, and accordingly receive aduancement, as the death of his Leaders, and true value of his desert by his Commaunder shall giue occasion.

First therefore there must be especial choice made of the leaders of each file, or first front or ranckes of the Battallion, of the most expert, ablest and best armed men: because that as from them the rest are to receive directions for their after motions: so in them the greatest hope of the day doth consist.

Next vnto the first it must be provided, that the bringers *vp* or last rancke called *Tergiductores* be little inferiour, well experienced, wise and valiant, that they may both know when to reprehend their former Ranckes, and vrge them forward, if they see them declining or yeelding vpon false occasions, as also to be able vpon any sudden allarme giuen in the reare, to turne faces about and make themselves a Front for the best resistance.

Neither

Neither must it be neglected concerning the second and ninth ranckes, that they also may be furnished with the next most sufficient men, both because of their nearenesse vnto daunger, as also that if their leaders or bringers *vp* shall either be slaine or disabled by wounds, they may presently succede in their places and make them good.

There is also a good decorū to be obserued in the middlemen, or fift and sixt ranckes, both for the men themselves and their armes, that in our marches when the middlemen or sixt ranckes shall be called *vp* to front with their leaders, they may in some sort and proportion answer their places, as also when we double our front by calling *vp* middlemen to fight in a greater breadth, they may not be vsuitable: but especially in marches, that they may be able to make the best resistance, when they shall become the flankes of the Battallions.

As these respects ought to be obserued in ranckes, so the files also are not without their different degrees of dignitie. As the leader of the right hand file is accounted to haue the first place of honour in the Battallion: for he doth not onely leade the rest in his owne file, but he is the author and beginner of the motions of the whole Battallion.

The leader of the left hand file hath the next place, because that he with the leader of the right hand file do alwaies in their marching and imbattelling rectifie or rancke the whole front of the battallion: & so consequently all the next of their files as they stand in order, euen vntill the middle, who are accounted the last in dignitie.

The Battallion being thus disposed into files and ranckes, and each file and rancke according to his worth and experience rightly aduanced: it followeth that there should be a iust distance proportioned betweene either, that at all times vpon all occasions, they might be found readie, and in comeliest fashion, either to offend their enemy, or defend themselves. These distances which euery follower must obserue in respect of his leader: and euery leader and follower in respect of the sidemen, may be reduced vnto three seuerall Orders, as followeth.

The first is called open Order; the distance whereof is twelue fecte betweene euery follower and his leader, or betweene euery ranke; and sixe fecte betweene them and the sidemen, or betweene euery file. This order is commonly vsed vpon marches when the enemy is knowne to be farre off, as also in priuate exercising of souldiers for their seuerall managing of their armes. It differeth somewhat from the *Ordinatus Miles* amongst the *Romaines*, who alwaies obserued but foure cubits in files and ranckes.

The second distance is called Order, when we contract the battallion both in length and breadth, and gather the souldiers within a nearer scantling both in files and ranckes, that is, by obseruing fixe fecte in their files betweene the follower and leader, and three fecte betweene the ranks or sidemen. This distance is vsed when we march toward an enemy neare at hand, or in marches by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspiciously dangerous. This is also neare vnto *Densatus ordo*, but onely that that was but two cubits in both files

The second & ninth ranckes.

The fift and sixt ranckes.

Files, The right hand file.

The left hand file.

Distances betweene files and ranckes.

Open order.

Order.

nd ranks.

The third & last order, is when either we attend the enemy his present assault, or that we intend to charge him vpon our securest and best distance; when every follower standeth three feete or his rapier length behind his leader, and foote and a halfe from the sidemen or files, or when every souldier occupieth ut one foot and a halfe for his owne station, ioyning pouldron to pouldron, target to target. This differeth from *Confipatus ordo*, because that alloweth ut one cubit for files and ranks, and this close order alloweth one cubite in the file, but two in the ranks.

This distance doth agree also best with the length of our pikes of 15 or 16 feet long. For it is thought fit oftentimes that the battallion consisting of ten ranks, there should not charge more at one time then the 5 foremost, so that the pikes of the fift ranke might be three feete ouer the foremost shoulder, and the other fise ranks should in this close order or nearer if it be possible, follow the first charging, with their pikes aduanced, vntill some occasion should require their charge. In the meane time they should performe their dutie in keeping the fise foremost ranks from retiring, and besides adde strength vnto the charge shooke.

The maner of exercising of composed Battallions with their different motions.

THE files and ranks being thus vnderstood, disposed and ordered, and all parts and members of the battallion being ioyned in their iust proportion and distance, able and fit to be altered vpon any sodaine occasion (as if it were but one entire body) into seuerall and diuers postures, and to make resistance vnto what forces soeuer shall oppugne the same: it might be thought needlesse to haue made the disposition of the members so exact, vnlesse by continuall practise and exercise they might be made nimble and ready, not only to defend themselves and their whole body on all sides, but also to be able to offend whensoever they shall espie the least occasion of aduantage.

The termes of direction or command, which are commonly vsed in this moderne discipline of martiall exercise, as they are not many, onely answering the different postures which are required in the Battallion, so they are and must be short and perspicuously plaine, that by this meanes being sodainly vnderstood, easily apprehended and vnderstood, they may as speedily be put in execution by those which shall be commaunded.

First therefore that the Battallion may be commaunded into some one fashion or posture, from whence it shall be fit to conuert it selfe into all other, the Captaine or Officer shall bid them stand in front. When every particular souldier composing himselfe after his foremost leader, standeth comely in file and rancke, fronting vnto some certaine place, or to the Captaine, as shall be thought best for the present.

In

In this and all other directions whatsoever, it shall be especially obserued, that every follower attending what is commanded, marke his next leader, and accordingly moue himselfe, as he shall see him moue first.

The Battallion therefore thus fronting, if the enemy should suddenly either assault the right or left flank, it shall be commaunded to turne faces to the right or left hand, when every souldier obseruing his leader shall turne his face and make his flank his front according to the direction.

There is also a doubled motion or declination to the right or left hand, when every souldier obseruing his leader shall turne their bodies twice to the right or left hand, and by that meanes become turned with their faces where their backs were, as if they expected an enemy in the rear, or being to performe some other motion that may be offered: beginning this alteration from the right or left hand as shall be commaunded.

As every particular souldier in the troope is thus commanded at sometimes to turne his face to the right or left hand, or about, the Battallion standing in order, that is, according to the distance before named; so the whole Battallion being reduced into their close order, is commaunded to turne as one body to the right or left hand. It is performed thus: imagine the Battallion stand first in order, it shall be commaunded that they close their files to the right hand, when the right file standing still, the rest turning their faces to the right hand, march into their close order & returne as they were: next that they close their ranks from behind, when every follower marcheth forward to his leader vnto his rapiers point as is said before. This done, (the leader of the right file standing immouable) all the rest (as the body of a ship or a great gate) turne about that leader, as about the hinge or center, every one keeping the same distance and order wherein they were first placed, as if they were but one entire body.

When the same Battallion is to be restored into the same station wherein it was first, it is commaunded, Faces about to the left hand, and march into your order from whence you were closed. Then let your leaders or first ranks stand still, and the rest turning faces about, march ranks in order as before: then turn as you were, and you are restored.

When the whole Battallion being in their close order should turne about & make the Rear the Front, it is done by a double turning or declination, and commaunded to wheele about, which is answerable to the former faces about or mutation.

There is also another wheeling in this sort, when the front changeth the aspect thirfe; for as wheeling about maketh the Front the Rear, so this wheeling from the right hand to the left, or contrariwise: which fashion is so seldome vsed, that we scarce afford it a name.

In all such motions and alterations, it is most fit that all men performe their directions with their pikes aduanced, being in that sort most easie to be commaunded, as also lesse troublesome to their followers and leaders.

Faces to the right or left hand.

Declinate in battam vel scutum.

Faces about to the right or left hand.

Duplicata declinatio or mutatio

Wheele to the right or left hand.

Conuersio in battam vel scutum.

As you were.

Reuolutio. Reuersio.

Wheele about

Inflexio militum.

Reflexio.

Countermarching Files and Ranks.

THere is also another meanes to prevent the enemy his assaulting vs in the reare or flanke, lest he should find our worst men least able to make resistance; and this is performed by countermarching both files and ranks three diuers wayes apeece.

The first was vsed by the Macedonians, after this fashion: First the leader turneth his face about towards the right or left hand, and so the next follower marching behind his leader turneth also, and so the third and fourth, vntill the bringer vp haue caried himselfe out into a new place in the rere further from the enemy, as he was before next vnto him. But this neither was nor is accounted safe or secure, because it doth somewhat resemble a flying or running away from the enemy, which might giue him no small incouragement, and therefore it is not much in practise.

Only at some times, the bringers vp marching throughout beyond the leaders, vntill they possesse the same space before them which they did behind them, all turning their faces about, make their leaders to affront the enemy, who were before farthest from them.

The Lacedaemonians vsed the contrarie, as it were pursuing the enemy: the bringer vp first being turned face about, and so the next marching before him, and so the third, vntill the leader himselfe became also turned, and in the foremost front vnto the enemy. Which with vs is somewhat otherwise, but yet both affronting, and as it were pursuing the enemy: because our leaders first begin this motion, and so countermarching through on the right or left hand, become in the front in a new space of ground, who were before in the rere.

The third and last was inuented by the Persians, whom when the place or neare approach of the enemy would not suffer to change their ground, they were wont to countermarch the front to the right or left hand: & being come vnto the depth of the bringers vp, to stand still vntill the other halfe file had likewise marched forth, and fallen vpon their leaders in euery file. In all these it is especially commaunded, to march still in the same distance, and by whole ranks, to prevent confusion, which (especially the enemy at hand) must needes be most dangerous, and therefore carefully to be auoided.

In like sort the ranks may countermarch, when either the right wing wold be strengthened by the left, or the left by the right, alwayes marching by whole files towards the right or left hand, according as they shall haue the direction, either changing the ground, or vpon the same ground, as in the former countermarches.

There is vsed also another kinde of strengthening both the front and flanke when occasion shall be offered, vz. by doubling either files or ranks. And this, either by doubling the number of souldiers in the same files or ranks, keeping still the same breadth and depth of ground, or else by doubling the ground keeping the same number of souldiers. The files are doubled, when the second file shall insert it selfe into the first, the leader thereof putting him-
selfe

selfe a follower vnto the leader of the first, and the next follower follower to the next in the first file, and so forwards. And likewise the fourth file inserting it selfe into the third, and the sixth into the fifth. And this is to be performed when the Battallion standeth in his order.

To double the place or depth, is when the same number of men shall put themselves out of their order into their open order, either by aduancing forward, or by falling backwards, as they shall be commaunded.

The ranks are doubled two manner of wayes, either by inserting the second into the first to the right or left hand, as before in the files; or else (the enemy being at hand) by ioyning whole troopes together to the right or left wing, according as occasion shall be offered: and this is held to be the safest when the enemy is neare, to auoid confusio. It is performed either in the same ground, or by doubling the ground, when either we desire to exceede the front of our enemy his battallion, or to prevent lest we our selues be included. The termes to both are, Double your files or ranks to the right or left hand: and when you would haue them returne againe into their proper places, it is commaunded; As you were.

The ordinarie directions which are especially giuen in these martial exercises are, first that no man in the time of exercising or marshalling shalbe lower then his Officer: but euery one attending to his place, when he is commaunded, shall diligently hearken to such directions as shall be giuen. The Captaine in the front shall speake, and the Sergeants in each flanke shall giue the word vnto the Lieutenant or Ensigne in the rere: who as in his proper place, seeth all things executed accordingly as the Captaine shall commaund. It shall be vnpossible to performe any thing herein, vnlesse first euery one do exactly obserue his leader and his sideman: and to this purpose it is often commaunded, Keepe your files, Keepe your ranks.

Of Marches.

IN champions there needs no great labour to marshall particular troopes for their after marches: because they may march either by whole diuisions, obseruing onely their course of indifferencie, that euery diuision may euery third day haue the vantage; or else in such forme and fashion as the Generall hath proposed for a day of battell, according as the danger of an expected enemy shall giue occasion. But because all countries will not afford a champion for the marching of an armie, and therefore not possible to march farre with many troopes in front, nor many files of any one troope or diuision, by reason of often straights, and passages betwixt hilles, woods, or waters. It is provided, though by long induction, the whole armie shall be extended into a thinne length and few files, yet the souldiers well disposed shalbe as readily able to defend them selues and offend the enemy on their flanks (from whence only in such straights the daunger is eminent) as if they were to affront an enemy with an entire battallion in a champion country.

*By men.**Duplicare altitudinem.**By ground.**Doubling of ranks by inserting, or adding new troopes.**Duplicare longitudinem.**Sil. r. c. e. o. b. kept.**In a champion.**In straights or narrow passages.*

First therefore a diuision or Battallion being ordred and drawne before the Quarter, into one euen front of iust files, ten in depth; the muskettiers equally diuided on the right and left flanks of the pikes; all standing in their order, that is to say, fixe fecte distant in files and ranks; the Capitaine carefully provideth, that the first, fifth, sixth and tenth ranks be alwayes well filled and furnished with his most able and best armed souldiers. Which done, he commaundeth first the middlemen or halfe files to come a front with their leaders; so that the diuision becommeth but fiue in depth. Next he commaundeth to turne faces to the right or left hand, as direction shall be to march from that quarter: and so the whole diuision resteth readie in his fashion to march fiue in front, the one halfe of the muskettiers in the vanguard & the other in the rere, the pikes in the battell, and both flanks well furnished with the ablest and best men to offend or defend as there shalbe occasion: that is to say, the right flanks with the first and fifth ranks, and the left with the sixth and tenth ranks. If occasion afterwards shall be giuen of a halt in a champion or before the quartering, the Capitaine commaundeth first vnto all, (they being first closed into their order) Faces as you were; next vnto the halfe files; Faces about, & march out, and fall againe vpon your files. By which meanes the diuision becometh againe reduced into the same front and fashion from whence it was first transformed, readie to encounter an enemy, or to be drawne into the Quarter.

When pikes are to charge pikes in a champion, it vseth to be performed two seueral wayes: first the whole diuision being commanded into their close order, the fiue first ranks charging their pikes, every follower ouer his leaders shoulder directeth his pike as equally as he can, and the first ranke shall haue three feet of his pike ouer the formost shoulder. The other fiue ranks with their pikes aduanced follow close vp in the rere, either readie to second the formost, or to be employed in the rere as occasion shall be offered. Otherwise and most vsuall, when the whole depth of the files throughout the diuision shall charge together, all fast locked and vnited together, and therefore most able to make the strongest shooke offensive or defensive: provided alwayes that none mingle their pikes in others files, but the whole file one in anothers shoulder.

In charging with muskettiers, it is obserued no way conuenient that there should be too many in a ranke, or that the ranks should be too long. For the first ranke is commanded to aduance ten paces before the second, and then to discharge, and wheeling either to the right or left hand, falleth into the rere; and so the second aduancing to the same distance, dischargeth and wheeleth as before; and likewise the third; and so forward as long as the Officer shall be commaunded. Which shal not so well be performed the ranks being extraordinary long, because it will require so long a time to wheele from the front that the second may succeed, vnlesse by direction the ranke may diuide it selfe the one halfe to the right hand and the other to the left in wheeling to the rere.

In the retrain the whole ranks hauing turned their faces about, are to march three or foure paces forward, their chiefe officer comming in the rere, first commaundeth the last ranke to make readie and then to turne faces about and discharge, and wheele about to the head or front of the diuision: and being

clearly

clearly passed the next ranke to performe as much: and so the rest in order.

Where the passages are narrow, and the diuision can not come to charge in front, as betwene two waters or woods, the manner of charging is different; for there being fiue or ten files led in the induction, that file which flanketh the enemy dischargeth first onely, & the rest marching continually forwards, it standeth firme vntill the last ranke be passed, and then slequeth it selfe on the left flanke and makes readie; and so the second file and the third, so long as the enemy shall continue, there being a continuall discharging by files as afore by ranks. Vnlesse it be in the pases of Ireland, meeting with an irregular enemy, where they vse to intermingle their files of shot with pikes, that the one may be a defence for the other, when the enemy shal come vp to the sword, as they vse there verie often.

The manner of charging by files in narrow passages.

In the pases of Ireland.

How directions are deliuered in the warres.

ALL directions in the warres haue euer bene deliuered either by signes subiect to the eye, by word of mouth, or the sound of a drumme, or some such warlike instrument. Concerning those visible signes displayed vnto the souldiers, the falling of mists, the raising of dust, showers of raine and snowe, the beames of the Sunne, hillie, vneuen and crooked passages, by long experience haue found them to be most doubtfull and vncertaine; as also because as it was a matter of great difficultie to inuent different signes vpon all sodaine occasions, so it is almost an impossibilitie, that the common souldier (who oftentimes is found scarce capable of the vnderstanding of plaine words distinctly pronounced) should both apprehend and vnderstand sodainly, and execute directly the true sense and meaning of his Commanders signes.

By signes.

The Drumme & Trumpet are yet vsed, but because many different sounds are not easily distinguished in souldiers vnderstanding without some daunger of confusion, we onely commaund by the inarticulate soundes, to arme, to march, to troope, to charge, and to retreat: with all which seuerall notes the souldier is so familiarly to be acquainted, that so soone as he heares them beaten, he may be readie sodainly to put them in execution, as if he heard his Capitaine pronouncing as much.

By drumme or trumpet.

The directions by word of mouth are infinite, according to the different occasions which shall be offered; yet alwayes with this caueat, that they be short, yet perspicuous, without all ambiguitie, and plainly pronounced, first by the Capitaine, then deriued by the Sergeants through the diuision or Battallion. Though infinite, yet the most vsuall are these: To your armes: Keepe your files, keepe your ranks: Follow your leader: Leaders looke to your files: Keepe your distance: Faces to your right hand: Faces to your left hand: Close your files: Close your ranks: Stand as you are: As you were: Faces about to the right hand: Wheele about to the right or left hand: Double your ranks: Double your files: Leaders countermarch through to the right or left hand: Leaders countermarch to the right or left hand and stand: Middlemen

By word of mouth.

The most vsuall directing termes in exercising a battallion or diuision

come forth and fall vpon your leaders. Besides many fit termes commanded in managing particular armes, as pikes and muskets, which are omitted.

And this much touching the Tacticke practise of our moderne warres, which I haue the rather added in regard that diuerse souldiers, as vnacquainted both with the manner and the value thereof, do thinke a heape of people vnmartialled, to be as available for a great designe, as any other number distinguished in files and parts, and disposed for facile and easie motions, according to the powerfull circumstances of time and place. Wherein, howsoeuer the practise of the Turke and the Hungarian may seeme to giue warrant to that opinion, yet the vse of Armes amongst the Gracians and the Romaines, whose conquering armies are pregnant witnesses of the excellencie of their militarie discipline, shall speake sufficiently for order and Tacticke motion as most necessarie partes in a well ordered warre.

There are diuerse fautes escaped in printing, as it often falleth out in such works, which the Reader may be pleased to amend.

FINIS.

